

JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. VII

PART I



JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. V.]

[PART I.]

Annual Address.

By His Honour Sir E. A. Gaik, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., President of
the Society.

Gentlemen—

It is a great pleasure to meet you again at the end of the fourth year of our Society's existence and to be able to congratulate you once more on the progress of the Society.

Its continued progress and prosperity and on the tangible results which have been achieved in various directions. The number of members of all kinds is now only 137 against 167 a year ago, but the falling off is nominal rather than real. It is due to the removal from the roll of a number of members who, though they had joined the Society and received the *Journal* regularly, never paid their subscriptions and were therefore a source of loss to us rather than gain. On the other hand 15 new members have joined the society. Our library now contains nearly 1,000 volumes. It has been enriched during the year by the purchase *inter alia* of 100 volumes of well-known editions of Sanskrit texts.

The Journal has continued to appear with his regularity. It has maintained the reputation which it had already gained, and I have more than once received gratifying letters from England telling me of the interest which some of the papers published in it have aroused amongst European savants. This is specially the case in regard to actual papers by our talented Honorary Secretary, Mr. E. P. Jeyaraj, who is rapidly making a name for himself as an investigator and epigraphist.

The March number of the Journal contains a paper by him on the chronology of the *Bythadratha* History and Geography. dynasty of Magadha. From a close examination of the Matsya, Vayu and other Puranas, Mr. Jeyaraj concludes that there were fifteen kings of this line before the Mahabharata (in which great war Salisdeva of that line fought and fell), and twenty-seven after, the whole dynasty existing for one thousand years and the last twenty-seven for seven hundred (or more accurately 697) years until 721 B.C., when they were succeeded by the Shishunaga dynasty.

Under the heading "Revised Notes on the Brahman Empire" Mr. Jeyaraj deals with various questions concerning the Satya dynasty, which Pushya-Mitra founded about 157 B.C. after another Bythadratha, the last of the Mauryas, whose general he was, had been assassinated in the sight of the whole army. Mr. Jeyaraj supports, and gives evidence to confirm, Mahendrapadhyaya Haas Prasad Shastri's view that the Satvas were Dunkhans. He thinks that the revolution was the result of a Hindu reaction against Buddhism and of dissatisfaction with Epistadratha's invasion in the face of Menander's Greco-Bactrian invasion. The rise to power of the Satva dynasty was followed by a general persecution of the Buddhists and the revival of orthodox Hinduism. It was a period of great literary activity, and to it is to be ascribed the compilation of the Mahabharata and the Matsya-Dharma-Sastra and the Brahmanical reformers of the great epics of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. The corresponding claims put forward in these works

on behalf of the Bethmans, and the hostility therein displayed to the Sidras, are explained by the fact that a Bethman dynasty was in power and that it had displaced a line of Sidra kings.

Mr. P. N. Lal has discussed the chronology of the Gupta Emperors on the basis of the dates assigned to two of them in two inscriptions on images of Buddha discovered recently at Sirkaf near Benares in the course of excavations made by the Archaeological Survey of India. He comments on the paucity of coins of Buddha Gupta, who is now known to have ruled over the whole country from Malwa to Bengal from 477 to 494 A.D. and urges that the members of our Society should make a systematic search in the houses for such coins.

Mr. Jodunath Sarkar who, in the first volume of our Journal, gave an account of Mir Jamsid's invasion of Assam based on that contained in the *Pathipya-tyotkhye* of Mahabubkhan Talish, has contributed some notes on the Topography of Gualyore which was then the Assam Capital. These notes should be very useful to local antiquarians. The same gentleman has compiled from the old factory records and original correspondence preserved in the India Office a narrative of the relations between Siraj and the English of the Rajapur factory in the Bhatnagar district of Bhojpur during the period from 1699 to Siraj's death in 1705. The Rajapur factory was closed about two years later.

Mohammadpashayya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri, on whose election as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal I take this opportunity to offer him publicly, as I have already done privately, my most hearty congratulations, has continued to send valuable contributions to our Journal. The March number contains an instructive paper by him on Gunthee Literature in Sanskrit. He reviews the information of this culture contained in (1) the *Brhadaranyaka* of the Bhargava Purana; (2) Valmiki's account written in the fifteenth century of the countries visited by Bharata, Sri Kripa's elder brother, in the course of his expiatory tour; (3) and (4) the *Vidvatsampradaya*, by some members of the Vajjala family, and the *Pitavalu*

displayed by Hamsabai, both more than three centuries old, and finally (4) the *Dattakalpa*, written by a learned Brahman named Jagannathan, whose patron Deva Vijaya, a Chaulukya Rajah of four puranas round Patna, died in the year 1020 A.D. The last mentioned, which is by far the least incomplete, purports to give an account of the fifty-six countries (almost all in India) which comprised the world as then known to the Hindus. Unfortunately no complete copy of the manuscript has yet been found.

The same learned Pandit contributed to the *Jam* number papers on three more Orissa copper-plates. The first, of unknown provenance, is now in the

possession of the Yuvraj of Talhar. It dates probably from the eleventh century but the record is incomplete, as at least two plates are missing. The name of the donor is on a rubbing plate, but he seems to have been a member of the Ballabhadra family of Khagda in Kalings. The power of this family was not always independent *valas*, and in the seventh century they owed allegiance to Shishuka, king of West Bengal.

The second plate is a grant of Hanantadibhadra of the Sukli family, whose head grants are *directly* well known, as has this one having been published by the Pandit in the third volume of our *Journal*. The present inscription does not add materially to our knowledge of the dynasty, which ruled about the tenth century, but an interesting question is suggested by the fact that the land granted was in the village of Jam in the Balasore country. There is a village of this name in the Houghtly district on the border of Midnapore. The latter district contains an influential agricultural community known as Sukli, who trace their origin to a place called Kulkala, and the question is whether there is any connection between these names and the Sukli kings whose capital was at Kulkala.

The third plate bears record of a grant by Hanakhaladewa, of the line of Vimaladitya, who is said to have been 'hatched out from the egg of a peacock, and whose dynasty ruled the country now forming the Mayurbhanj State. The plate was found by some *swabooks* in the Bhanuajali subdivisions of that State.

Several similar plates are already known, and the present one does not add much to our previous knowledge. It has however enabled several misunderstandings in other plates to be corrected.

An account of the Jambhigra inscription is contributed by Mr. Pandey to the September number. The stone containing this inscription was found in the village of Jambhigra, six miles east of Bakh Gaya, and has been presented to the Patna Museum by the Mahant of that place. It records the grant of a village to a Singhales monk for the maintenance of a monastery by king Jaya Sena, ruler of Ujjai (Ujjain) and son of Buddha Sena, in the 80th (expired) year of the reign of Lakshman Sena. In a separate note Mr. Jayaward argues that, as the date given in this inscription is expressly stated to refer to the reign of Lakshman Sena, there is no possibility of the era known after him having started with the reign of some predecessor, and the ruler of the same name who fell from Narmada must, therefore, have been a descendant (probably grandson) of the original Lakshman. The expression used in connection with this date is identical with that in two inscriptions (II and III) discussed in the *J. A. S. B.* for 1912, page 221, by Mr. H. D. Bannerji, who, taking the word *ajita* to refer to *ajita*, equates it as showing that Lakshman Sena's reign had ceased before the inscription was made. Muhammad, son of Balhityar, conquered the town of Bilas in 1180 A.D., but as the date on the Jambhigra inscription corresponds to 1302 A.D., it is clear that the country a few miles to the north remained for some time longer under the rule of a series of the Sena family. The grant was no doubt made through a regular *Siksha* or copper-plate charter, and the inscription on the stone was merely intended as a local notification of the fact. The representation of a *family* and a son below the inscription, as indicating that anyone violating the grant will be reborn of such an ancestral and disreputable parentage, is, I believe, the first instance that has come to notice in Bihar of a form of imprecation which is already known to be fairly common in Orissa and the adjacent part of Chota Nagpur.

Mr. Pradep has also published a revised translation of the inscription on a stone recently brought to the Patna Museum from the sculptures shed at Bodhi Gaya. The palaeographical evidence indicates that this inscription was inscribed in the fifth century A.D. It records that certain arrangements for worship were made by the monk Pabbhata Kitti, who belonged to the royal family of Ceylon, in the hope of thereby acquiring merit and eventually attaining Buddhahood.

Mr. Jayasval, whose important paper on the Hathigumpha inscription of the emperor Kharavela in the *Journal* for 1897 have attracted widespread interest, has published in the December issue of the current year a fresh revision of certain passages based on a close personal examination of the rock itself in the varying conditions of light and shade at different hours of the day. He has thus not only fixed more definitely the site of the capital of the Mauryas, ascertained the name of Kharavela's queen, found that Kharavela's army crossed the Ganges on elephants, and proved that the Jains already had images as far back as 460 B.C. Finally he has shown the well-known Ranigumpha, or rock-cut palace, a short distance from the site of the inscription was constructed by Kharavela as a temporary habitation for his queen.

Mr. Jayasval has also two papers on certain expressions used in the *Aluka* inscriptions. He shows, for instance, that "karmayata" means "going out of office" and not, as previously rendered, "assembly" or "seat of inspection".

Mr. C. W. Andersen, who in 1917 contributed a valuable *Prehistoric* paper on the stone implements found in the *Antiquities* Baghkhura District, has given us an account of some prehistoric rock paintings discovered by him in and near two caves, not far from the small village of Singarpur in the Baghkhura State. All the paintings but one (in black) are in a red colour, the pigment used being the red oxide of iron which occurs in veins throughout the rock. The drawings include human beings, a dog and other animals, several hunting scenes, and, among the more enigmatic symbols, some marks which are

possibly a primitive script. They have their counterpart in the wall paintings of the prehistoric troglodytes of France and other European countries. The author has, however, failed to find in the caves any direct evidence of human habitation, with the single exception of an agate stake, which Dr. Hayden thinks was undoubtedly shaped artificially.

The year has not been very productive in the discovery of stone and copper implements, but there is one find which deserves special notice. When the large copper axeheads, figured opposite page 295 of our *Journal* for 1910, were found in Miyurishanaj, some of the people on the spot suggested that they were intended for the record of land grants. As no instances of their use for this purpose were then known, this explanation was rejected in favour of the view that they were weapons intended for communal use. I was recently, however, shown by Masdari Abbas Samad of the Provincial Excavation Service a piece of copper, shaped like an axehead, on which is inscribed the record of a grant of land made to one of his ancestors by Raja Parashurama Deva who ruled in Orissa towards the end of the thirteenth century. The plate in question is figured opposite page 301 of the December issue of our *Journal*. The records of ancient land grants are ordinarily inscribed on rectangular plates, and the question arises whether the use of a different shape for the purpose of this grant is due to the chance discovery and utilization of an old casting, or to the fact that copper axeheads continued to be manufactured for this purpose after their use as implements had ceased owing to the discovery of iron. Personally I incline to the latter view, as similar instances of the survival for ceremonial or superstitious use of expended implements or materials are by no means rare. For instance, in the Darjeeling district stone cells are still fabricated as part of the stock-in-trade of the local medicine men.

Some months ago 505 copper coins were discovered in the property of the Cape Copper Co. at Bakka in Natal.
NUMISMATICS. These coins have been examined by the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh, who has written a paper regarding them which will appear in the next number. The coins

in question were found close to old copper workings and slag heaps, and their edges had not been trimmed. These facts suggest that they must have been made at a mint in the immediate neighbourhood. These coins, like those found in the Puri District a quarter of a century ago, are imitations of the coins of the Kushan king Kanishka, and they were therefore designated Puri Kushan coins in his account of the Puri find by the late Dr. Hoernle whose recent death is so deeply regretted, not only by his friends, but by all who are interested in Indian archaeology. They bear on the obverse a standing figure of the king, with his right hand extended over a fire altar; and on the reverse a figure of the moon god. From the character of the letters in the word *Tanka*, which occurs on one (only) of these coins, Mr. Walsh concludes that they cannot be earlier than the seventh century A.D. As there would be no object in imitating an obsolete coinage, this conclusion is interesting as, if correct, it shows that the Kushan coins were current in India for several centuries after the extinction of the dynasty to which they belonged. Another interesting paper by Mr. Walsh deals with 189 silver punch-marked coins found in a phero in the bank of the Ganges. Mr. Walsh shows that the marks on the obverse side of these coins occur in certain regular and constant groups, and although other varying symbols were added, the occurrence of these regular combinations cannot have been fortuitous; the theory that the marks were affixed haphazard by clerks and others must therefore be abandoned, and it must be recognised that they constitute a regular coinage. Mr. Walsh thus supports the conclusion already arrived at by Dr. Spence and Mr. W. H. M. Campbell, I.C.S.

Rai Bahadur Bansi Chandra Roy has continued his account of the tribe of Biddya, describing in much detail their marriage, death and funeral customs; their birth, childhood and puberty ceremonies, and their religion. The Biddya are one of the most wild and primitive tribes of Chota Nagpur, and most of them still lead a nomadic life and live mainly on jungle products. They have preserved intact many ancient institutions which other tribes

have forgotten or changed almost out of recognition; and the study of their customs is therefore one of very special importance to ethnologists. On the other hand it is interesting to find that many customs and beliefs of relatively advanced communities have their counterpart amongst the Bhillars and may therefore be regarded as survivals from very ancient times. A curious point, worthy of mention as a possible relic of the copper age, is the fact that the Bhillars' ear-lobing instrument is still made of that metal.

Mr. S. C. Mitta has furnished some notes on the use of the swallow warts and Mr. Sukumar Haldar has given some further Hilsolt stories. The September number of the *Journal* contains a paper by Mr. W. Crooke, the well-known author of "*Tribes and Castes of the United Provinces*," on the head-dress of Banjara women. The distinctive feature is a stick, about 6 inches long, which is worn upright like a horn on the top of the head, the hair being wound round it, and the head-cloth draped gracefully over it. Similar headdresses are found elsewhere, chiefly in the Himalayan region, Central Asia and Syria. The ancient Persians wore similar headgear, and Mr. Crooke conjectures that the Banjara may have originated from one of the tribes which joined in the invasion of India by the Ephthalites, or White Huns, during the sixth century of the Christian era. He rightly notes, however, that the use of a single article of dress is not a sufficient basis for any definite conclusion.

When our Society was inaugurated it was thought that it would be able to do a great deal in the way of **Biography**—commemorating former provincial warriors by means of biographical notices, but the results in this direction have been disappointing, the only paper of the kind prior to the year under review being that by Mr. S. C. Mitta on Major Kanaklal Koor, who commanded the force deputed for the relief of Patna, which performed a wonderful march of 200 miles in thirteen days in the hot weather of 1768. I am glad to say, however, that this year Khair Bakshar Sayid Kanhi-ul-Din Ahmad has given an interesting account of Daud

Khán Qarabái, the most famous of the Moghal Governors of Bihar. In the struggle between Shih Jahán's sons Daul Khán fought at first on the side of Daur Sháh, but after Daur's cause had become hopeless, he transferred his allegiance to Aurangzeb. He fought on Aurangzeb's side against Shih Shujáh, and when the latter retreated eastwards he was made *Sahibdar* of Bihar. Daul Khán took an active part in the campaign which ended in the final defeat of Shih Shujáh. His next enterprise was the invasion of Palawan (1685 A.D.) where he captured without difficulty the Chero Raja's well-known forts near Bala. On his return journey he founded, on the bank of the Sone, the town of Dinabagar, where his descendants still have their home. After holding charge of Bihar for five years, Daul Khán was transferred to the Subah of Khawásh where he took part in the operations against Sivají. He subsequently held charge in turn of the Subahs of Berar and Afulahad.

The Khán Bahádur has also given an account of the life and writings of Ghalib Áli Harí, who lived at Patna in the latter half of the eighteenth century. A complete collection of this poet's voluminous writings is to be found in the *Jaina Oriental Library*.

The *June* number of our *Journal* contains two papers by **SHREEJAGANNATH**. Mr. D. N. Sen, Principal of the Bihar

National College. In one of these papers Mr. Sen discusses a number of *śālas* in Rājgir, which are associated with Buddhis and his disciples. Many of these *śālas* have now been definitely identified, thanks to the labours of Sir John Marshall, Mr. Jackson and others. In the other paper Mr. Sen examines the relationship between Buddhism and Vedāntism, and shows that both arose out of the same movement of thought, resulting in the one case in the doctrine of a Transcendent Being in the background, and in the other of a transcendent state of being, in which the finite, the actual and ephemeral ultimately lose themselves. The Vedāntist attains salvation by contemplation and the Buddhist by right conduct.

In a paper in the June number Mr. Slicher reviews all the references to education which are to be found in the *Jatakes*. From the frequency with which Taxila is mentioned, he infers that that place was the chief intellectual centre of the age, to which students flocked from all parts of northern India. Because time went in jeopardy. There were also numerous hermits who gave instruction to their disciples in the great forests with which the country at that time was covered. Most of the students lived in residence, those who could afford to pay the fees being treated as sons; while those who could not, performed menial duties in return for the instruction which they needed. Discipline was strict and corporal punishment was in vogue.

Rai Bahadur Jagoo Chandra Ray has described the sugar industry in ancient India. He says that while there is no mention in the *Vedas* of any such native substance other than honey, the occurrence of the word *saka* shows that the sugarcane was known, and as it could not have grown wild in northern India it must already have been cultivated there. The art of manufacturing *gur* and other products was already known in the fifth century B.C.

The Patna Museum, in the establishment of which our Society took a prominent part, continues to develop satisfactorily, and it already contains a large number of very interesting exhibits. The most valuable is perhaps the beautiful polished stone statue of a female, which was mentioned in Mr. Walsh's address last year. Dr. Spenser's paper on this statue has been somewhat delayed, but it will appear in the next issue of the *Journal*. Thanks to Mr. Walsh's intervention, the Museum has recently obtained from the Indian Museum in Calcutta a number of statues which had been sent there from Bihar many years ago. The Museum has also received from Dr. Spenser the valuable collection of 151 seals found by him at Hastak. The inscriptions and emblems on these seals convey much valuable information: for instance they confirm the identification of Vaishali with modern

Dandi. We hope shortly to get also the seals, coins, terracotta figures, etc., which were dug up by Dr. Spooner in the course of the excavations at Kanhera which were paid for by the late Sir Robert Tate, whose name will be permanently associated with this collection. In this connection I cannot refrain from mentioning the remarkable discovery just made by Mr. Jayaswal that the inscriptions on two figures which were found a century ago in a field near Kurnakar and are now in the Calcutta Museum, show that they represent two kings of the Salvanika line who lived in the fifth century B.C. namely Udaya, who founded the city of Patna, and his son, Nandi Vardhana. I wish it were possible to get back these statues and set them up in the city where they ruled more than 2,500 years ago. If I may be permitted a further digression, I would mention that the Pithal tree (*Stereospermum lanceolatum*) to which Patna owes its name, has recently been found growing in the neighbourhood of Kanhera, and I am taking steps to have this tree, which bears a yellow trumpet-shaped flower, planted out in various parts of the city.

To revert to the Museum. It now contains as good a collection as is to be found anywhere in India of ancient stones and copper implements. It also contains a fair collection of articles of ethnographic interest and specimens of many different minerals. The belly portion of Bihar and Orissa is rich in mineral wealth, and it is therefore very desirable that special attention should be paid to the mineralogical section of the Museum. My friend Dr. Hayden has recently inspected our collection, and has promised to designate an officer of the Geological Survey to prepare a proper catalogue of it and to make arrangements for filling in the gaps which still exist.

The collection of coins, though still a small one, is steadily gaining. The Hon'ble Mr. Walsh is now in charge of the coin cabinet. He has arranged every coin in a separate envelope, on which he has recorded its description, and has prepared a register in which all particulars regarding each coin are given in a very complete form. This register already contains about 800 entries.

Another matter to which the Society has devoted attention is **Search for Sanskrit** the systematic examination of Sanskrit manuscripts in private libraries.

The importance of this measure was urged upon the Local Government by the Council of our Society, with the result that two Pandits have been appointed to work in Orissa and Tirhut, respectively. The Orissa Pandit was appointed about two years ago. His work has been supervised at intervals by Mahamahopadhyaya Hari Prasad Shastri, and it was recently inspected by Mr. Jeyaraj. The Pandit has now catalogued nearly 6,000 manuscripts including 180 of works yet unpublished, and has discovered several of considerable importance, including one of the *Principia Varana* by Muktapada. This manuscript which belongs to Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Sadashil Mitra of Puri, has been lent by that gentleman to Sir George Grierson, who after photographing it has just returned it to the owner. Sir George Grierson is publishing a critical edition of this important work. Another valuable discovery is a critical history of the Gupta dynasty which was composed in 1441 A.D. A Vedic grammar (*vidhavalpakarana*) by one Jeyaraj and a new commentary on the *Ramayana* by Hari Pandit have also come to light.

During the year which has elapsed since his appointment the Tirhut Pandit has catalogued 1,000 works of which 175 are unpublished. In 12 of these manuscripts the colophons contain the names of kings of Mithila. Amongst the unpublished manuscripts is a work on politics by Chandobhava entitled *Rajvishay Pariksha* which is now being edited by our Secretary. A manuscript in the poet Vidyaapati's own handwriting which recently came to light has been purchased by the Maharaja of Darbhanga. Another interesting find (in Patna) is that of a paper copy of the *Madhava Parashara* dated Shaka 1148 (1185 A.D.). This is probably the oldest manuscript on paper yet discovered in India.

Dr. Spence has continued his excavations at Nalanda. He has driven a broad trench 1,500 feet long from east to north, crossing the whole series of stupas, which promises to lead to fresh

Work of the
Archæological
Survey.

discovery of interest. It has already resulted in the discovery of a splendid stone statue of Avalokitesvara. Another find of interest is that made by Mr. Pandey at Balanagar near Hajipur of the capital of a Mauryan pillar; it is of fine-grained sandstone and consists of two pairs of bulls set back to back. Mr. Pandey has also found the head of a stone lion which appears to belong to the Mauryan period and is possibly the capital of the pillar now at Masrah in the Shahabad district which Hsien Tsang mentioned as bearing an inscription. If so, there is hope that the pillar itself with the inscription may be found in the same locality. Arrangements have recently been made with the Director-General of Archaeology for the deputation of the Curator of the Museum to make a further examination of the traces of human habitation in the caves and rubble-drawings at Hajipur, which form the subject-matter of Mr. Anderson's paper mentioned by me above, and also of some other caves which have been reported near Khetur and Harbhaka. Good progress is now being made with the preparation of an archaeological atlas for the province showing by means of conventional marks the places where ancient monuments of various kinds (stupas, Baulhist, etc.) are to be found.

In conclusion, Gentlemen, I would appeal once more for fresh recruits and research workers. To the archaeologist, the historian, the anthropologist and the geologist alike, our province is one of the most interesting in India. There is a wide field for research, but the real workers are still very few in number, while the number of members who have contributed brief notes to the section provided at the end of the *Journal* for miscellaneous contributions has been extremely small. I would again invite the attention of all our members to what I said on this subject in my first annual address.

There is one more matter to which I must refer, and that is the fact that our Vice-President Mr. Walsh is shortly going on leave preparatory to retirement. Mr. Walsh has a high reputation as a scholar, and for many years past he has rendered valuable services to the cause of Indian research. He has done

a great deal of most useful work for our Society, and also as President of the committee of management of the Peabody Museum. Mr. Walds will leave a gap which it will be extremely hard to fill, and I think it would be well if we took this opportunity to pass a vote of thanks to him for all that he has done to promote the welfare of the Essex and Orient Research Society.



LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—An Examination of a Find of Punch-Marked Coins in Patna City, with Reference to the Subject of Punch-Marked Coins Generally.

By E. H. C. WALSH, C.S.I.

The 188 punch-marked silver coins which are described in the present paper, were found in July, 1911, buried in an earthen plate in the bank of the Ganges at Golaahpur in Patna City.¹ The plate was unearthed, owing to the bank of the river having been scoured away, and a woman who went to bathe in the morning saw the earthen pot projecting from the remaining portion of the bank. The place where the plate was found is about 15 feet below the present surface of the ground above the river bank. The plate had become filled with earth, and the coins, when found, were all covered with a smooth dark green coating of verdigris and mud, which gave them the appearance of having been painted over with green paint, which shows, as also appears from an examination of the coins, that some of them contained an alloy of copper. They were described in the Police report of their discovery as "round thin plates (potter) resembling broken pie." The weight of the coins when found was Rs. 45-14-8 of which broken fragments, which were not forwarded with the present coins, weighed Rs. 9-5-0. The weight of the present coins was therefore Rs. 34-15-8 and after the thick coating of verdigris and dirt was removed their total weight is Rs. 38-11-8. The verdigris deposit therefore weighed Rs. 4-3-0, or nearly 12 per cent. of the weight of the coins after they were cleaned. The reason for this large amount of copper is due to the

¹ These coins are in the Silver and Copper Coin Collection in the Police Museum and are numbered Nos. 116 to 123, of the General Register—E. H. W.

fact that, apart from any properties of alloy is the coin, several of the coins have been debased by the addition of molten copper to the original silver coin, presumably to enhance its weight. That this was subsequently added is shown by the fact that it remains over the punch marks. This is particularly noticeable on coins 11, 13, 16, 18, 23, 28 and the reverse of 104.

It is known that coin debasing of the coins took place. The *Artha Śāstra*, which was written by Kautilya,¹ latter known as Chanakya, the Brahmin Minister who contrived the fall of the Nanda dynasty and placed Chandragupta Maurya on the throne, and which gives such detailed information regarding the government and state of society in his time, refers to the different methods of debasing the currency.

In some others (e.g. No. 27), the silver appears to have been plated over copper. Threlkeld² refers to a passage in the *Mahavamsa* quoted by Thomas & c. *East. Orient.*, page 41, that Chanakya "with a view to making precious ornaments, by alloying such *Lakṣṇas* into silver, and issuing eighty *Kāṣṭha* of *Lakṣṇas*." He also mentions examples of *pañcāṅga* which had been plated with silver over copper.³

Punch-marked coins have been described by Cunningham,⁴ by Threlkeld,⁵ by Foucher-Bagny,⁶ and have been very fully discussed by Mr. Vincent Smith.⁷

¹ Kautilya's *Artha Śāstra*, translated by E. Bhusabhai, B.A., M.A., Government Oriental Library Series, Nalanda Sanskrit, No. 2, Part II, Rajaput Government Press, 1912.

² J.A.S.B., 1869, page 321.

³ J.A.S.B., 1870, page 28.

⁴ *Coin of Ancient India*, by Major-General Sir A. Cunningham (C.I.I.) pages 29-33.

⁵ *Notes on Some of the Symbols* based on the Punch-marked Coins of Hindustan, and their relationship to the symbol system of other races and distant lands, by W. Threlkeld, M.A., J.A.S.B., Vol. 10, Part I, 1869, page 311, and a Revision of the symbols on the Kautilya Coins, described by Vol. 24, J.A.S.B., 1890, Part I, and description of some additional symbols by W. Threlkeld, M.A., J.A.S.B., Part I, 1904, page 39.

⁶ *Indian Coins* (Described in the *Indo-African Philology*, 1907, pages 22.

⁷ *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Volume I*, pages 211-132.

The interest of the present find lies in the fact that an examination of the marks on them shows that they occur in certain constant and regular groups on the obverse, and although either varying symbols were added to these constant groups, the above regular combinations which cannot have been fortuitous, shows that the theory that these marks were affixed by hand by chiefs and messengers through whose hands the coins passed cannot be maintained, and that the present coins in fact constitute a "coinage."

On examination of the present coins, I found that two marks are found on all the coins, namely (1) a figure of three obelisks, or umbrellas, and three seals, alternately, round a central circle, (Plate IV, Fig. 1) and (2) the Sun (Plate IV, Fig. 2). There is one coin which does not occur on any coin, No. 108, which only contains two marks; but as this coin bears only Fig. 1 and one other mark, elephant facing left (Fig. 3), and as this coin and also Nos. 98 to 108, 125 and 107 appear to be of a different type to the others, being smaller and thicker, and have evidently not had the same amount of wear as the others, they appear to be new issues, and it is possible that this particular coin was not completed.

In addition to the above, two other marks, namely (3) a pair of foliage (Fig. 3) and (4) two interlaced triangles (Fig. 4), occur, forming a constant group of four marks, on 55 of the coins (Nos. 1-55), which I have called Class A.

In addition, each of these coins bears a fifth mark, which varies on different coins, and according to which I have divided Class A. into 57 sub-classes, as given in the List.

Sub-class 1 contains 18 coins (Nos. 1-17 and 51) which bear a fifth mark of elephant right (Fig. 5); sub-class 2 contains five coins (Nos. 18-22); sub-class 3, four (Nos. 23-26); sub-class 4, also (Nos. 27-32); sub-class 5, two (Nos. 33-37) but as the additional mark in sub-classes 3 and 4 is in each case a plant, though of a different design, it is probable that the emblem is really the same and that these two sub-classes are really one class; sub-class 6, five (Nos. 38-42); sub-class 7, one (No. 43); sub-class 8, two (Nos. 44-45); sub-class 9, one (No. 46);

sub-class 10, four (Nos. 47-50); sub-class 11, two (Nos. 51-52); sub-classes 12 to 13, one each; sub-class 15, two (Nos. 61, 62).

Six coins (Nos. 54-59) which I have called Class E, while bearing the above marks 1, 2 and 3, have not got the fourth mark of interlaced triangles, but in its place have as a fourth mark a humped bull facing left (Fig. 6).

Twenty coins (Nos. 10-29), which I have called Class C, have a constant group of four marks, namely, Figs. 1 and 2, as in the previous Classes, the two other marks being a lion (Fig. 7) and a bull's or cow's head with a garland round the neck (Fig. 8). Two of these (sub-class 8) have also an additional mark of a branch (Fig. 13).

Eleven coins (Nos. 30-40), which I have called Class D, have a constant group of marks (Figs. 1 and 2,) and a third mark, elephant left (Fig. 5). Five of these, sub-class 1, have a fourth mark of a triangle with three dots in it, Fig. 41. The fourth mark in the other coins of this class is different in each of the four sub-classes.

Seven coins (Nos. 101-107), which I have called Class F, have the two first marks (Figs. 1 and 2), together with additional marks which vary. One coin (No. 101) does not bear mark 1. I have therefore placed this coin in a separate class, G.

When I made the above classification I was not aware that a similar conclusion that the marks on punch-marked coins occur in regular groups had been arrived at from the examination of previous finds.

I subsequently came to know that Dr. D. D. Spencer came to the same conclusion from the examination of a find of 55 punch-marked coins, which were found at Peshawar in 1899 and are described and illustrated by him in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1902-03 (page 126); and Mr. R. D. Bhambhani came to a similar conclusion from the examination of a find of 53 punch-marked coins found during the excavations at Banaspur (2) of which were found at Khon Raha and 31 at Ganesgarh), which he has described and illustrated in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1913-14 (pages 258-272 and 280-283). The coins in the latter case were silver.

Mr. W. H. M. Campbell, I.C.S., has also come to the same conclusion from the examination of a most extensive and important find of 1,445 punch-marked coins, found at Palla in the Eluru district of the United Provinces.

Another extensive and important find of 2,573 punch-marked coins was found at Patnala in the Patna district of this Province in 1915 in the bed of a small river which had been covered out by the water. Rivers in India, which frequently change their courses, are great excavators. These coins were sent to Mr. H. D. Banerji, the Treasury Treas. Officer for this Province, and have not yet been received back from him; so I have not been able to examine them. The classification in the Treasury Treas. Report has, however, only been made with reference to the size and shape of the coins.¹ They should be systematically examined with regard to the marks on them.

The conclusion to which Dr. Spink came from the examination of the Patnala coins is as follows:—

"It has been stated by various authorities that the symbols are arbitrary figures, the arbitrary marks of particular moneys, perhaps, and that they were punched into these coins from time to time by these different authorities as they changed to come into their hands. But my tabulation of the marks occurring on the coins of the present collection tends directly to a refutation of this view. The above-mentioned group of 5 symbols occurs on 53 of the 61 coins in the collection, with one symbol regularly in each stroke, and one, with the regularity the *Chamainaka*, impressed on one edge and overlapping the nearest one. This alone would have rendered the old theory doubtful, but when it is added that in every case where the punch-work on the reverse was decipherable it was found to be what Cunningham called the 'Taxila mark,' we have an

¹ Mr. Banerji has classified these coins in his Treasury Treas. Report forwarded with his letter 24th L. H. dated 17th Feb. November 1920, as follows:—

| | |
|-------|--------------|
| 5,126 | Thin square. |
| 420 | Thin square. |
| 644 | Thin round. |
| 194 | Thin round." |
| <hr/> | |
| 6,374 | |

invariable correspondence established between a particular group of 8 symbols on the obverse and a particular 'mint mark' on the reverse, which cannot necessarily be lacking in significance and which points decidedly to these coins having been the regular coinage of some one accepted central authority, and the symbols or their selection the recognized insignia of the mint, and the private marks of individual mints imposed haphazard from time to time."¹

The mark which Dr. Spenser then considered to be the "Jharmachakra" is the sun mark (Fig. 3). Dr. Spenser subsequently revised his opinion as to this mark,² and now considers it to be the sun; as it has always been considered, and which there can be no doubt that it is.

Mr. Campbell has kindly let me see his Treasure Trove Report and his notes on the Pala coins. He has found that they bear a group of 8 marks on the obverse, which is reserved for each class of coins, and has classified them according to such groups, as follows:—

Class I, 191 coins; Class II, 481 coins; Class III, 254 coins; Class IV, 3 coins; Class IV-A, 8 coins; Class V, 66 coins; Class VI, 4 coins; Class VII, 2 coins; Class VIII, 1 coin; Coins of the type of Class I, II or III, but with distinctive symbol missing or obscure, 128 coins; the remainder being 32 broken pieces and 7 pierced.

Mr. Campbell has also let me see the list of the figures of the marks on these coins.

It is to be hoped that he will publish the result of his evaluation, which will be a most valuable contribution to the subject.

With reference to the systematic occurrence of constant groups of marks, it is interesting to note that three of the coins illustrated by Cunningham (C. A. I., Plate I, Figs. 2, 4 and 5) contain a variety of the present mark, Fig. 1; Fig. 3; elephant

¹ *Archæological Survey of India Annual Report (A.R.I.)*, 1909-10, p. 165.

² *The Numismatic Period of India History* by Dr. D. Spenser, *J.R.A.S.*, 1915, p. 64.

right, *Fig. 1*, and here and above, *Fig. 47*; with an additional mark which is the same on *t* and *h*. This is the same group of four marks as on coins of Class D, sub-class 2 (Coins 61 and 62) except that the elephant on the coins figured by Cunningham faces right, (*the Fig. 5*) while on the present coins reversed it faces left.

It would seem probable that the occurrence of this group of four marks on the coins mentioned may be due to the same cause as their occurrence together on the coins of Class D, sub-class 2, and that they are therefore coins from the same date or sets. Unfortunately, the provenance of these coins is not given.

It is accepted that punch-marked coins are the oldest form of coinage in India, and that it was an indigenous coinage, and not derived from, or based on, the coinage of other countries. The proof of the independent origin of this coinage in India has been emphasised by Professor Rapson in *J.B.A.S.*, 1885, p. 368. This coinage had been in existence long before the time of Buddha, as is shown by the fact that the name *pa-das* ("punch") is given to them in the stories of Buddha in the *Jatakas*. As noted by Mr. Vincent Smith,¹ the fact that they have been found in one of the very earliest earthen mounds at Lothal-Mundargali in Champore and in the earliest tomb known by the name of *Panda-Jala* in Coimbatore shows that they go back to very early times. The latter fact may, possibly, show that this coinage originated during the early Dravidian civilisation.

Cunningham refers to "two monumental evidences of the antiquity of these square Indian coins in the Buddhist sculptures of Mahabodhi and Bhudok. The former is as old as Asoka himself, 250 B.C., having been executed during his reign; the latter are somewhat later, or about 150 B.C. In both of these there is a representation of the famous story of the *Jeta-vana*, or purchase of the garden of Prince Jeta by the merchant Anathia. According to the legend the purchaser had to cover the whole surface of the garden with a layer of gold coins. In both sculptures the servants of Anathia are seen laying the coins,

¹ *J.B.S.*, Vol. I, p. 368.

edge to edge, as the inscription states. As all the pieces are square, they closely represent the punch-marked money that was current in the time of Asoka."¹

Cunningham also mentions that some much worn punch marked silver coins were found "in company with hemi-drachms of Antiochus II, Philometor, Lysias, Antialcidas and Menander,"² which proves that these coins were old but current in about 150 B. C.

Silver punch marked coins are of two types :—

Square, being lengths cut out of a bar of the metal and the corners then clipped, if necessary, to reduce the coin to the required weight; or oval, as is the case of the present coins. The copper coins are always of the square form.

They were the *sigætae æquales* presented by Oxybites to Alexander at Taxila in 328 B.C., and the fact that their symbols were confined on the square and copper coins leads to the inference that they were still current at the commencement of that coinage.

Cunningham stated that punch-marked coins are found "from the Himalayas, Hindukush, to Cape Cutchia, and from Saitan to the mouth of the Ganges."³ But Eula, however, have been recorded west of the Indus. There is the Peshawar find already referred to, and Mr. E. D. Bawerj⁴ has described 46 coins said to have been found in Afghanistan, which were obtained from His Majesty the Amir when in Calcutta. The locality from which these coins were obtained is not stated.

With coins of this class extending over such a long period and such extended area, results obtained from the examination of coins of a particular period, or locality, will not necessarily be applicable to coins of other periods or distant localities, in which other forms of government and other conditions may have prevailed.

¹ C. A. I., p. 82.

² C. A. I., p. 84.

³ C. A. I., p. 82.

⁴ J.A.S.B., 1876, p. 218.

Cunningham has fully discussed the question of the weight of the punch-marked coins. These early coins were based on the Indian system of weights as given in *Mānava*, VIII, 181 *et seq.* which Professor Bageon summarizes as follows :—

"The basis of this system is the *rati* (*raktika*), or gangle berry, the weight of which is estimated at 150 grains = .115 grammes. Of the gold standard coin, the average of 80 *ratis* = 144·4 grains or 9·45 grammes, no specimens are known; but of the silver *paras* or *drachms* of 32 *ratis* = 58·90 grains or 3·78 grammes, and of the copper *drachmas* of 80 *ratis* (same weight as the average), and of various multiples and subdivisions of these, numerous examples have been discovered in almost every part of India."¹

The theoretical weight of 58·90 grains is, however, rarely attained in the known specimens. The weight of those of the present coins that are available and have been very from 57·4 to 60 grains; and the weights of the coins in the India Museum Catalogue also follow practically the same variation as in the present coins.

The essential part of the coinage was the *rasa*, or marks stamped on them. Mr. R. D. Banerjee refers to the expressions such as *rasa* *śālistā* *śālistā*, or *rasa* *śālistā* *śālistā* (directed date marks) used by the Commentary *Śālistā* *śālistā* on the *Nirupāya* *śālistā*. It is these marks stamped on the *paras* or *drachmas*, which constituted the coinage.²

Until our present sources of information are added to, the significance of the marks on punch-marked coins must remain the subject of speculation and surmise.

Mr. Banerjee quotes a passage from the *Vārāṇasīya* *śālistā* *śālistā* on the subject and notes:

"The purpose of it is to describe how a lot of coins lying on a wooden slab would strike a row boy, a rustic and thief; and

¹ *Indian Numismatics*.

² Bageon. *Indian Coins*, p. 2.

³ *Essentials of Numismatics* by R. D. Banerjee, M.A., B.S.N., 1914-15, p. 23.

we are told that the lay would notice simply that some coins were oblong, some round and some elongated in shape, that the natives would know all this and also that the coins were like game, worthy objects of enjoyment to mankind, but that the sheriff not only would be conversant with all these matters but also would be in a position to decide, after handling the coins in a variety of ways, which of them were struck at which village, borough, town, mountains and river bank, and also by what mint master. It is thus clear that every place whose coinage was issued had its own distinguishing mark stamped on it, and in confirmation of it may be noted that on the majority of *Aklatipapan* described at Sonmager the device of the river is prominently noticeable, indicative probably of the *Vohavati* (Betoh). Consequently, we may safely conclude that those *Aklatipapan* which have the mountain on the river on them, were struck at those places and in order that the different mountains and rivers may be distinguished we find them differently figured. Figures 44-45 on Plate VIII of Mr. Theobald's article (*J. B. A. S.*, Vol. LIX, Pl. I), e. g. shows how an attempt is made to distinguish one mountain from another on *Aklatipapan*. The different symbols of one and the same object the sheriff of the ancient day was of course conversant with, and could tell from what different mountains or rivers the coins came. It would be interesting to know what the symbols representative of a village or town were.

"Another group of devices noticeable on *Aklatipapan* is the surprising number of which *avutika* and *avutipaku* are the most conspicuous. Both these are met with also in old cave inscriptions, which either begin or end with them."⁴

The *Arha Sutra*,⁵ in referring to the duties of the Collector General of Revenue, mentions, together with *Wata* and other matters, *vajjala*, the meaning of which appears to be promise.

⁴ "Excavations at Sonmager" by E. D. Theobald, *I. A. S. B.*, 1912-13, p. 222.

⁵ *Arha Sutra*, p. 95.

or seignorage on coins. It also enumerated the duties of the Superintendent of the Mint as follows:—

"The Superintendent of Mint (*ḡalishapadkashah*) shall superintend the manufacture of silver coins (*ṣipparṣa*) made up of four parts of copper and one-sixteenth part (*masaka*) of any one of the metals, *ṭikṭaka*, *ṭupa*, *ṣina*, and *alḡana*. There shall be a *papa*, half a *papa*, a quarter and one-eighth.

"Copper coins (*manṣarṣa*) made up of four parts of an alloy (*ḡalaḡṭan*) shall be a *masaka*, half a *masaka*, *ḡalaḡi*, and half a *ḡalaḡi*.

"The examiner of coins (*ṣipadashah*) shall regulate currency both as a medium of exchange (*vyavaharika*) and as legal tender admissible into the treasury (*ḡadagravaytan*): The *ḡramla* levied on coins paid into the Treasury shall be eight per cent. known as *ṣipka*, 5 per cent. known as *vyḡḡi*, one-eighth *papa* per cent. as *ṣaḡḡika* (*ḡadḡḡa* charge), besides (*ḡha*) a fine of 15 *papa* to be imposed on offenders other than the manufacturer, the seller, the purchaser and the examiner."¹

It would, therefore, appear that the reason for the mark of the anvil, or *ṣiḡḡa* coin, in which the coin was in use may be that the local authority affixed its mark on every coin in which it had levied seignorage, and that no coin on which seignorage had not been collected was allowed to circulate within its jurisdiction.

An indication of the order in which the marks were punched on the coins is shown in some cases by certain marks being punched over others. Thus, the mark of interlaced triangles, *Fig. 4*, has been punched over marks, yet of foliage, *Fig. 5*, and Elephant right, *Fig. 5*, on coin No. 4; and over mark, *Fig. 1*, on coin No. 17. Mark *Fig. 13* has been punched over mark, *Fig. 4*, on coin No. 25; mark, *Fig. 20*, has been punched over mark *Fig. 1* on coin No. 34; mark, *Fig. 16*, has been punched over the sun mark, *Fig. 8*, on coin 37; and an indistinct mark has been punched over mark, *Fig. 1*, on coin No. 44.

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, p. 10.

The *Artha Śāstra* also commemorates the device of the goldsmith of the mint in regard to the mintage of gold coins *śarvāṇa* and gold ornaments (page 107).

It therefore appears that in the *Artha Śāstra*, which deals with matters of the Mauryan age, coinage was a royal prerogative carried on in the royal mint. The marks on the coin would therefore primarily be royal or state marks and not the marks of individual moneymen through whose hands the coin passed.

It may be suggested, to account for a constant group of marks, that one mark may represent the state, one the reigning king, one the place where the coin was struck, and perhaps one a religious mark recognizing the presiding deity [like the *dei gratio* on English coins]; also the master of the mint may have had his mark, which would fix his responsibility for the coin, and the additional varying marks may have, those of the *sūpāṇa*, village administration, in which the coin was current, affixed at the time the *sūpāṇa* or local tax on it was levied on its admission to circulation in that jurisdiction. And the various and unsystematic punches on the reverse may have been the marks of private shrines and moneymen through whose hands the coin passed in the course of circulation.

In this connection Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has called my attention to a rule laid down by Pinini; "Śaṭpāṇa-śāṭha-śāṭha-śāṭha-śāṭha-śāṭha-śāṭha" the meaning of which is "an *śaṭpāṇa* takes place in news-making in *śaṭpāṇa* is the case of (i.e. to denote) *śāṭha* and *śāṭha* of *śāṭha*," which shows that a *Śaṭpāṇa* had its *śaṭpāṇa* or *śāṭha*, which latter Mr. Jayaswal would identify with the *śāṭha*, or *śāṭha* coat of arms of the *śāṭha*.

The word *śāṭha-śāṭha*, "the royal mark," or the "king's arms" occurs in the *Artha Śāstra*, and would therefore appear to be the personal mark of the ruler. In the same way while each *śāṭha* had its own *śāṭha*, the elected body of rulers for the time being may have had its own personal *śāṭha* which remained in use during its term of office and was given up when that body went out of office. This would account for the large number of different marks which are found on punch-marked coins.

In this connection Mr. Jeyarvel also notes that the Hampa marks, which are found in a well-known republican area, have the permanent figure of a peculiar animal, with changing legends, in which the animal may be *lele* (goat) and the legend correspond to the *shila*.

That the *shila* was the personal mark or emblem adopted by the individual, the king in the case of a state and the governing body in the case of a *raja*, would also seem to be borne out by the inscription "Himantashila" and "Sulgarashila" on the early coins of Nepal figured by Cunningham in Figs. 1 and 2 on plate XIII of *Coins of Ancient India*. Cunningham has taken these to be the names of the respective kings. But they are given in the *Nepal Spandan* lists as *Hima Deva* and *Gura Deva*. I would therefore read these two legends as "the *shila* (mark) of Sri Hima" and "the *shila* of Sri Gura."¹

Professor Hagen has also held the view that the marks on punch-marked coins were stamped by the village community, and that "it seems probable that such matters as the issue of coinage were regulated by local authorities—money-changers or merchants—and not by the imperial authority." The very great variety of early Indian coins would thus be naturally explained, and such inscriptions as are found on them have been interpreted by Dr. Bühler in a sense which entirely supports this view.²

In the case of later inscribed coins, which bear the word "negira" ("the trader's") on the reverse, Professor Hagen considers that they were issued by guilds and were guild tokens.³ These, however, are obviously coins of a very much later date, being struck with a single stamp, and do not therefore necessarily imply that the primary marks on the early punch-marked coins were of this nature. And the *Artha Śāstra* clearly shows that the minting of coins was the function of the state. And it cannot therefore be held that the primary marks on them were

¹ Examples of these coins are also given in my paper on "The Coins of Nepal," *J. R. A. S.*, 1930, p. 150, et. seq.—E. H. W.

² "Coinage Marks on Treasures and Indian Coins" by E. J. Hagen, *M.A. J. R. A. S.*, 1901, p. 371.

³ *Ibid.*

those of the Singhas, except in the case where such Singhas were independent or semi-independent governing bodies; though, as is shown by the *Vismuddhivagga* they also bore the marks of the Singhas, which may show that the Singhas were allowed to mint for the State, or they may have been allowed to affix them for the purpose of levying their royalty on the coins that came within their jurisdiction, and confirming their sovereignty.

The number of different marks found on punch-mailed coins is very great. Theobald has described and figured 277 which he obtained from the examination of 158 coins.¹ He subsequently revised that list by including the symbols on the later coinage of Ujjain and Eran, which reduced the number of symbols of the older coinage to 241, to which he added further marks, making a total of 342. The number of marks, however, greatly exceeds that number, and some fresh marks come to light.

For instance: out of the 53 marks on the *panasa* coins illustrated on Plate IV, only 16 correspond to marks illustrated by Theobald, or are variations of them,² and his Fig. 164 (six dots) might perhaps be the upper portion of present Fig. 3, if the mark were incomplete on the coin he referred to. The remaining 37 marks are not amongst those illustrated by him.

As the meaning of some of the marks is not clear and individual interpretation of them may be mistakes, and a mark may also be misleading when incompletely punched on a particular coin, I have given illustrations of the coins on which almost every one of the marks which occur on them.

As an example of the above remarks I would refer to the mark Fig. 32, which I first took to be a separate mark and figured it accordingly, but on further examination found to be a portion of the mark elsewhere right, Fig. 1. Also Fig. 25, which I at first took to be a separate mark, but which I subsequently on

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, Part I, 1888, p. 229, Plate VIII.21.

² Figs. 1 on Plate IV = Fig. 10 of Theobald; Fig. 2 = 129, 129; 3 = 30; 4 = 21; 5 = 12; 12 = 66; 13 = 59; 14 = 127; 15 = 143; 16 = 127; 17 = 23; 18 = 31; 19 = 32; 20 = 34; 21 = 102 and 64 = 115.

further examination think is a part of Fig. 4, interlaced triangles, only partly punched, and with the angle shown as rounded. I also think that Theobald's interpretation of some of the marks which he figures is doubtful.¹

I do not propose in the present paper to discuss the possible meaning of the various marks which are found on punch-marked coins, other than those which occur on the present coin. But I would remark that I agree with Mr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji and Mr. B. D. Bhattacharya that the mark which is here simplest form consists of an arch superimposed on two other arches, and which has been considered by Cunningham to be a *śaṭpa* and by Theobald as a *stapa* is really intended to represent a mountain. The passage quoted from the *Vismakhinagga* that coins sometimes have a mark indicating mountains also supports this view. This conclusion is of importance; as it shows that it is not necessary to postulate any secondary signification of the coin on which it occurs, with the Buddhist religion, or that, consequently, such coins would not, therefore, be anterior to the Buddhist religion.

Similarly, the large *spandana* format, in the same manner, of a large number of such superimposed arches would represent a higher or larger group of hills, or the distinguishing feature of the place where the coin was struck, which is in accordance with the passage in the *Vismakhinagga*; or may, possibly, in other cases represent *Mosai Mosai*, as has been suggested by Dr. Spenser² who notes that combined with a crescent on the apex, it is the recognised symbol of the Jains to represent one

¹As an example, Theobald's No. 11b, fig. 5, which he describes as "a pile begins figure holding a club in the left hand. Above it are five dots and these are probably intended to represent the hands. At the bottom two small circles are visible, this figure is probably intended for Naga" (J. A. S. B. Part I, 1886, p. 294), would appear to be the "half" or "one" head with grained. Fig. 6 of the present coin, looked at the wrong way up, the five dots being the grained, and the "club" one of the feet. Also (Theobald's Fig. 42b, which he describes as "Ornamental Form or *śaṭpa*" appears to be the *śaṭpa* mark. And there are others of which the description given appears to be doubtful.—E. B. W.

² The Numismatic Journal of Indian History, J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 415.

of the Thracians and is called by them "Mount Hæm." It may, therefore, in some cases be a mark of power and strength, the "eternal hills," similar to the symbols of the sun and moon.

I would note that this mark occurs on the lower end of the pillar shiv has been excavated at Kumbhar in the site which, as Dr. Spence shows there is good reason to believe, was the Palace of Gnaungapto¹ Maurya, where it could not, therefore, refer to a *stupa* or *stūpa*, or have any Buddhist significance; as that religion had not then been adopted by the Maurya kingdom. Even if this palace were the later place of Asoka, the same observation would equally apply; as the Buddhist religion had not then been officially recognized and its symbols would not have been adopted. I think, therefore, that this symbol must be definitely abandoned as having the above Buddhist or any special religious significance.

The fact that this mark does not occur on the present coin is natural, as there are no hills in the neighborhood though it might be expected to occur on coins struck at Rajah.

As the passage in the *Vismakhavagga* says that the sheriff on examining the coin would know at which village, borough, town, mountain and river bank the coin was struck, where, therefore, other marks are combined with the hill-mark they would appear to indicate which particular hill or group of hills was intended. Theobald gives a number of such hill-marks (Figs. 48-54), in which the animal over Fig. 49, the peacock over Fig. 50, the tree over Fig. 51 and the (?) river turtles under Fig. 55, appear to be such distinguishing marks. Theobald's Fig. 53, three snakes side by side, would also appear to be another variety of the hill-mark.²

¹ "Excavations at Pataliputra," by G. E. Spence, *J. A. S. B.*, 1902-13, pp. 22-30, Plate XI:2, p. 74.

² Theobald described this mark as "No. 53. Three snakes, the central being the largest," etc., *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1896, p. 327.

Involving this to be a variety of the hill-mark, which I think it is, there would appear to be an interesting example of the later use of this symbol to represent hills on the first coin in a row on a coin of the Post-Kanish type which is described in my paper on "Puri Kanish Coins," found at Rajah, in the present number of this Journal. (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. V., p. 78)—G. E. W.

There also does not appear to be any sufficient ground for considering a simple *krucak*, such as *Figs. 10, 11, 12, 13 (a), 13 and 20* and reverse *Fig. 81*, necessarily to represent the Judd tree, though it may do so when it is combined with the figure consisting of four or more squares, which is considered to represent a rail; as in that form it is found on the coins of Taxila and other coins together with other Buddhist emblems. Even in the latter case it does not always represent the Judd tree, as is shown by *Thibault's Fig. 122* which he described as "Jashed looking up at a tree, protected by a railing."

The figure called a "rail," *Fig. 22*, also occurs in a variety of marks in combination with various other subjects besides trees.

The existence of a branch on certain of the present coins does not, therefore, imply any connection with the Buddhist religion.

A wheel, *Fig. 35*, appears on one coin, No. 104, but it has a double circumference and is different from the accepted form of the *Dharmacakra* and there is no reason to suppose that it is intended to represent it.

With regard to the remark of the *Vismakhimagg*, that the *dhadd* would know at which river bank the coin was struck, the mark of two wavy lines representing a river occurs on the square copper coins found at Ilam and Banagar, and as this symbol is also found on the cast copper coins which succeeded the silver, the presumption is that these coins were current when succeeded by the cast coins and are therefore of much later date than the silver *parikani*. The *Vismakhimagg* was written in Ceylon at some date before 456 A.D., and, therefore, refers to punch-marked coins of a much later date; as this form of coinage continued in Southern India much longer than in other parts of India. As far as I know, the river-mark has not been found on any of the early silver punch-marked coins. If such mark had then been in general use to represent a river it might, perhaps, have been expected to have been found on the present *Pataliputra* coins, but it does not occur.

In the present stage of knowledge regarding punch-marked coins it is not possible to judge their probable age except on general considerations.

Speaking generally, it would appear to be a reasonable inference that more elaborate designs, and those composed of more than one symbol are later than more simple designs and those of one symbol. This statement cannot, however, at present be made with certainty without an examination of a much larger number of coins than have been as far examined and without the assistance of the nature of their provenance in each case.

The present coin would appear to be of early date from (1) the depth at which they were found; (2) the fact that their marks are all of a simple nature; (3) the absence of any marks which indicate the Buddhist religion which might be expected to be found on coins later than Aśoka.

There are two marks which somewhat resemble the Greek letter Ω , namely Fig. 22 on coin No. 54 and Fig. 23 on coin 66. But an examination of these shows that they differ from the form of that letter found in inscriptions and on other coins, e.g. in the wheel depicted on the square copper coins of Taxila.¹

Some indication of their period may, however, be inferred from the fact that amongst the objects found by the excavations of Pataliputra carried out by Dr. Spooner at Bodhihiagh, in which work are believed to be the old wooden city walls, described by Megasthenes, have been discovered, amongst the numerous fragments of antiquities which have been found in the earth, with which the space between the two wooden palisades was filled, I have seen a small square-shaped piece of light green opaque glass, or other vitreous material about the same size as a small square punch-marked coin, on one side of which this mark (Fig. 1) is very clearly marked, exactly similar to the mark on these coins. These excavations have as yet been only provisionally described. But, I believe, that Sir John Marshall is of opinion that this hoarding between the palisades may have been made in part from older rubbish-heaps. If this idea is correct, the mark in connection with Pataliputra is earlier even than Chaudhargupta.

¹ C.A.I., Plate III, Figs. 5, 6, 10.

In *Fig. 22*, on coin 44, the two sloping strokes are separate; and in *Fig. 23*, on coin 34, the character *Ora* not form an angle but is distinctly rounded at the top, and the line is not of uniform thickness, as in the letter *Oa*, but the right hand portion swells out and is distinctly and, apparently, intentionally thicker than the rest of the character. If, therefore, these figures represent the letter *Oa*, it would appear to be an older form than in the inscriptions at present known.

There is also another mark on coin 68, which may be the Haktan letter *ta*. The mark has not been given on *Plate IV*, as I did not, at first, grasp its possible significance. It will, however, be seen on the upper margin of coin 68, *Plate II*, by looking at the coin from the left-hand side.

The predominant symbols on the coins are (1) the three oblique and three oval alternately round a central circle (*Fig. 1*) and (2) the sun (*Fig. 2*). These two marks also occur together on 50 out of the 111 coins found at Teotihuacan described by Dr. Spenser¹ and one or other of them occurs on the remaining coins. They also occur generally together on several of the pseudo-marked coins which have been described.²

They do not, however, occur in any of the 1,214 coins found at Teotihuacan, though other forms of the solar symbol appear on the reverse of some of these coins.

Several varieties of the first symbol (*Fig. 1*) are given by Thorold, who notes that its great antiquity is shown by the fact that it was found by Schliemann in the lowest stratum of the excavations at Troy.³

¹ *A. R. N.*, 1881-82, p. 124, 127.

² *Fig. 1*, *A. R. N.*, Vol. I, *Plate XIX*, Spans. 2, 5, 8, 9, 11. Also *C. A. Z.* *Plate I*, *Fig. 1*, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14, *Plate II* (*Enlas*) *Fig. 1* and 2.

³ *Dr. Gerhard Rupprecht's* *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1881, p. 124, 127.

The same type of symbol also occurs in the lowest stratum at Troy 21 feet below its surface in *Arconia*, which is not with *Arconia* in the same stratum. In this stratum there is the symbol, the apex of the "star" is central, instead of off-centre, and the same symbol of the lower stratum in which the "star" is not (as it was typewritten) is placed beyond, back up the staircase leading last mentioned to. (Schliemann's *Troy*, page 81.)

(*Further corrected on p. 81.*)

The "Pet of Folage" (Fig. 3) occurs in most of the coins as an oval boss with six dots over it. The concave curve of the mouth of the plate is, however, clearly seen on some of the coins, e.g. Nos. 18, 20, 21, which leaves no doubt as to its significance.

The interlaced triangles (Fig. 4) is a mark which I have not seen on other coins.

It is not clear what object is intended to be represented in Figs. 18A, 19, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 43, 44, 45 and 46; and reverse marks 61, 62, 71, 72, 75, 76 and 80.

Of the animals on the present coins, the staghead frequently occurs as silver *pa-lan*, the humped bull has frequently, the bull's or cow's head with garland is, I believe, as already noted, Timokidd's Fig. 2. But I am not aware that the lion has been found on the other *pa-lan* which have hitherto been described, though it is found on subsequent copper coins of Timokidd's Fig. 2, therefore, Fig. 7 is a lion, the presence of that animal on the present coins is very interesting.

I have taken the animal (Fig. 7) to be a lion, rather than a tiger, on account of the comparatively large size of the head. There is, however, no attempt to indicate the animal, as is done in the examples of this animal *pa-lan* Indian coins, and it may, consequently, be intended for a tiger. In either case I am not aware of either lion or tiger occurring on other silver punch-marked coins.

28. Symbol 21 with three intervening dots. Fig. 24.

In this variant the "chakra" are replaced by three intervening dots, and the multiplicity of this form of the symbol is proved by this identical pattern being found in Troy, only the "bala" and "cross" are different in its form. See margin on the form which is found beyond of these (Schlosser's Troy, Plate XLIII, fig. 420).

30. Symbol 27 with three oval heads. Fig. 26.

In this form, the "bala" are replaced by a symbol which may be described as the Greek letter "phi" with the upper projecting limb cut off. It is evidently the same as occurs on symbol 26 and is also found on Trojan pottery and has been designated "omega" by Schliemann's Troy, p. 318, fig. 1271.

J. I. R. N., *Proc. L. Soc.*, 1886, *Proc. L.*, figures 184-185, 186, 187, and pages 210-217.

*C. S. S. (Plate 11).

The snake, in the form of the letter B, (Fig. 25) and with an egg (Figs. 28 and 44), the tortoise (Fig. 30), the humped bull, of a different design to Fig. 6, are amongst the marks illustrated by Theobald.

Cummingham suggested that the marks on the pawns might be passing allusions to the names of the rulers or places, e.g. a bull or a cow (Kh. *Fatow-Fatwa*) a very common symbol on the coins of Kantonki, the capital of the *Fatow*; ¹ or that another explanation was possible or even probable that they were shell marks, and that the animals found on these coins might be adopted by the shells as indicating their names.*

The shell theory, as already noted, cannot stand as regards the obverse marks. The animals on pawns may be the *shahajet* or emblems of the sultan, or be the address of particular rulers or governing bodies; for instance the Mahomedan says that the standard of the Sultanahda dynasty of Magadha which came to an end about 743 B.C. had a bull on it. They may also indicate the names of places.

If the early punch-matched coins were the outcome of the Dravidian civilisation, there may, possibly, be a connection between the animals depicted on the obverse and the totems of clans.

The marks on the reverse of the present coins, as is invariably found in punch-matched coins, are of an entirely different type to those on the obverse, and are less deeply punched. And when they represent the same objects they are smaller than the similar obverse mark.

Only three obverse marks of the same size occur on the reverse, viz. Fig. 16, which occurs on the obverse of coins 4, 20 and 17 and on the reverse of coins 36, 41, 74 and 79; Fig. 18 which occurs on the obverse of one coin only, No. 83, and on the reverse of coin No. 39; and Fig. 24 which occurs on the obverse of coin 43 and on the reverse of coin 104. Except the above,

¹ C.I.L., pp. 88-91.

*The old money changers might have had symbols referring to their own names, thus: the "Bee" for *Berga Das*; a "Snake" for *Naga Das*; and so "Elephant" for *Elu Das*. The Das might have had a "Hillman," "Ouput a Bull," and *Khoje Yaser*, a *Daan* (see [Kishor])." C.I.L., p. 88.

where the same marks occur on the reverse as on the obverse, they are either somewhat different in design, and even where they are the same in design are smaller. Thus the interlaced triangle on the reverse of coin 185 is smaller than the obverse mark (Fig. 4); the half's or cow's head with gristles (Fig. 17) is almost half the size of the similar mark (Fig. 8) on the obverse; also Fig. 68, snake in shape of the letter S, is much smaller than the somewhat similar mark on the obverse (Fig. 55); and the phallus (Fig. 53) is only half the size of the similar mark (Fig. 54) on the obverse.

Coin 182 is peculiar. The marks on the reverse of this coin are full size and appear to be all of the nature of obverse marks and are deeply punched into the coin in the manner of marks on the obverse. There are eleven marks as it. They are punched indiscriminately over each other. Only one mark, the rhomboidal flower, is intact. A possible suggestion might be that the reverse of this coin may have been used as a test for trying various obverse punches.

The marks on the obverse of this coin, on the other hand, are more lightly punched than those on the reverse.

The remaining twelve marks, as will be seen from Figs. 23 to 31, are entirely distinct and even where they apparently represent the same objects, e.g. Figs. 25, 28 and 31, which appear to be intended for the one, they are quite distinct from the one mark (Fig. 2) on the obverse.

Professor Reposa refers to the *Injunctions of Meao*, VIII, 483, that "All weights and measures must be duly marked, and men in six months let himself, the scribe, the prince) re-examine them," and he thinks that coins were included in this injunction, and that the marks on the reverse are perhaps the marks affixed by the "prince," the governor of the district, or other official included in the term *scribe*, at the time of periodical testing of the currency. He therefore considers that "the merchants or money-changers to whom we have attributed the obverse punchmarks, had simply to submit their coin to the chief authority in the district, who reported such as were

deficient in weight or quality of metal, and sometimes such as were appraised by marking them with his official stamp, which may perhaps be identified with the military punch-mark so often found in the centre of the reverse. The occasional occurrence of more than one of these reverse punch-marks on a coin is naturally explained by supposing the coin to have passed current in more than one district, and consequently to have been officially tested more than once.¹

The theory that the marks on the obverse were affixed by the merchants or money-changers through whose hands the coins happened to pass, cannot, however, be maintained in view of the occurrence of certain constant groups of these marks on a number of coins.

The theory that the reverse marks were the official stamp of the local authority and indicated that the coin had been tested and sanctioned for currency within that area appears, as a general statement, to be subject to equally material objections. If this were generally the case, the official test and currency mark would be expected to be found on all coins that had been in circulation, or at any rate, on the very great majority of them, and there would also be the greatest uniformity amongst the reverse marks, which were affixed on all coins current within a given area, than amongst obverse marks which according to the above theory were affixed by merchants or money-changers through whose hands the coins passed.

Neither of these conditions, however, is found to exist in the case of the old silver punch-marked coins that have hitherto been brought to light. If we exclude the coins of Tanila and the Pedamar fed, the majority of which bear the "Tanila mark," which has hitherto been considered to be a mint mark, on the reverse, and the coins found at Ilmor, which would appear to be of late date, punch marks do not occur on the reverse of all the old silver pieces, and when they do occur, there is no general uniformity amongst the reverse marks on the coins found in the same locality.

¹ J. R. A. S., 1898, page 276.

Reverse marks are found on only 35 of the present coins, and these are not uniformly amongst them. Only two marks (Fig. 53 and obverse Fig. 35) occur on four coins, one mark (Fig. 55) on three coins, one mark (Fig. 56) occurs twice, and the others are marks which occur only once. A description of the marks will be found in Table III.

That there is no general uniformity amongst the reverse marks is also the case in the coins found at Paila. Mr. Campbell's Treasure Trove Report, and his list of marks, which he has kindly let me see, show that while, as already noted, only 13 marks occur in certain fixed groups on the obverse of 1,210 coins, no less than 89 marks, in which also all varieties of the same object have been included under one number, occur on the reverse.

Among the coins from Afghanistan described by Mr. E. D. Bessely,¹ out of the 58 wadmaghar coins 11, namely one-fourth, bear no mark on the reverse, and out of the 54 "Roughly Circular or Oval Coins" two, namely more than one-third, bear no mark on the reverse.

The marks on the reverse may be the marks of merchants and money-changers through whose hands the coins passed.

One mark on the reverse of the present coins (Fig. 55) is very interesting, as a close examination of it shows that this mark on the reverse of coins Nos. 19, 41 and 84 not only is it the same mark, but that it has been punched with the identical punch.

The illustrations of the coins on the plates are not quite full size. They are 54 of the actual size of the coins.

My thanks are due to Dr. Caldwell, *B.A., M.A., F.R.S., F.R.C.S., F.R.C.V., F.R.C.P.,* for having kindly weighed the present coin.

NOTE.

On Plate III, the obverse and reverse of coin 113 have, by mistake, been transposed. The one shown as the obverse at the top of the Plate being the reverse; and the one shown as the reverse at bottom of the Plate being the obverse.

On Plate IV, Fig. 36 is a reverse mark, occurring on the reverse of coin 113, and has, by mistake, been shown amongst the obverse marks.

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, 1891, p. 127.

LIST OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS.

| No. | Weight and size. | Diagrams. | Remarks. |
|-----|------------------|--|----------|
| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. |
| | | <p>CLAIM 1.</p> <p>Figure composed of three circles and three collinear straight lines, a central circle with a dot in its center, Fig. 1; Box, Fig. 2; Part of foliage, the foliage being represented by six dots, Fig. 3; Intermittent lightning, Fig. 4.</p> <p>SEE CLAIM 1.</p> <p>An additional mark, hereafter being used, Fig. 5.</p> | |
| 1 | 300 31 x 2 | First marks in total of four — Figs. 1, 2, 3, & 4 and 5, Pl. 1. | Blank. |
| 2 | 316 132 x 22 | None — — — | None. |
| 3 | 331 132 x 25 | None — — — | None. |
| 4 | 529 132 x 28 | As in coin No. 1, with an additional mark of six dots round a central dot (Fig. 16). This mark has been purchased partly coin No. 6 (Part of foliage) and partly over No. 2 (Lightning), Pl. 1. | None. |
| 5 | 338 145 x 9 | As in coin No. 1; Pl. 1. | None. |
| 6 | 316 132 x 2 | None — — — | None. |

| No. | Weight and dim. | Measure. | Contents. |
|-----|--------------------|---|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | CLASS A. | |
| | | Specimens 1—1000. | |
| 2 | 254 1.05 × 9 | Specs 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, also an additional spec. of a small oval, diff. in its real shape. | Blank. |
| 6 | 254 1.05 × 10 | Specs 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, all as usual. | Blank. |
| 9 | 401 1.15 × 10 | Spec. Pl. 1. The only 1/2 inch and 1 inch specimens. | Very small circular med., Pl. 1, 2, and another hole also med. |
| 10 | 401 1.15 × 10 | Specimen No. 1, Pl. 1. | Blank. |
| 21 | 510 1.22 × 10 | Spec. Pl. 1. | Blank. |
| 24 | 510 1.22 × 10 | Specimen No. 1, Pl. 1. | Blank. |
| 18 | 401 1.15 × 9 | Spec. (This coin is broken and a piece is missing.) | Blank. |
| 19 | 510 1.22 × 10 | Spec. ... | Blank. |
| 12 | 510 1.22 × 1.00 | Spec. (This coin is broken and has piece lost in some place.) | Blank. |
| 10 | 510 1.22 × 1.00 | Spec. (This coin is broken and has piece lost in some place.) | Blank. |
| 27 | 510 1.22 × 9 | Spec. (This coin is broken and has piece lost in some place.) | Blank. |

Note.—Class II and 3, also being N. 510 class, but I only identified the fragments of the piece of Fig. 2 (Rightmost spec.) on further examination after the circular hole removed (hole in their oval ends, on a separate class. As the change in their place on the list would have affected the numbers of the coins in Class I and II, these 2728 have been left in their original place in the list.

| No. | Weight and Size | Character. | Remarks. |
|-----|-----------------|--|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | <p>CLASS 1. For Class 2</p> <p>In additional work, it pleat with border on package. Insects. The mark is character only 17, Fig. 15.</p> | |
| 20 | 218 142 x 22 | Works 1, 2, 3 and 4, and added red, mostly a pleat with border, 18, 19. (Fig. 15 is border less, due to work but is com- plete.) | A series of insect marks. Fig. 15. |
| 22 | 210 142 x 2 | As in only 15, Pl. I. | Works number mark with small hole in the mark. The mark only is. A series of marks which it appears to be in the red but has the addition of red on which the same may have been used for writing the above pos- ition. Further markings on the record of insects, that of these only. |
| 23 | 210 96 x 20 | As in only 15, Pl. I. | Five dots in a series rather to the additional above mark on only 15, Fig. 15, Pl. I. |
| 24 | 210 104 x 41 | Mark -- | Figure containing series of the marks, Fig. 15, and small dot of the square top, Fig. 15, Pl. I. |
| 25 | 210 96 x 42 | Like The Square, Fig. 15 is printed partly over Fig. 15. This only also has an extra mark Fig. 15, Pl. I. | Very small distinct mark. |

| No. | Weight and size. | Stamps. | Remarks. |
|-----|------------------|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | CLASS 4. | |
| | | Free-Case 2. | |
| | | In Additional Mark: 1 Point of suspension different design, Fig. 11. | |
| 24 | 212 93 x 62 | Free Mark, Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, as in the product stamp and 10th Mark, Fig. 11, Pl. 1. | Dark. Fig. 10, Pl. I & II. |
| 25 | 215 112 x 64 | 10th — — — — — | Dark. |
| 26 | 217 106 x 68 | 10th — — — — — | Dark. |
| 27 | 224 108 x 68 | 10th, Pl. I. | White round, marked and 10th Mark as given in Fig. 10, and Fig. 10, Pl. III. |
| | | Free-Case 4. | |
| | | In Additional Mark: 1 No pointed Flange, Fig. 14. | |
| 28 | 229 102 x 67 | Mark 1, 2, 3, 4 and ad- ditional mark if the point of design, Fig. 14. | White circular Mark with point (see in center, Fig. 64, Pl. III). |
| 29 | 233 104 x 67 | 10th with 10, Pl. I. | Dark. |
| 30 | 235 101 x 1 | 10th — — — — — | Dark. |
| 31 | 237 102 x 62 | 10th, Pl. I. | As indicated mark which does not appear to have been a grade. |
| 32 | 245 115 x 61 | 10th — — — — — | Dark. |

| No. | Weight and size. | Character. | Remarks. |
|--|------------------|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| <p>CLASS 4.</p> <p>Sub-Class 4-a-cold.</p> | | | |
| 32 | 374 1/2 x 90 | As in sub M, Fig. 11 | Mark Fig. 22, as in remark of sub M and 75. |
| 33 | 378 1/2 x 90 | Like — — | Mark. |
| 34 | 386 1/2 x 90 | The impression of the additional mark, Fig. 11, is first on the external only half of B, then on the edge of the rim. | Like |
| 35 | 421 1/2 x 90 | As in sub M, with an additional mark of a mark or wheel without a rim, Fig. 11, Pl. II. | Like |
| <p>Sub-Class 4-b.</p> | | | |
| 36 | 401 1 x 90 | With additional mark of a structural branch, Fig. 14. | Impression of an additional mark on the mark is 11/10/10/10. |
| | | Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 with additional mark, a structural branch, Fig. 14. | |
| 37 | 404 1/2 x 90 | Also two sides marks on each round a central dot, Fig. 16, and an additional mark of a mark (see in the center of a circular mark, Pl. I). | Mark as Fig. 16, Pl. III. |
| | | With additional mark, a structural branch with a line on the line (Fig. 12, Pl. II). | |

| No. | Polysyllable | Diagon. | Exempl. |
|-----|-----------------|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | CLASS A. SubClass 1. | |
| | | by additional mark; then 20 to 25 mm. (Fig. 17, Pl. I.) | |
| 80 | 551 105 = 56 | Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 15. | Mark. |
| 110 | 518 105 = 58 | As in sub 10 and an additional mark. (Fig. 18A, Pl. I.) | Mark. |
| 60 | 517 1 = 58 | As in sub 10; Pl. I. | Marks: Fig. 60, and two squares over a horizontal. (Fig. 61, Pl. III.) |
| 44 | 519 105 = 58 | 105 | On this round mark the 105 shows Fig. 18, but smaller; and, (which) is complete, mark of 105 dots on the edge of the mark. Pl. III. |
| 60 | 518 111 = 57 | 105 | Form of string hole. (Fig. 60) mark from the same mark as in previous of sub 15; Pl. III. |
| | | SubClass 7. | |
| | | As additional mark. For 20 to 25 mm. (Fig. 18, Pl. I.) | |
| 44 | 128 1 = 59 | Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 15. | Mark. |

| No. | Weight and size | Obverse. | Reverse. |
|--------------|-----------------|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| CLASS A. | | | |
| Sub-Class B. | | | |
| 43 | 213 1 x 31 | As additional mark: a figure resembling a three-digit on a horizontal line over the vertical lines (Fig. 18.) Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 10, in which only those of the vertical lines show in the mark on this coin. It also has an extra mark of three y and 10 combined at one end; this mark is therefore (Fig. 19.) | Blank. |
| 45 | 118 1 x 34 | Figures 1, 2, 3, 4 and 10. The two vertical lines are nearly above an 118 coin as in Fig. 12. Pl. 1. | See Fig. 18, and 1 digit with 8 10. (see outline Pl. 21.) |
| Sub-Class B. | | | |
| 46 | 216 1 x 32 | With additional mark of seven vertical lines and a horizontal line, resembling a comb (Fig. 20.) | Blank. |
| Sub-Class B. | | | |
| 47 | 211 1 x 31 | With additional mark, possibly a comb. (Fig. 21.) | Blank. |
| 48 | 215 1 x 30 | Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 10, Pl. 1. | Blank. |
| 49 | 212 1 x 32 | Blank. Pl. 1. | Blank. |
| 50 | 214 1 x 33 | Blank. Pl. 1. | Blank. |
| 51 | 217 1 x 34 | As additional mark (Fig. 22) has been provided over each 1. | |

| No. | Weight and size. | Remarks. | Drawn. |
|--|---------------------|--|-----------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| <p>CLASS 4.</p> <p>PRE-CLASS 15.</p> <p>Additional Mark: eight- pointed star. Fig. 14.</p> | | | |
| 33 | 40.5 1.65 x .56 | Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 14. Fig. 15. | Flask. |
| <p>PRE-CLASS 16.</p> <p>Additional Mark: thick object with two pins on each side (Fig. 16) and a central hole (Fig. 17).</p> | | | |
| 37 | 10.6 1.00 x .54 | Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 25. This class has a thick mark, as shown in a triangle (Fig. 20) placed over 1. In addition, mark what has been placed over mark 1; Fig. 22. | Whimsy character dot. |
| <p>PRE-CLASS 17.</p> <p>Additional Mark: Four- pointed star. Fig. 27.</p> | | | |
| 38 | 42.5 1.68 x .56 | Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 27. There are also three addi- tional marks: a curved line with a dot, Fig. 29; a mark which may possibly be the French letter 'e' and an additional character mark. Pl. 17. | Mark. |
| <p>PRE-CLASS 18.</p> <p>Additional Mark: a triangle. Fig. 18.</p> | | | |
| 40 | 10.9 1.0 x .50 | Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 18. Also a mark mark. Fig. 19, and the oval corner of a second mark, which is additional. Pl. 17. | Dot. |

| No. | Weight and size. | Obverse. | Reverse. |
|-----|--------------------------------|--|----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | CLASS A. | |
| | | Sub-Class 10. | |
| | | Additional Mark: a curved line and a dot. (Fig. 11). | |
| 80 | 42.4 18-20 | Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. ... | Mark. |
| | | Sub-Class 1. | |
| 81 | 91.2 18.5-19 | Marks 1, 2, 3, 4 and 10. (Figs. 12) given, are close reproduction to be a portion of Mark 2. (Elevation right). (Fig. 13). This is a close copy belongs to Class A, Sub-Class 1. (Pl. 11). | No. |
| | | Sub-Class 10. | |
| | | Small (Kurt) mark. | |
| 82 | 49.1 18-19 (descriptive) | Marks 1, 2, 3, 4. Mark 1 is punched in two places, each only showing in part. | No. |
| 83 | 91.7 18-20 | Incomplete on the coin is shown. On this piece of the coin there are only marks. (Figs. 1, 2 and 3). | No. |
| | | CLASS B. | |
| | | Marks 1, 2, 3 (but not 4) together with an additional fourth mark. | |
| | | Sub-Class 1. | |
| | | With fourth mark; (unclear) of this. (Figs. 4.) | |
| 84 | 82.28 18.4-20 | Position, 1, 2, 3 and 5, Pl. 12. | No. |

| No. | Weight and Size | Character. | Form. |
|---|------------------|---|------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| CLASS B. | | | |
| See-CLASS B.—continued. | | | |
| 82 | 11-9 11 x 90 | As on rule 81; Pl. II. | Block. |
| 83 | 11-10 11 x 90 | As on rule 81. The rule is broken in three places, one place relating (including half of the back of the longest ball). | Block. |
| 84 | 11-11 11 x 90 | As on rule 81. The rule is broken, but is complete. | Block. |
| SUB-CLASS B. | | | |
| Rules such as above. | | | |
| 85 | 11-12 11 x 91 | Rules 1, 2, 3 and on rule 1111. Rule 1 is printed in two places, Pl. II. | Block. |
| See-CLASS B. | | | |
| No fourth block. | | | |
| 86 | 11-13 11 x 91 | Rules 1, 2 and 3. | Block. |
| CLASS C. | | | |
| Rules 1 and 2; also (Fig. 5) and on rule 1111 (Fig. 6). | | | |
| See-CLASS C. | | | |
| No additional mark. | | | |
| 87 | 11-14 11 x 91 | Rules 1, 2, 3 and 4; Pl. II. | Fig. 5; Pl. III. |
| 88 | 11-15 11 x 91 | As on rule 79; Pl. II. | Block. |

| No. | Weight and size | Obverse. | Reverse. |
|--|-------------------------------|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| CLASS C. | | | |
| Seri-23234 1—contd. | | | |
| 74 | 291 97 x 94 | As on coin 70, P. 11. | Blank. |
| 75 | 293 98 x 97 | Idem. | Idem. |
| 76 | 295 100 x 99 | Idem. P. 11. | No date noted; marked like Obverse Fig. 57; P. 11. |
| 77 | 296 100 x 99 | Idem. | Rev. but slightly different from Fig. 5; also rim, as before, Fig. 56. The upper mark resembles the apex of a wheel, there is a double ring in the center, and no other rim to the apex, as in Fig. 5. |
| 78 | 294 100 x 94 | Idem. | Blank. |
| 79 | 274 98 x 95 (Face only) | Idem. | Blank. |
| Seri-23235 4 | | | |
| An additional Mark: a branch of seven leaves (Fig. 11). | | | |
| 76 | 295 100 x 99 | Revers: 1, 2, 3, 4 as on coin 75, and additional mark. Fig. 11; P. 11. | Fig. 71. |
| 79 | 295 100 x 99 | As on coin 75... | No date noted; marked like Obverse Fig. 11; P. 11. |
| Seri-23236 4. | | | |
| Additional Mark: a branch of seven leaves rising from a round base, Fig. 11. | | | |
| 81 | 299 100 x 99 | Revers: 1, 2, 3, 4 as on coin 75, and additional mark, a seven leaf mark and terminating in a round base. | Reversed: triangle with three seven leaf branches around it. Fig. 72; P. 11. |

| No. | No. 34 and 40. | Object. | Remarks. |
|-----|----------------|---|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | CLASS 11. | |
| | | Sub-Class 4. | |
| | | With additional Mark; which resembles a hand- ing figure with a ball but without the hand shown separately, perhaps a monkey. Fig. 56; Pl. II. | |
| 81 | 814 761-78 | Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 and 94; and a small addition depicting a circular crown. | Black. |
| 82 | 821 170-71 | Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 and 94; also an additional mark; a circle in shape of the letter E; Fig. 58. | Light. |
| | | Sub-Class 5. | |
| | | With an additional mark of a triangle; Fig. 59. | |
| 83 | 830 94-95 | Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 (as on side 79) and 94; Pl. II. | Flower of seven petals; Fig. 59. This mark is made by the blacked pencil as on the reverse of side 18 and 42; Pl. III. |
| | | Sub-Class 6. | |
| | | With an additional Mark; resembling a triangle Fig. 60. | |
| 84 | 841 95-99 | Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 (as on side 79) and 94; Pl. II. | As above, the setting of which is not clear; Fig. 60; Pl. III. |

| No. | Weight and dim. | Obverse. | Reverse. |
|-----|--------------------|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | <p>CLASS C.</p> <p>See Class 7.</p> <p>With an additional mark of a dot placed below, Fig. 24; Pl. II.</p> | |
| 85 | 800 1.04 x .91 | Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 and 12. | None. |
| | | <p>See Class 8.</p> <p>With an additional mark of a wheel with spokes, but without a rim, Fig. 15. This coin is broken and a piece is missing. Pl. II.</p> | |
| 86 | 804 1 x .94 | Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 and 12. | A mark in the form of the letter R, Fig. 86; Pl. III. |
| | | <p>See Class 8.</p> <p>With two additional marks, a vertical dot, with an additional Fig. 87, three of which, or one of the two ending in dots, similar to reverse mark, Fig. 88, and a cross in round enclosed device; Pl. II.</p> | |
| 87 | 802 1.02 x .92 | Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 and 12. Reverse mark 86, and a cross in square device. | A similar mark of a cross in a rounded device similar to the mark in the obverse of this coin but smaller, Fig. 84. |

| No. | Weight and Size | Design. | Remarks. |
|---|-------------------|--|----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| CLASS C. | | | |
| Sub-Class B. | | | |
| With an additional mark; a curved line with six straight lines and one line ending in a loop radiating from its other end. <i>Fig. 49, Pl. II.</i> | | | |
| 48 | 470 1 x 54 | Marks 1, 2, 7, 8 and 19 | Blank. |
| Sub-Class II. | | | |
| With two additional marks; a wavy pointed line, <i>Fig. 45</i> , and a figure resembling the figure 4 with a loop, <i>Fig. 46</i> , <i>Pl. II.</i> | | | |
| 49 | 510 1 x 51 | Figures 1, 2, 7, 8, 10 and 16. | Blank. |
| CLASS D. | | | |
| Marks 1, 2 and Elephant tail, <i>Fig. 6</i> . | | | |
| Sub-Class I. | | | |
| With an additional mark; a wavy line with five dots, <i>Fig. 42</i> , and triangle with three dots inside, <i>Fig. 43</i> . | | | |
| 50 | 475 1 1/2 x 50 | Marks 1, 2, 3, 4, 12 and 15, <i>Pl. II.</i> | Blank. |
| 51 | 500 1 1/2 x 50 | None | Blank. |
| 52 | 520 1 1/2 x 54 | None, <i>Pl. II.</i> | Blank. |

| No. | Figure and size. | Shape. | Remarks. |
|---|------------------|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| <p>CLASS II.</p> <p>Sub-CLASS 1.—round.</p> | | | |
| 90 | 015 1 × 90 | Marks 1, 5, 6, 4 and 42, 75, 11. | Blank. |
| 96 | 006 90 × 90 | Rect. Mark 42 is very faint. | Sum of two marks, two very well indicated, to describe. |
| <p>Sub-CLASS 2.</p> <p>Similar to the above but no triangle mark Fig. 42. The corners are both intermediate in shape and the triangle mark may be on the wrong portion.</p> | | | |
| 98 | 013 91 × 92 | Marks 1, 2, 8 and 41 (74) and 42. 75, 11. | Blank. |
| 99 | 011 92 × 91 | Ellip. The shape of this one shows that a person is working on which there might have been another mark. The 42 mark, Fig. 2, is printed in two places on this one. | Flower of seven points, Fig. 65, as on the reverse of coin 15, 62 and 69, and, separately, angle with the vertical mark. 75, 111. |
| <p>Sub-CLASS 3.</p> <p>With additional mark, bar and arrow. Fig. 41.</p> | | | |
| 97 | 009 90 × 94 | Marks 1, 2, 8 and 47, 75, 11. | Ellipse with a dot at each apex, Fig. 73; and a figure consisting of an oval and four parallel lines united by a line at right angles; possibly two separate marks, Fig. 50; 75, 115. |

| No. | Weight and size | Description | Remarks |
|---|-----------------|--|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| CLASS II. | | | |
| Sub-Class A—cont. | | | |
| 98 | 404 90 x 50 | Marks 1, 2, 3 and 4. This rule has no other mark of a cylinder of this size and weight. Fig. 10; Pl. II. | Four marks. Small one's on left's head with 24/100, similar to Fig. 25. 47. Overlap Fig. 6. Not similar; design. Fig. 10; mark also more marks in rounded corner; and a box towards the side of a circular corner, Pl. III. |
| Sub-Class B | | | |
| With additional mark; oblonged. Same, similar to Fig. 25. | | | |
| 99 | 404 90 x 70 | Marks 1, 2, 3 and 4, and an additional mark, a small one (see, Fig. 10; Pl. II). | Indicates mark to describe same. |
| Sub-Class C. | | | |
| Marks 1, 2, 3, 4, with additional mark. Fig. 10. | | | |
| 100 | 404 90 x 100 | Marks 1, 2, 3 and 4, Pl. II. | None. |
| CLASS III. | | | |
| Marks 1 and 2 with additional marks. | | | |

| No. | Weight and size. | Obverse. | Reverse. |
|-----|------------------|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | <p>CLASS II.</p> <p>FIGURE 1.</p> <p>With two additional marks: for this is a triangle, Fig. 6, and a square divided into four with a dot in each, Fig. 22, Pl. I.</p> | |
| 106 | 81.4 -87 = 60 | Marks 1, 2, 21 and 22, and two additional marks, a small equilateral triangle, and an indistinct mark. | Mark Fig. 73, resembling the rev. mark, obverse Fig. 8, but with apex at the opposite end; lines of which show on the gross obverse. It differs entirely from the rev. mark, Fig. 4, on the obverse of this and the other coins. |
| | | <p>FIGURE 2.</p> <p>With two additional marks: The "dot" mark of a corner divided into four, Fig. 23, & the square divided into four, Fig. 22.</p> | |
| 107 | 49.2 81 = 72 | Marks 1, 2, 22, and 23, also an additional mark, a small object (possibly 1) Fig. 24. | Mark. |
| 108 | 84.0 111 = 50 | Marks 1, 2, 21 and 22, and small, pale, oval object. The obverse of this coin is shown, by mistake, among the Reverse coins on Pl. III. | Two marks, those of the reverse obverse, also pointed down; right-pointed down; the pointed down; Fig. 25. Over the last is placed instead of a smaller right-pointed down; from this round, a central dot, is a circular legend, with five rays; branch (1) and small portion of an indistinct mark on the margin. The reverse of this coin is shown, by mistake, among the Reverse coins on Pl. III. |

| No. | Weight and size | Observ. | Remarks |
|-----|-----------------|---|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | CLASS II. | |
| | | Sub-Class 6. | |
| | | With additional mark, a large circular hole probably part of Fig. 3. | |
| 104 | 229 144 = 91 | Broken in three places; both complete. Marks 1 and 2 and a large circular hole, probably part of mark 3 (part with "Pence") the inside of which would half outside the side. The rest of the side is covered with a layer of copper which was apparently worked up. | Small. |
| | | Sub-Class 4. | |
| | | Additional Mark a coin's or two's hole. Fig. 27. | |
| 105 | 277 94 = 90 | Marks 1, found M. Pl. III. | Interband elongated. Mark 1 is, but smaller than above, Fig. 4; and a mark as shown in Fig. 80, Pl. III. |
| | | Sub-Class 2: (part 2.) | |
| 106 | 271 91 = 77 | Marks 1 and 2, "ball," Fig. 29; double wheel, Fig. 10; and another isolated mark only partly on the side, Pl. III. | Spaced of Subclass, Fig. 21, Pl. III. |

| No. | Weight and size. | Design. | Remarks. |
|-----|------------------|---|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | CLASS E. Semi-CLASS E. | |
| | | Additional Marks; two Indian Mark marks. | |
| 100 | 400 42 x 40 | Marks 1 and 2; and two additional marks; one apparently a branch but of different design to Figs. 14, 15(a) and 16. | Indistinct mark; a portion of a mark of a circular ring around a small central hole. |
| | | CLASS F. | |
| 101 | 417 42 x 74 | Marks 3 and 4 (Elephant and) only, PL. 11. | Blank. |

TABLE I.

The Classification of the Colon.

| Class | Inductory spectra of each class; Fig. 30 Plate 15. | Definitive additional width of each subclass; Fig. 32 Plate 17. | Number of specimens classified subclasses. | Total number of the total of the specimens. | Colon bearing series spectra | | |
|---------------|--|---|---|--|------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| | | | | | Number of series. | Total number of series. | Description of series. |
| I | — | 2 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 6 |
| Class 4. | Plate 1, 6, 6, 6, 6 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Sub-class I | — | Fig. 6 | 10 | 1-10 | 1 | 7 | Fig. 6 (1st and 2nd) |
| Sub-class II | — | Fig. 10 | 6 | 11-16 | 2 | 11 | Fig. 10 |
| Sub-class III | — | Fig. 11 | 6 | 17-22 | 3 | 11 | — |
| Sub-class IV | — | Fig. 14 | 6 | 23-28 | 3 | 11 | — |
| Sub-class V | — | Fig. 16 | 1 | 29 | 1 | 11 | Fig. 16 (1st and 2nd) |
| Sub-class VI | — | Fig. 22 (a) | 1 | 30 | 1 | 11 | Fig. 22 (a) (1st and 2nd) |
| Sub-class VII | — | Fig. 22 (b) | 1 | 31-32 | 1 | 11 | Fig. 22 (b) |

| Class sub-class | Figures to which this class applies Fig. 1 to 10 | Figures to which this class applies Fig. 11 to 20 | Figures to which this class applies Fig. 21 to 30 | Figures to which this class applies Fig. 31 to 40 | Figures to which this class applies Fig. 41 to 50 | Figures to which this class applies Fig. 51 to 60 | Other leading 100's marks | | |
|--------------------|--|---|---|---|---|---|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| | | | | | | | Number of marks | Total number of marks | Description of marks |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| Class B | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| Sub-class 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| Class C | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| Sub-class 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 7 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 8 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| 9 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |

A cross with each
arm terminating in
a small loop
small rectangular object.

TABLE II.
Coins with Marks on the Reverse.

| Serial No. of coin in the List. | Class and Sub-class of Coin. | Figures in Plate IV. |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 9 | A. 1 | 18 |
| 38 | A. 2 | 28 |
| 39 | A. 3 | Mitre-shaped mark with small loop in centre (not figured). |
| 90 | A. 8 | Obverse mark 18. |
| 21 | A. 2 | 60 and 81 |
| 22 | A. 2 | Very small indented mark. |
| 84 | A. 9 | 79 |
| 30 | A. 2 | 18 and obverse mark 18, which also occurs on the reverse of 95, 74 and 78. |
| 27 | A. 4 | Mitre-shaped mark with small loop in centre. |
| 24 | A. 1 | 18 |
| 98 | A. 4 | Indented mark. |
| 91 | A. 2 | 60 |
| 80 | A. 8 | 80, 17 and a star or flower. |
| 44 | A. 4 | Obverse mark 18. |
| 42 | A. 8 | 59 |
| 16 | A. 8 | 68 |
| 15 | A. 14 | 60 and a star similar to 18, but with fewer rays and a small circular loop (not figured). |
| 87 | A. 16 | Mitre-shaped dot (not figured). |
| 70 | B. 1 | 68 |
| 74 | C. 2 | Obverse mark 18. |
| 78 | C. 2 | 70 and a variety of 80 mark (Fig. E). |

| Serial No. of coin in the lot. | Character and location of mark. | Figure in Plate IV. |
|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 78 | C. 3 | 71 |
| 79 | C. 2 | Obverse mark 12. |
| 80 | . 4 | 72 |
| 81 | C. 5 | 73 |
| 82 | C. 6 | 74 |
| 83 | C. 7 | 75 |
| 84 | C. 8 | 76 |
| 85 | C. 9 | 77 |
| 86 | C. 10 | 78 |
| 87 | C. 11 | Trace of two indistinct marks. |
| 88 | C. 12 | 79 |
| 89 | D. 1 | 80 |
| 90 | D. 2 | 81 |
| 91 | D. 3 | 82 |
| 92 | D. 4 | 83 and 84 obverse mark in circular border and 85 and 86 obverse mark. |
| 93 | D. 5 | Indistinct mark in circular border. |
| 94 | E. | 86 |
| 95 | F. | <p>87</p> <p>Obverse marks. Figs. 88 and 89, obverse Fig. 84, showing obverse of reverse with coin upside; also another obverse right-angled down, or, possibly, when, in the plate is (7) upside the obverse; mark of four large dots round a central dot; a mark of five dots round the upper part of a lance-shaped object; and three other indistinct marks.</p> <p>The marks on this coin are peculiar; as they are all full size and appear to be all of the nature of obverse marks, and are deeply punched into the coin in the manner of marks on the obverse. They are punched independently one on each other. Only one mark, the diamond-shaped one, is indistinct. It would appear that this coin may have been used as a test for trying various punches.</p> <p>The marks on the reverse of this coin, on the other hand, are more lightly punched than those on the obverse.</p> |

| Serial No. of owl in the List. | Class and Sub-class of Owl. | Figure in Plate IV. |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. | 2. | 3. |
| 129 | F. | Isolated triangle (males) 80. |
| 130 | R. | 81 |
| 131 | G. | Isolated male. |



TABLE III.

Description of the Marks on the Coins as Illustrated on Pl. IV.

| Figure on Plate IV. | Description of Mark. | Class and Sub-class. | Number of coins on which the mark appears. | Number of the coins in the lot. |
|---------------------|--|----------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1 | Three marks on reverse of laurel, apparently round, a central circle with a dot in the center, the "Tig mark." | A.5 | 108 | 101 |
| 2 | The "Tig mark," a circle with edge round, a dot in the center. | A.5 | 100 | 42, except one 128. |
| 3 | Put of wings, represented by an oval line surrounded by six dots. | A.5.25 | 31 | 1-49 and 69 |
| 4 | Two interlaced triangles with a circle inside them in the center, and six dots round them within the outer angles. | A.1.69 | 69 | 1-12 |
| 5 | Elephant facing right. | A.1 | 10 | 1-75, 85, 89 |
| 6 | Winged bull facing left. | B.1 | 4 | 81-87 |
| 7 | Lion (or P) facing right. | C.1-11 | 20 | 76-83 |
| 8 | Bull's or cow's head with garland, represented by dots. | C.1-12 | 20 | 76-95 |
| 9 | Elephant facing left. | D.1-3 | 11 | 96-106 |
| 10 | A plant with leaves or, perhaps, flowers. This mark is absent on coin 128. | A.5 | 5 | 28-32 |
| 11 | A plant of different design, without leaves. | A.5 | 3 | 33-35 |
| 12 | A bunch of olive leaves. | A.5 | 3 | 36 |
| 13 | A bunch of olive leaves rising from a circular base. | A.5 (a) | 1 | 37 |
| 14 | A bunch of olive leaves. | C.2 | 2 | 98, 99 |
| 15 | Winged bull with hollow wings. | A.4 | 10 | 127-35, 93 |

| Figure on Plate IV | Description of Mark | Class and Sub-class | Number of coins on which the mark appears | Number of the coins in the lot. |
|--------------------------|---|---------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16 | A wheel of six spokes, but without a rim; perhaps a star. | C. 8 | 1 | 88 |
| 19 | Six dots round a central dot ... | A. 64, C. 9 | 2 | A. 81 and 87 |
| 17 | Three dots in a row ... | A. 8 | 2 | 89-92 |
| 18 | Five dots (perhaps) within a square. | A. 7 | 1 | 93 |
| 19a | Figure representing the letter T superimposed on another. | A. 9 | 1 | 94 |
| 22 | A figure resembling a three-sided cone or a horizontal bar over five vertical lines (forming a cross). | A. 10 | 2 | 94-95 |
| 20 | Curved lines, probably a star. | A. 10 | 4 | 95-96 |
| 21 | A thick wheel-like figure, an oval, with a straight bar through its lengthwise and a line curving towards one side. | A. 11 | 2 | 97-98 |
| 21 | Two straight lines sloping out at one end to form a point, and a straight line to the right of them. The meaning is unknown. May, possibly, be the Greek letter π . | A. 12 | 1 | 99 |
| 22 | A curved line from the edge of a wheel, to the right of it, a curved line with a straight bar through its right extremity. The meaning is not known. May, possibly, be the Greek letter π . | A. 13 | 1 | 99 |
| 24 | Eight-pointed star ... | A. 15 | 1 | 99 |
| 25 | Thin object, with the two extremities curved in opposite directions. The meaning is not clear. | A. 16 | 1 | 97 |

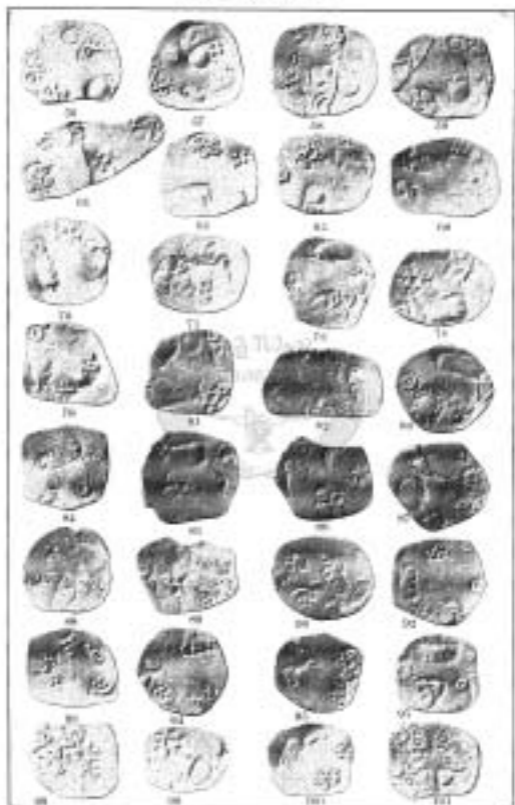
| Figure on Plate IV. | Description of Mark. | Class and Sub-class. | Number of notes on which the mark appears. | Symbol of the note in the list. |
|---------------------------|---|----------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18 | Circular line in a triangle — | A. 10 | 1 | 37 |
| 27 | Uninterrupted lines — | A. 17 | 1 | 18 |
| 38 | Curved object with a dot — | A. 17 | 1 | 18 |
| 39 | Triangle in circular corner — | A. 19, C. 1 | 2 | 65, 66 |
| 39 | Two lines sloping together with dots. | A. 19 | 1 | 19 |
| 31 | A slightly curved line and a dot. | A. 12 | 1 | 30 |
| 32 | End of elliptical, ending right (on note 55) | A. 1 | 10 | 1-17 and 21 |
| 34 | A point with barbs — | A. 21 | 9 | 19 |
| 34 | A wavy line with, or without dots. | C. 3, 4 | 2 | 61, 62 |
| 35 | Circle in form of letter S — | C. 4 | 1 | 72 |
| 35 | Turbine (?) — | C. 4 | 1 | 64 |
| 37 | Flame of cigarette — | C. 4 | 1 | 37 |
| 55 | A wavy line terminated by a straight line. | — | — | — |
| 39 | A right-angled figure with vertical, parallel ending in dots, or right-angled line. | C. 13 | 1 | 39 |
| 40 | Figure as in Figure 3 — | A. 2 | 1 | 22 |
| 41 | Horizontal, sloped, curved line ending in two dots and the line within it. | D. 1, 2 | 2 | 51-52 |
| 42 | Three dots in a triangle — | E. 1 | 1 | 65-64 |
| 43 | Figure like a comb — | A. 9 | 1 | 40 |
| 44 | Two curved lines with a dot within it. | A. 12 | 1 | 46 |

| Figure in Plate IV. | Description of Mark. | Class and Sub-class. | Number of coins on which the mark appears. | Numbers of the coins to the set. |
|---------------------------|---|----------------------------|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 46 | Ten horizontal lines — | C. 11 | 1 | 50 |
| 46 | Figures resembling the figure 8 — | C. 11 | 1 | 50 |
| 47 | Star and cross — | D. 2 | 2 | 83, 18 |
| 48 | Eight horizontal lines — | D. 2 | 1 | 20 |
| 48 | A solid oval circle — | D. 4 | 1 | 50 |
| 50 | Five parallel lines, the middle line being longest, joined by a line at right angles — | D. 5 | 1 | 500 |
| 51 | Five dots in a square — | E. 1 | 1 | 321 |
| 54 | A figure composed of four squares with a dot in each square — | E. 1 | 1 | 321 |
| 55 | The "E" of "E" of "E" — | E. 2 | 2 | 102, 108, 300 |
| 56 | Object as if broken, probably plastic — | E. 3 | 1 | 100 |
| 56 | One circle within another, with six spokes from the center — | E. 3 | 3 | 108, 150, 156 |
| 58 | Flower of six petals, with an oval dot between each petal. This is a device made up of six dots joined by radial straight lines — | — | — | — |
| 57 | Coat of arms' head with torse — | E. 4 | 1 | 100 |
| MARKS IN ONE DESIGN. | | | | |
| 58 | Object as if broken, probably plastic — | A. 3 | 1 | 2 |
| 59 | Flower of six petals — | A. 3, 6, C. 2, E. 2 | 4 | 15, 40, 55, 80 |

| Figure on Plate IV. | Description of Mark. | Class and Sub-class. | Number of coins on which the mark appears. | Number of the coins in the lot. |
|---------------------------|--|----------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 60 | Flower of six petals ... | A. 3 | 1 | 65 |
| 61 | Small flower of six petals ... | A. 3 | 1 | 22 |
| 62 | Figure as illustrated ... | A. 3, 4, C. 1 | 8 | 22, 24, 70 |
| 63 | Figure of three squares in diagonal. The design shows that it is not an incomplete impression of a group of three squares. | A. 3 | 1 | 39 |
| 64 | Circle with small circle object in center. | | 1 | 37 |
| 65 | Figure of six small circles and four triangles within. | A. 3(a) | 1 | 37 |
| 66 | Small circle object, several like an impression of a mark. | A. 6, C. 6 | 2 | 49, 50 |
| 67 | Two square placed diagonally one against the other. | A. 8 | 1 | 40 |
| 68 | Star or star ... | A. 8 | 3 | 46 |
| 69 | Star with rays, several from right to left. | A. 14 | 1 | 55 |
| 70 | A double circle with dot in center and small square petals around. | C. 1 | 1 | 75 |
| 71 | Figure as illustrated ... | C. 2 | 1 | 78 |
| 72 | An isolated triangle surrounded by three dots. | C. 2 | 1 | 80 |
| 73 | Figure as illustrated; the marking is not clear. | C. 3 | 1 | 84 |
| 74 | Small mark; a mark is several times. | C. 3 | 1 | 87 |
| 75 | Elliptical figure with a dot at each spot. | C. 3 | 1 | 87 |

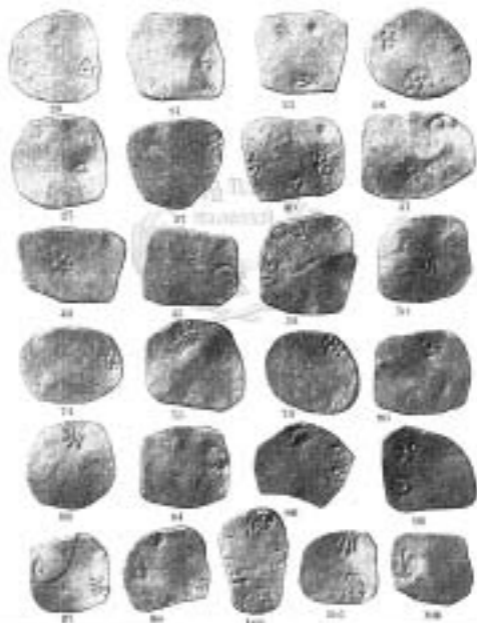
| Figure on Plate V. | Description of Mark. | Class and Sub class. | Division of color on which the mark appears. | Number of the color in the list. |
|--------------------------|---|----------------------------|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 75 | Base inverted. Base joined by a horizontal line, and an oval passing two separate times. | D. 3 | 1 | 97 |
| 77 | Half's or one's head with gar- land; similar to Classen Fig. 6, but smaller. | D. 4 | 1 | 99 |
| 78 | A central base with three lines curving outwards from it, two of them hitting three dots on their outer side. The mark appears to be sym- plectic one. | D. 2 | 1 | 98 |
| 79 | Mark like the line mark, but with only three rays at the quadrate. | E. 1 | 1 | 104 |
| 80 | Three longer and three shorter straight lines, converging together, at distal end. | E. 4 | 1 | 105 |
| 81 | Branch of two lines | E. 2 | 1 | 106 |





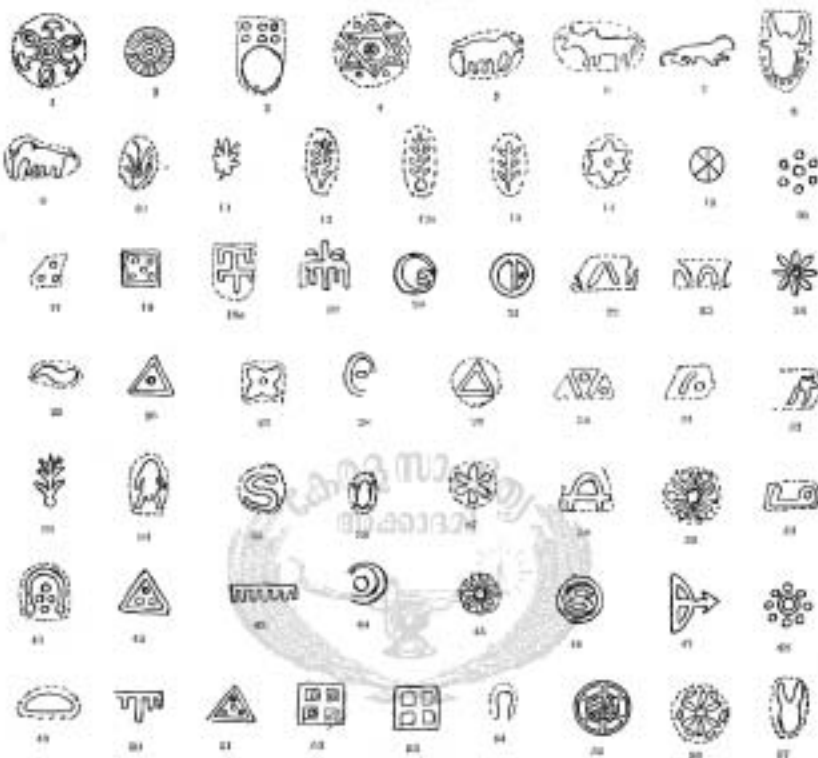


Obverse.

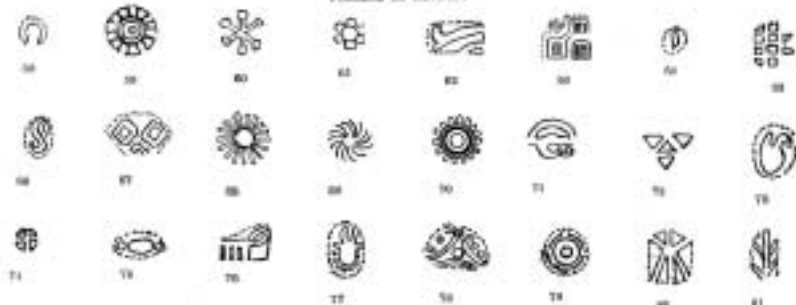


Reverse.

SHRIMP OR KAPRAN



TINKARA OR BATHING



II.—“Puri Kushan” Coins.

By E. H. C. WALSH, C.S.I.

The coins which are described in the present paper were found on the northern slope of the Bakha Hills in the district of Singhbhum.¹ They were found buried about one foot below the surface. Three of the coins were lying exposed to view, and this led to further search by the removal of the top soil. In all, 303 coins were discovered lying together. Small fragments of a broken clay pot were found with the coins, and might or might not have been used originally to contain the coins. The pieces of pot are, however, so small that no conclusions can be drawn from them. The coins were found in two places; the major portion were discovered on May 31st, 1917, and the balance a few days later, upon a further search being made. Nothing corresponding to a mint was discovered, and no evidence has been discovered, as yet, of a Mint² stood near the place where the coins were found. An old road runs past the place of find in close proximity to a small river, within a quarter of a mile of ancient copper workings and surrounded by copper-slag heaps. It is possible that the Mint might have been erected near the spot.³ The fact that the edges of the coins had not been rubbed leads a measure of support to this possibility.

The coins are of the type known as “Puri Kushan,” so called from the fact that a number of these coins were found in the Puri District in 1892 and were described by Dr. Hoernle in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1893.

¹ The coins which are illustrated on the Plate in the present paper, are in the Bihar and Orissa Coin Cabinet in the Public Museum and are entries, Nos. 582 to 585, in the General Register—E. H. V.

² The above illustration has been kindly furnished by Mr. C. Olin, Superintendent of the Cape Copper Company, Ltd., India Works Division, which works situate near the place where the coins were found, is situated.

³ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1893, pp. 61-62.

The find in this case consisted of 346 copper coins, which were found buried in a small earthen pot, two feet below the surface, while excavating earthworks at Garhai Salt Factory at Hambarata in the Puri District. They consisted of two distinct varieties. 47 of the coins were die-struck but were so much worn down by usage, that the designs on most of them are barely discernible. "On some of them, however, sufficient remains to identify them with coins of the Indo-Scythian class. The obverse shows the well-known standing figure of king Kharabha pointing with his right hand down to the fire-altar; the reverse shows figures of MAO or MIPO, AEPO, and OABO, as seen on Kanheri coins. No trace of the legend remains; and in its absence, of course, it is impossible to be quite certain of the identity; but the resemblance of the figures on both the obverse and reverse to those on the corresponding Kanheri coins is very striking.....The whole of the remainder of the coins are cast coins, and very crude imitations of those of Kanheri. They all show two standing figures, one on each face of the coin, with their arms in varying positions. There is no legend but most of them are marked with a crescent placed in varying parts of the field. Accordingly they may be distributed into the following classes and varieties."¹

These latter "Puri Kashan" coins were of different varieties and were classified by Dr. Hearnle as follows:—

Class I.—No crescent on either side,—64 coins.

The coins of this class were of two varieties according to the position of the figures.

Class II.—With crescent on the reverse in the left top of the field,—43 coins.

The coins of this class were of seven varieties according to the position of the figures.

Class III.—With crescent on reverse in right top of field,—169 coins.

The coins of this class were of three varieties according to the position of the figures.

¹ Proc. A. S. B., 1904, p. 55.

Class *FF*.—With crescent on both obverse and reverse,—12 coins.

The coins of this class were of various varieties according to the position of the figures.

Class *F*.—With crescent on head of reverse figure,—1 coin.

There had, however, been a previous find of coins of this type in the Guzman district in 1855 which are described by Mr. Walter Elliot in the *Buland Journal of Literature and Science*, (1855).¹

The coins in that case were found about 4 miles to the west of Parankotnager in the district of Guzman where "close to the modern village of Pandya are the remains of an extensive but now deserted town, surrounded by the debris of a lofty wall."

The coins are described as follows:—

"In the neighbourhood of this place numbers of copper coins are found, of a type different from any other hitherto met with in Southern India, but presenting a striking resemblance to those of the Indo-Scythian group, more especially to the coins of Kanishka. All are much worn, but the following specimen represents one of the most perfect."

"The figure on the obverse and reverse is the same, but in the cut, the position of the arms has been reversed, the right hand being represented down, and the left up, whereas it is the right which should be raised, and the left down."

"No traces of Scythian domination have hitherto been met with so far to the south, but it is hardly possible to look at the design in the above figure and not to identify it with those impressed on the money of that race."

Nine of the Puri coins in the India Museum are described in Vincent Smith's Catalogue of Coins in the India Museum² and an illustration of one is given in Plate XIV. p. 14. Mr. Vincent Smith notes "it is impossible to fix the date of the extremely rude coins: from Puri and Guzman, of which

¹ The *Buland Journal of Literature and Science* edited by the Committee of the Buland Library Society and Aschafey Aschafey Society. Pages 72-77 and 78 (Vol. 2. See *Buland*, April to September, 1855).

² I. H. C. Vol. I, pp. 64-65.

an example is shown in Plate XIV, 14. They may have been issued by rulers of Kallaga in the fourth or fifth century, and it is possible that they may have been struck only for use as temple offerings. All numismatists acknowledge that they exhibit a reminiscence of the characteristic Khmer type.¹

Dr. Hoernle noted that Kushan coins were not Dr. Haver's note that as that was the first division on which Kushan coins had been found in the extreme East of India, the fact of their being found near Puri, the site of an ancient shrine and place of pilgrimage might account for it, and that as regards the present type of cast coins, "whether they were intended to pass as current coins in the ordinary sense may not be quite certain. They may have been meant to be used as temple-offerings by pilgrims, similar to certain imitations of yueh-teh coins found in the Punjab. Possibly they may have been only intended as ornaments."²

Professor Rapson also refers to the above coins.³

With regard to the above remark of Dr. Hoernle, I would note that Kushan coins have been recently found at different places in the Banah district, where there is no reason to suppose that they might have been brought by pilgrims.

It is also improbable that they were cast for the purpose of ornaments; as they would probably, in that case, have been cast with some attachment, by which they could be worn.

Following the plan of classification adopted by Dr. Hoernle, all the coins of the present find, with the exception of the unique coin shown in fig. 3 of the Plate, come under class III "with crescent on reverse in right top of field" which class also comprised the greater number of the coins found in the Puri division.

With the exception of the two coins shown in figs. 1 and 2, the edges of all the coins are rough and, in many cases, bits of metal from the edges of the mould remain attached, as will be seen from the photo, and they do not, therefore, appear to have been in circulation. It will, therefore, appear that the site of the find was a Mint, where these coins were cast.

¹ J. M. C., Vol. 1, pp. 42-43.

² Indian Coins p. 23.

As in the case of the coins previously described, the present coins are, clearly, very rude imitations of the coinage of Kaniishka with the well-known figure of the king with his right hand extended over a fire-altar, and holding a staff or scepter in his left hand, as the obverse; and the figure of the male sun-god, as indicated by the crescent, on the reverse.

There are roughly two varieties of the coins, but, as in fig. 3, where the clothing of the figure of the god on the reverse bears some resemblance to that of the Kushan coins, and, exactly, as in the other coins, now illustrated, in which the figure on the reverse is wearing a coat similar to that of the king on the obverse. In regard to the boots, also, there are two varieties, viz., with the boots shorter and turned up as in figs. 3 and 4 and with the boots shown at much greater length horizontally as in figs. 5-11.

The coins may also be roughly arranged on the lines of classification adopted by Dr. Hirth,¹ according to the position of the arms of the figure on the obverse, by which classification 138 of the coins have the figure of the king on the obverse with the left arm extended horizontally, as in figs. 8 to 9, and 33 of the coins have the arm turned more downwards, as in figs. 7-11. Any such classification, however, appears to be of no value in the case of such rude imitations, in which the variations noted would rather appear to be accidental variations in the mould.

The weights of the coins, including the two coins shown in fig. 1 (142.73 grs.) and fig. 2 (75.10 grs.), vary from 57-18 grs. (fig. 6) to 23.22 grs. They are, therefore, a smaller type of coin than those found in the Panj district, the weights of which vary from 211 to 193 grs.²

The interest of the present find, apart from the single coin (fig. 2), which is of a new type, lies in the fact that it extends the area over which this class of coins has been found,

¹ *J.M.C.*, Vol. I, pp. 34-35.

² *Proc. A.S.E.*, 1895, p. 32.

and the inscription on coin 2 furnishes material for fixing the date of the present find, and to which the coins of this type extended.

As noted by Dr. Hornum, it may be assumed that these coin imitations would not have been made unless the Indo-Scythian coins had still been current in Northern India. These would have been an object in copying as obsolete coinage.¹ Kushan coins have been found in different parts of the Baruch district of Chota Nagpur.² Although, therefore, the coins of the present find are later than the date hitherto assumed, it would seem probable, as noted by Dr. Hornum, that this type of coin existed from the time of the currency of Kushan coins, although the present coin shown in *fig. 2* shows that it continued until considerably later.

The coin shown in *fig. 2* is particularly interesting, as being of a new type not hitherto found. On the reverse there is the figure of the moon-god with crescent and standing turned up back, as in *fig. 1*, but on the obverse, in place of the figure of the Kushan king, are three cones, which may possibly represent hills, and below them the word *paada*.

The alphabet also is similar to that in the Allahabad Prabhakoti Inscription, *cir.* 225 A.D., signed in table IV, column I, line 11 of Bühler's *Taksh*. The letter *z*, however, appears to be of a later period, the earliest example of this form given by Bühler being that in the Amrothman Inscription, 215 A.D. (*ibid.*, Table IV, column XVII, line 17). This would appear to show that the present find of coins of the "Puri Kushan" type is not earlier than the seventh century.

The symbol of three cones side by side, to represent hills, is very interesting, as it would appear to be a survival of the

¹ *Proc. A. S. N.*, 1893, p. 24.

² A gold coin of the Erythraean type, of Devising is described in P.R.O.R.S., Vol. I, pp. 265-6, and a copper coin of Kushan similar to that described in I.W.G., Vol. I, Plate XI, *fig. 11*, has been recently found in the Khari Bani of the same district.

symbol of one with superimposed on two others hitherto considered to be a *clasp* or *stapa*, found on punch-marked coins and early cast coins, and which also occurs in the form of three strokes placed side by side, as in the case of the coins on the present coin; which symbol, as I have noted with regard to these coins, would appear to have been intended to represent a hill.¹

Since this paper was written, this coin has also been described by Mr. E. D. Bawerl in a paper which appears in the present number of this *Journal*.

The crescent on the reverse of the remaining coins shows that they were copied from those Kashan coins which bore the figure of the Man-god MAO on the reverse, in which the crescent rose from his shoulders. A coin with this figure is given for the purpose of comparison at p. 13 on the Plate. It is a gold coin of *barishka* as I have not been able to obtain a cast of a copper coin of this type. In these imitations the crescent is shown detached from the figure, the left arm of the figure, and, to make room for it on the coin, has been entirely omitted. In the coins found in Persia, there was one coin in which the crescent rose, as in the Kashan coins from the shoulders.

¹ An illustration of a Hind of Punch-Marked Coins in *Pakistan Chp.* By E. H. C. Wadd, *J.E.A.S.*, Volume V, p. 31.

Particulars of the mite-phases on the Plate.

| Phase. | Height. (micra.) | Size (micra.) | Observs. | Remarks. |
|--------|---------------------|------------------|---|---|
| 1 | 111-75 | 60 | Figures with right arm (left arm, left arm raised, both arms spread). | Figures with right arm raised up trailing as left arm retreats to left of left shoulder. |
| 2 | 75-15 | 45 | Three acute processes in a horizontal row; below — "triple". | Similar to, <i>Sp. 1.</i> |
| 3 | 75-10 | 75 | Similar to, <i>Sp. 1.</i> — | Similar to, <i>Sp. 1.</i> |
| 4 | 10-15 | 75 | Figures with right arm raised apexes (left arm extended, both extended horizontally). | Figures in position similar to, <i>Sp. 1.</i> but moving con- stantly to figure of Eastern type on the dorsal. |
| 5 | 10-15 | 75 | Similar to, <i>Sp. 4.</i> — | Similar to, <i>Sp. 4.</i> |
| 6 | 10-15 | 75 | Similar to, <i>Sp. 4.</i> ; both longer horizontally. | Idem. |
| 7 | 10-40 | 75 | Figures similar to, <i>Sp. 4.</i> but with arm longer; both still longer horizontally. | Similar to, <i>Sp. 4.</i> both still longer horizontally. |
| 8 | 10-15 | 75 | Idem — — | Idem. |
| 9 | 10-15 | 75 | Idem — — | Idem. |
| 10 | 10-15 | 75 | Figures similar to, <i>Sp. 4.</i> but with arm shorter; both still longer horizontally. | Idem. |
| 11 | 10-15 | 75 | Idem — — | Idem. |
| 12 | 10-15 | 75 | Idem — — | Idem. |



COINED GOLD OF THE "PUN KUMBA" TYPE, FOUND AT HARIDU
IN SHIMOGHRI DISTRICT (PLATE I-10).

FIG. 10. GOLD COIN OF KASHMIR IN THE 1911 MUSEUM.

Particulars of the crabs shown on the Plate—contd.

| Figure | Weight (Grams) | Sex (Males) | Observations | Remarks |
|--------|-------------------|----------------|---|---|
| 38 | 120.0 | 4 | <p>Crab of the species <i>Callinectes</i>. Type of Crab in the India Museum, Calcutta, Volume I, page 10, fig. 1, page 11, fig. 2. See the description of the species.</p> <p>King standing 1. head raised, neck, antennae and claws, grasping a crab 1. head and body slightly bent to a level over which level of water.</p> | <p>Male, standing standing 1. head raised to level and side; side slightly bent, extended holding 1/2 crab part and left head, ending on tip; a vertical line, extending from the shoulder and to the base of the side.</p> |

III.—Notes on Indian Numismatics.

By H. D. Banerji, M.A.

I.—SANDHAGHATA—SANDHAGHAT TANK.

Coin of this type of the gold coinage of Sandhaghat [Plate I, No. 1] have been found in large numbers all over Northern India, but as far very few coins have been found in Bengal proper. The recorded finds of Imperial Gupta coins in Bengal do not include a specimen of this type. A coin of this type I found in the possession of Lord Carnichael, late Governor of Bengal. It was found some years ago while a tank was being excavated at Chakdighi in the Nadwa District. The land in which the coin was found belongs to Raja Mani Lal Singh Roy of Chakdighi who presented it to Lord Carnichael. I am indebted to Lord Carnichael for permission to publish this coin. The specimen is remarkable for the exceptional purity of its metal. It weighs 117 grs. and is a very well preserved specimen of the type of R. H. C. Allen, page I, No. 1 (planchet type).

II.—PATNA.

Haj Bahadur Chandra John Bahadur, Banker and Hois of Patna, possesses a coin cabinet which is exceptionally rich in Gupta coins. He possesses a specimen of that King of doubtful identity the only known specimen of whose coinage is in the cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.¹ The Patna coin is a duplicate of the specimen described by Mr. V. A. Smith, but on the other hand it is a much better specimen, the legends on which are clearly legible. The name under the right arched is clearly

¹ V. A. Smith: Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 145, No. 1, Pl. XVI, No. 11.



Vasli or *Vasli*. Possibly the full name was *Vaslogajia*.¹ The legend on the reverse is "*Narmlas Vmsh*" as I have stated in my previous note on the subject.² The metal is very impure gold.

III.—AN INDIAN PARI-KRISHNA COIN.

Large numbers of copper coins struck in imitation of the copper coins of the Great Kushans have been discovered in Orissa and Gaudja. They are known as *Pari-krishna*. Professor Rapson in his "*Indian Coins*" states "they bear no inscriptions; but their types are evidently borrowed from those of the famous Eastern Coins of the time of Kanishka."³ The same authority informs us that "in the case of the chief recorded discovery of these coins in the Puri District, they were found in company with genuine Kaniya coins struck in the ordinary manner."⁴ It has been suggested by the same authority that they were in circulation along with the original Kaniya genuine coins, from which they have been copied. Professor Rapson mentions his short description of this class of coins by stating that "in other cases they probably belong to that part of the Kaniya period which lies between the reign of Kanishka and the end."⁵ Professor Rapson allots these coins to the first three centuries of the Christian era but Mr. V. A. Smith in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, states that these coins were issued by the (?) Kings of Kalinga (*Puri* and *Udaypur*) (?) of fourth and fifth century A.D.⁶ So far as I know, no other Numismatist has expressed his opinion about the probable date of this class of coins.⁷ In 1917 His Honour Sir Edward Gait sent a set of these coins to me for examination. One of these coins though belonging to this

¹ [Probably *Pari-krishna*.—E. F. J.]

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1914-15, pt. I, 1112.

³ *Indian Coins*, page 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶ *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, pages 66-67 and 82-83.

⁷ [See note in this Journal by the Hon'ble Mr. Waddell.—E. F. J.]

particular class of coins differed considerably in one respect. On this coin we have a human figure and a crescent on one side only. The reverse has three concentric rings in a line in the upper half of the circle and an inscription consisting of two syllables in the lower. This inscription is the most important part of this find which ought to be put on record. The inscription is "fahāḥ". It provides us with a date which was wanting as long from which the correct date of this class of coins can be deduced. In this inscription the lower form of *ha* is still without the acute angle which is the characteristic of this letter in the seventh century. This later form of *ha* appears for the first time in North-Eastern India in the Indu Gaya inscription of Mahisthana (B.E. 228, 828 A.D.)¹ and the Aṣṭamand inscription of Jellayastha (H.E. 64, 874 A.D.)² The alphabet of the Indu, Gaya inscription appears to be rather too late for the sixth century and therefore that of the Aṣṭamand inscription may be taken to be a fixed point. It may safely be assumed now that the Puri-Kashan coins were issued some time before the middle of the seventh century A.D., possibly in the sixth century. A detailed photographic examination would be out of place here but I am sure that the last-quoted date will not be found very wide of the mark. The word *fahāḥ* means "a stamped coin" or a weight of four *maḥas*.

IV.—A MINT OF ALIPHON MUHAMMAD SHAH MUMBAR IN ARABIA

The collection in the possession of H. E. Halinder Radhakrishna Jagan of Patna contains some unique coins. One of these is a rubrah of Alauddin Muhammad Shah of the Khilji dynasty of Delhi (H. N. Wright, I.M.C., II, page 88, No. 181). The legend on the obverse is complete and quite clear. But instead of being round in shape, the coin is octagonal. So far as our knowledge goes octagonal coins were issued only by the

¹ *First Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 274.

² *Ibid.*, p. 228.



Ahom kings of Assam who minted both gold and silver (in this particular shape. The older Ahom coins have Ahom legends (both script and language). But later on, Bengali language and Bengali script took the place of Ahom with the Indianisation of these Shan princes. Ahom legends were probably used for the last time on the coins of Samskrit or Pramtha Siba (V. A. Smith, I.H.C., Vol. I, page 388). But the octagonal shape was retained till the annexation of the kingdom by the British. The gold coin of Alauddin Muhammad Shah probably changed its shape when it came to Assam and was struck by the Ahom kings. The striking was done on the reverse only where we have the name *Ragha(s)astripaya* (?) below some *Ragha* Sanskrit words. No prince of the Ahom dynasty bore this name. The only prince who reigned in Assam and who bore the name *Ragha* was *Ragha*chandrastraya of the Koch dynasty of Rajshahi. He was brother of Sakhaditya, assumed the title "the Elph king", who was the youngest brother of Natarajaya. *Ragha*chandra was given a portion of the kingdom of Koch Bihar as stated in the days of Natarajaya in order to appease him when some war broke to the latter. Only one coin of this prince is known which has been described by me (Journal and Proceedings of the A.S.B., Vol. VII, page 48). This coin was issued in Saka 1515-1516 A.D. and like all coins of Koch kings is round in shape. The name too is *Ragha*chandrastraya and not *Ragha*astripaya. It is quite probable, however, that for a time *Ragha*chandra imitated the Ahom form of coinage. The name may have been shortened as account of the small size of the coin. So far as is known no other Muhammadan coin has been struck by Koch or Ahom kings.

V.—GOLD COIN OF *Gurjara* or *Maharaja* *Maharaja* or *Bhupal*.

Like No. IV this coin also belongs to Raj Bahadur Bahadur Krishna Jaha of Patna. Gold coins of the independent Sultan of Bengal are extremely rare. This coin is an exact replica of the

[This is not correct. On March 1895 we saw a coin of this king in the A. S. B. in 1895 and described it in Proc. A. S. B., 1895, p. 81—E. P. J.]

silver coins of Ghiyathuddin Muhammad Shah, the younger son of Alauddin Husain Shah who was the last independent Sultan of Bengal. He was defeated and besieged by Sher Khan (afterwards Sher Shah) in the fort of Gaur. Humayun came into conflict with Sher Shah by marching to Bengal to relieve Muhammad Shah. Muhammad Shah died at Kalakanga near Bhagulpur (Hijaz-us-salatha, English Trans., pages 141-142). There is no date on this coin but it resembles I.M.C., Vol. I., page 172, No. 325.

VL.—NEW MINTS AND TYPES OF SHER SHAH'S COINAGE.

(PLATE II.)

In July 1917, 448 silver coins of Sher Shah were received for examination from the Collector of Shahabad, Bihar and Orissa. The find contained some specimens of the following mints:—

- (1) Pandua;
- (2) Ghazal or Chausa;
- (3) Sakal;

(1) Sher Shah's coins were minted chiefly at Fathullah Sharifabad and Faizpur in Bengal. But no mint named from the capital of Bengal or its immediate neighbourhood appears to be known. The Shahabad find contains no less than three coins from the mint of Pandua, a town to the north of Gaur which appears as a mint on the coins of Durgamashahmanudera who ruled over Bengal in Saka 1339—1477 A.D. and was thus a contemporary of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah's son of Hujja Khan of Bengal. Firozabad, a mint very well known from the coins of the Independent Sultans of Bengal, from the time of Sultan Ghiyathuddin Hujja Shah, has been generally taken to be Pandua, but no definite proof has ever been adduced in favour of this identification. It has succeeded very well as a working hypothesis.

Coins of the Pandua mint belong to two different types:—

- (a) I.M.C., Vol. II, 684, no mint var.A. But in the Shahabad find the name of the mint is to be found on the obverse, just below the Kalasha but inside the square. 918 A. H.

(6) I. M. C., Vol. II, 453. No mint, var. II. Here also the mint name has been added in the same place. 947 A.H.

(7) Only one silver coin of *Shah Shah* issued from the mint of *Chunar* was described by H. Thomas in his *Chronicles of Pathan Kings of Delhi* where the name of the mint is given *Chunar*.¹ The coin was not illustrated at that time so it is difficult to determine how the name was spelt. The *Shahid Nam* contains three coins issued in 949 A.H. from the mint of *Chunar*. This form is a contraction of *Chamragadh*, the Hindi equivalent of the ancient *Charyapada-durga*.

(8) The coin of the *Kalyani* mint is notable for its circle of intertwined double lines. The coins of *Shah Shah* issued from the *Kalyani* mint generally have square areas. This is the first known coin with circular areas from that mint.²

¹ *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 405, No. 458.

² *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 408, No. 459, I. M. C., II, p. 47, Nos. 458-459.



IV.—Statues of Two Śaśūnaka Emperors (483-409 B. C.)

By K. P. Jaiswal.

Since the foundation of this Journal many unsolved problems of the pre-Mauryan period have been partially or wholly solved in its pages, and I am glad to get a fresh opportunity to attempt once again to add to the known history of that period. Over

a century back, citizens of Patna found
Discovery of the Statues. two or three statues, according to Buchanan,

in a field to the south of Patna City. One of them, which was still imbedded in the original site, Buchanan had taken out and reunited, about 1816. The other he recovered from the bed of the Ganges to which it had been dedicated by the citizens.¹ He did not see the third figure. Subsequently the two figures recovered by Buchanan seem to have come in the possession of Mrs. D. Tytler, whose brother, in 1820, presented them to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. There they lay neglected for forty years hidden amongst the foliage until J. D. B. Beglar brought them to the notice of the late Sir Alexander Cunningham, the then Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. About the year 1870 they were removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where they are at present installed on raised pedestals in the Bhadrat gallery. The third statue was found by Cunningham near the old well called the "Agama Kuan" to the south of Patna City. There, reunited with a new head it was being worshipped in its day as *Mata-Mai* by the villagers. It is possible that the statue is still somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Agama Kuan.

¹ Dr. V. K. Jaiswal, Principal of Patna College, who is editing Buchanan's Journal, kindly drew my attention to this source. The whole account from his Journal given to me by Mr. Jaiswal is printed verbatim.

General Cunningham was peculiarly attracted to the statues owing to their highly glossy polish (called up to this time "Mauryan"?). He, however, realized their artistic significance to a great extent, for in discussing them in Vol. XV. of his *Archæological Survey Reports* (pp. 2-3) he summed up with this remark:

"the easy attitude and the calm and dignified repose of the figures are still conspicuous, and claim for them a high place amongst the best specimens of early Indian art."

Though discovered in 1812 or 1819, the statues have been really discovered now, in 1919. It was in the month of January last that accidently I examined the inscriptions on the statues and found them to establish the identity of the statues. They represent two emperors of the Satavahana dynasty, one of whom, Udaya (463-487 B.C.), was the founder of Paataliputra, and the other, the great conqueror Nandivarmhana (449-489 B.C.).

Since the time of Cunningham no one re-examined the inscriptions on the statues. And probably they would not have been examined by me but for the following incident. In January last a label prepared for the newly-discovered female ("Mauryan") statue, now at the Patna Museum, attracted my notice. It bore the title *Fahelga* (i.e. the female of *Yahsha*, a *havi-ga*). Now the conventional representation of *Yahsha* and *Yahshigalla* Indian art is marked with such nose and raised cheekbones. The new Patna-Dilarganj statue, on the other hand, is the figure of a handsome Indo-Aryan woman, distinguished from the classical (European) by rounded

cheek and heavy nose. I objected to the correspondence intended.

* *J.R.A.S.*, 1, 87, 125.

* See the photos in Dr. Spencer's article published in this issue of the Journal. The photographs do not bring out the deep part of the right leg, the figure stands on the left. *Shiva* statue group was discovered with the female statue (*Shiva*, VI, 102). These figures are called *Yahshigalla* (*Yah*), a very striking, according to the *Archæological Survey Reports* (p. 125), a class of most statues. Great artists attended upon the king with richness of royal ornaments and royal ornaments (*Yah*). They were able to be called. These *Shiva* and *Yahshigalla* suggested the identification of the *Yahshigalla* statue as a female figure representing a goddess, originally placed in a royal court.

In that elegant Agave, whereupon the president of the two Patna stations is the Indian Museum was cited in that they were described by Cunningham as Yakhshas on the authority of the inscriptions on them. This made me desirous of examining those inscriptions. Copies of those inscriptions prepared for the Patna Museum chance to have arrived at the time. These impressions were practically worthless, being badly taken on single sheets, yet they sufficiently showed that the alleged "Yakhshas" was in neither inscription, a view in which the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh, Vice-President of the Society, agreed with me the moment I showed the impressions to him. The letters, however, which Cunningham had declared to be later than Aśoka, presented to me a wonderful problem. They did not fully tally with characters of any period yet known to Indian Epigraphy. While one letter, *a*, at first sight appeared to belong to a later age, all others disclosed forms more archaic than the oldest known Brihat characters. The archaic was so marked that four letters, afterwards identified as *h*, *dh*, *r* and *l*, appeared to me to be new forms. To their value could be assigned only on proceeding then to the question of such Aśokan letters to which the latter can be carried back on principles of epigraphic evolution. I arrived at a tentative reading and deferred final judgment for a few days until I went to Calcutta, which I had to visit on business, towards the end of the same month. I utilized that opportunity and examined the inscriptions on the statues during my spare time in Calcutta on six different days.

The inscriptions are on the folds of the scarf just below the shoulders on the back of each statue (see photograph D). It seems that the artist thought it profanity in art to cut the letters into the body. After a long evening I came to the conclusion that the letters had been carved before the parallel lines to denote folds on the scarf were chiselled. I consulted Mr. Arun Bose, Lecturer in Indian Art to the University of Calcutta, on the point, and he confirmed my view. The difficulties have remained in spite of the letters. Over the letters they have been

very delicately handled; while the symmetry of the lines is kept on, the forms of the letters have not been interfered with, the original strokes of the letters being scrupulously avoided and kept separate.

I had six impressions of such inscriptions taken, thanks to the courtesy of Mr. D. R. Bhambhakar, the officer in charge of the archaeological section of the Museum. My reading is based on these impressions and verified from the actual letters inscribed on the stamps.

The inscription on the stamp with the head on (Figure A) is as follows:—

Shree ACCHO abhayaḥ.

The shikha *ACCHO* are larger than others, as if they are put in capitals. The first shikha *āc* is grouped separately to make our word. *ACCHO* again is grouped separately. The first letter is taken to be *āc*. The upward projection of the top line as it appears in *āc* is not present here. That is a later evolution. The letter in our inscription is written in three strokes, the pen being set and taken off three times, the left-hand and the right-hand strokes having been drawn independently of the top line, while the *āc* stroke is to be done in two strokes (cf. Bühler's Table II, line 31, column VI; and the Bhagjirāla letter). The *āc* has been written in the following way which led to the introduction of the upper projection: the right-hand vertical line was drawn first and then in one flourish encompassing over the top of the right-hand line the rest of the letter was completed. The point can be clearly followed by a reference to the *āc* in the Seligara plate (J.R.A.S., 1937) where the two divisions are separate. In the attempt to draw the top line and the left-hand line together, the initial end became pointed upwards. One can verify this by attempting to produce the letter with ease on the principle of the Seligara *āc*. Our three-stroke letter on the stamp is thus *āc* in evolution. It is indeed not possible to take it as any other letter than *āc*.

The peculiarity of the second letter, *ḡ*, consists in that it is composed of two lines, a left-hand line projecting like a hook, and then a right-hand, slightly curved line drawn from top to bottom. The Aśoka letter on the other hand is made up of two equal and equivalent parts as it begins to be written in one stroke, e. g. at Jangada, Delhi and Sāhāpur. The newer strokes still linger at Bhājipura.

The third letter, *ḥ*, would be recognised at once by epigraphists to be an old form. I may only point out that the two cases which are so widely apart in our letter, tend to coalesce and so lose their name and become a two-stroke letter in Aśoka's time, e. g. at Kāli, Jangada and Sāhāpur.

The fourth letter, *ḥ*, has a special feature in its perpendicular line being produced independently of the lower body. The letter is composed of three strokes. Against this the Aśoka *ḥ* is made up of only two strokes, the straight line and the base diagonal, done without lifting off the pen. The only exception to this in Aśoka *ḥ*'s is the third specimen at Ghumr which is the nearest approach to our *ḥ* in the whole range of Indian epigraphy. The next letter, *ḥ*, is our vowel, consists of three strokes, while the Aśoka tends to a two-stroke acquisition. The sixth character, *ḥ*, is again composed of three strokes as against two of the Aśoka. Its similarity with later *ḥ* is more apparent than real; for later *ḥ*'s are really two-stroke letters.

The penultimate letter is done in three strokes, two lines drawn down from one point and a base-line joining the two. It is a new form, and assuming a previous history to the Aśoka *ḥ* our letter can only be anterior to the latter, the other two possible cases of *ḡ* and *ḥ* being excluded by their actual occurrence in the inscription.¹ Here again the Aśoka letter [*ḥ*] is much easier—dearer in form—than this *ḥ*, the former being written in only two strokes—a curve and a straight line. The Bhājipura *ḥ* (Eklor 25, 218, drawn upside down) is a compromise between our *ḥ* and the Aśoka. There the strokes

¹It must be so, as on account of the vowel-sign attached to it.

are still there but the right-hand line begins to curve. The original form still survives in the Aśoka group though with a distinct tendency to a two-stroke form.

The last letter is still more original and its identification was a matter of some time. A long perpendicular line is drawn first and then by its side, about the middle, two hooks are added in two separate strokes. At first sight one would be inclined to take it as a fourth century (A-C-) two-stroke *ś* but the absence of sweep and the lower flourish together with the number of strokes would disprove that proposal. It is radically different from *ś*. If we follow the method of proceeding an earlier form, we can on palaeographic considerations trace the ancestry of the Aśoka (Förster, 37, II) and Khatipada *ś* (Sillies, 37, XIV) to this letter. The pivotal line has been contracted in the latter, its upper portion totally disappearing and the lower still remaining longer than the side legs. The legs, again, tend to hang down, while they hang on in the Sālisthana letter.

In all these cases we find the Aśoka figures having reached a stage which was much less perfect than the Sālisthana ones. They are weak copies, as to adopt an art expression, they are decrepit as compared with our letters. The degree of evolutionary decay between our letter and the Aśoka is nearly the same as between the Aśoka and Heliodorus's.

Coming to the palaeography of the second inscription, the first letter is a new form. I was first inclined to take it as an older form of *ś*. Dr. Hermann, whom I consulted about the letter, discovered on the rock a fine chiselled line from the elbow joint upwards to the fold-line above. This line is so thin that the impressions do not reproduce it correctly. It is equally, or more, probable that the letter is a dental *ś*. The lower flourish ends on the level of the base of the letters and does not turn upwards. The right-hand line is separated by a small ridge on the rock; it is therefore part of the next letter. The corresponding upper flourish is a fork. The whole letter is composed

¹ The continuation of the work beyond the line is protected by a mark in the rock; a short chiselled.

of three strokes, first the first commencing with the lower line, then the second commencing at the above joint and ending by the bottom of the horizontal line of the next letter, and, finally, the upper stroke above the others. In Añokan alphabet both dental and cerebral S's are produced in two strokes, and the middle stroke comes to be straight.

The second letter is made up of three distinct strokes: the right-hand, the base, and the left-hand lines. The right-hand one extends from top to bottom and the left-hand one from bottom to top, i.e., it has the composition of *y* against *i*. The left-hand line is a shade shorter than the right-hand one. P's in Añokan groups, except the Didi letter, are produced in one stroke, the left-hand end becoming short. The older form persists at Didi and later at Pukusa, Mathusa and Hathigumpha. The left-hand line becomes shorter still as time proceeds. The third letter, *ñ*, again, has no side feature. The body is formed of four lines, which becomes more or tends to disappear in Añok's time. The hook in our letter almost touches the quadrilateral and has a nose to the right. In the Añokan the latter detail is already lost and the letter becomes much wider in shape, leaving the curve.

The fourth letter [V] consists of three parts, two making up the legs and one, the top vertical line, put on separately. All Añokan and later *x*'s, on the other hand, are only two-stroke forms. Our letter has a faithful descendant in the Kaiti letter (Bühler, 13, III), but that also bears the mark of time in being a two-stroke diagram. The next one, *v*, is a combination of two side strokes, curvish in form, a straight base, and finally a vertical line above the body. The Añokan *v* becomes completely round and with the vertical line a two-stroke character. The form nearest to our letter is preserved in a Bhajjyola variety (Bühler, 36, XIV). The older form lingers at Mathura, Bharhut and Hathigumpha, but there the curve in each arm has long disappeared and a straight line takes its place. The sixth character, *ñ*, is like the Añokan letter. The next one, *ñ*, is, as in the first inscription, drawn in three strokes. The last letter, *ñ*, is



ON THE BEACH OF LIPSE ARS



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again object in form, done in three strokes. In the Assam letters once more the Delhi letter is nearer our present form, all the other and later ones generally tend to be one-stroke characters.

The complete inscription I read :

Sapa¹-khata² Tapa³ Nāpā⁴.

I may have noted a *śloka* which occurs to me after the above analysis. It is probable, I should say, very possible, that in pre-Mauryan times there had been two collected branches of writing descended from an earlier common ancestor, one of which became the imperial script under the Mauryas, while the other represented by our present letters in the fifth century B.C. gave rise to the Southern, Mathura, Peshawar and Hathigumpha variations. The variations in contemporary writings of post-Mauryan period are really variations in basic principles, and it is difficult to derive them all from a common source of the third century B.C.⁵

It is certain that the inscriptions are contemporary with the statuette; in fact, the names had been inscribed before the statuette were given the finishing touches. Again, the polish shows that the statuette cannot be post-Mauryan. The polish never appears on post-Mauryan monuments while it is invariably found on Mauryan works. Mr. Anand Sen, Lecturer in Hindu Art to the University of Calcutta, to whom I showed the statuette without disclosing to him the date of the inscriptions, judged them on art considerations to be pre-Mauryan. The opinion of Mr. Sen, who has received his training at Cambridge and has made a special study of Mauryan art, carries weight. But in any case on the evidence of the

¹ Or, *Shapa*.

² Or, *kh(e)* or, the stroke seen at is not connected and does not seem to be part of the letter.

³ Or, *Tapa*.

⁴ Both in *Śālikā* and *śloka* have we hear of a writing called *Prasthānakā* one by one with *śālikā*. It may be that the two variants have the two names.

polish, the statues and the inscriptions cannot be later than the Marayan times. We know, however, the script of the Marayan times. And the script on the statues is not that. It is earlier in almost each detail. The statues therefore must be earlier in age than Aśoka's period.

Now, we shall know their age definitely by establishing the historical identity of the statues and by recalling to our mind the Hindu custom recorded by Hsiao² of giving statues to departed sovereigns even after the demise of the last king.

The translation of the inscription on statue A (*Stupa ACHO*
either/dhio) will be "His *Gaṇapati* Majesty
Identity of *Aśa*, king [lit. Over-Ruler of the LAND] or,
the Statues. *Earth*]."³ *Stupa* as an adjective comes only in
 Yāgyalkarmāra, meaning "Gandharva land" (*gandh*, "majesty").

The translation of the second inscription (*Stupa-dhio Fala*
Nandi) will be "Of complete empire (dominion), VARTĀ
 NANDI." Whether the first letter is dental or cerebral, the
 meaning would not change. Nor would the Sanskrit restoration
 "Varā" be altered whether we read the word *Fala* or *Fala*.
 As to *Nandi*, if we take the dental form *Nandi* the meaning would
 verbally, though not materially, change (*Stupa-Nandi* [Skt. *Nandi*-
Kulātrā]), "of complete region," i. e., "Possessor of the whole
 region." (cf. *Artha-dhio*, page 388, for *Kulātrā* is the name
 of empire or region to be governed).

In the Purāṇas amongst the Śaivaite kings of Pataṇ⁴
 we have *Nandi-Vardhana*. As I have already pointed out,
Vardhana is an imperial title⁵ and not part of the name.
Nandi (*Vardhana*) according to the Yāgy, Brahmatpā and
 Matsya was the son of Udayin (Udayin in the Yāgya). The
 Bhāgavata (11. 1. 7) calls Nandi-Vardhana "son of Aja."

¹ See infra.

² The Hindus never forget that Pāṇḍya resided with Pataṇ. Brah-
 man of Pataṇ gave this illustration to Boissac in 1818. The Jaina law
 books in that study give the name (Pāṇḍya) on their memorial to
 Śaṅkaradeva at Śaṅkaradeva, Pataṇ.

³ J.R.O.S. 8, 1, 79.

HANDWRITTEN INSCRIPTIONS ON BRASS



(a) IN THE TEMPLE OF AIA-LI-HIEN.



(b) IN THE TEMPLE OF NORT-HIEN.

Scale 1/2 of original.

This is a reproduction of the original as published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of America*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1901.

(*Udaya*)¹, and in the preceding line in place of *Udaya* it gives *Aja*.² Nandi-Vardhana occurs also in the Pradyota list of the Avanti kings, which means, as already pointed out in an earlier paper,³ that Nandi-Vardhana succeeded to the throne of Avanti (suppld. Ujjain) as well. There his father again is called *Aja*'s son and *Aja* by the Yajña, Brahmins and Viśvān (see *Yajñ.* by Pargiter, 10) and the latter is explicitly stated in an old reading (dated 1719, Bodhiān; Wilson No. 21; Pargiter, 18, n. 36) of the Matsya to have been a Śākyaśālin. Hence there is no doubt that Nandi's father is called both *Aja* and *Udaya* by the Purāṇas. Both these names mean "the Sun".⁴

The Yajña gives a variant of Nandi's name in its Avanti list. It calls him *Fanti-Fardhana* instead of *Nandi-Vardhana*. Now the Prākṛit form of *Fanti* would be *Faṭṭi* and *Faṭṭi*. That it ought to be *Fardā* and not *Fardī* is now proved by one inscription. Difference of a vowel-mark produced in 2,000 years of manuscript writing is excusable. In fact our inscriptions enhance the value of the Purāṇic record, as historical materials, to a very great degree by confirmation of their variant details. The forms of names which I hesitated at as corrupt (e.g. *Fardī*) turn out to be based on real history. The variant details also show that different Purāṇas drew upon independent data.

Nandi in later times was called *Nanda*. Northern Buddhists gave him as *Nanda* and his son (Pāṇḍu's *Mahā-Nandi* or *Mahā-Nanda*), as *Mahā-Nanda*.⁵ The Jains count him, his son, and his father in "the *Nandas*".⁶ Kharevalla's inscription has the form

¹ Cf. *Pāṇḍ.* IV, 7, 123. The "Nandas" group contains many proper names out of which *Aja* seems to be one. In any case the note is not limited to the representation which is not exhaustive, being an *āḥṛit*-Page.

² Correctly *Aja* *gṛh* (*Grāhā*) "he who is regarded as *Aja*". Cf. other instances in Pargiter's *Yajñ.*, p. 22.

³ *J.B.O.S.*, I, 72, p. 295-6.

⁴ Hence, probably, the Matsya calls him *Śūrya* in the Pradyota list.

⁵ *J.B.O.S.*, I, 82-83.

⁶ *J.B.*, 102.

Nanda. The Puranas also, indirectly, call him a "Nanda" when they give 168 years as the aggregate of the reign-periods of the Nandas, meaning thereby the early Nandas as opposed to the Neo-Nandas. The hundred years' aggregate is made up of the 4 years of the sons of Mukt-Nanda, 35 of Mukt-Nanda, 48 of Nandī, the Vaidya, 8 years of Harys and 9 years of Anurādha.¹ The latter two were evidently elder brothers of Vardī Nandī. The Sakranika Nandas were distinguished from the later, illegitimate Nandas by adding the word *Kana* (=Nan). This is borne out by a Jaina text which designates the last Nanda, defeated by Chandragupta, as "Nana-Nanda".²

It was whose date I have suggested as the end of the first century B.C.,³ has a fascinating drama Drama "Bharva" by entitled "The Sistrum" (Pratid) on the Bhāṣya story. On the death of Dandārtha, Bharva is called by the ministers (from Kelaga, his maternal home). Having been brought up by his maternal relatives he is a stranger to the kingdom of his father. He has not been told that his father was dead. To break the news the dramatist introduces him, in his way home, outside the capital, to a temporal temple, a temple in all appearance but not a place of worship; it bore nothing, no bells and other external signs of a temple. It was open to the public, and there was no gate-keeper. Bharva enters the temple and sees a number of images. He admires "the stance" for the "expressiveness of execution", for "expression and its movements in the portrait forms,"⁴ and wonders whether

¹ J.B.S.P., I, 75, 113, 113A.

² 'विही मरविमारीयं वल्लभं व संभवि ।

अदीनमदीनोऽहं केही मरविमारीयः ।

³ *Palae-orientalis*, VIII, 28, 28A in *Jaina Purāṇa Paryāyapada* (Math = *AMRIT-SAMAJ*), Vol. IV, col. 118A-118B.

⁴ J.A.S., 1915, p. 108.

⁵ *Pratid*, loc. cit. (Thackeray Government edition.)

⁶ 'अदी विमारीयं वल्लभम् ।

अदी मरविमारीयम् ।



10A. BEARD OF ANTHROPO.

10B. STUTE OF VIRTU-KHETI (VARDHANA).

they were gods. The moment he is going to bow down to them, the Curator, called the "Deva-Kulika," ("the Keeper of their Majesties' Court") enters and stops him doing so, as the figures were not of gods but of sovereigns, the sovereigns of Agrahara. It was customary to respect them but not to bow to them (III. 13). Statues of four generations completed there is order of succession and the Curator introduces each of them in order. This makes Bharta suspect that the last statue was of his own father and he puts the question: "Do people give statues to living kings?" The reply was "No, only to the departed ones". Bharta knows the truth and is struck with grief. At that moment the royal ladies appear on the scene with the Prime Minister who all came there to see how the new statues had been erected. The statues contemplated here are portly statues, realistic, the similarity between them and Bharta is noticed by the Curator, and Bharta is surprised by the Prime Minister to his statue of the late king endowed with speech.

"The Statues" by Bharta then gives information regarding a custom of maintaining a royal gallery of portrait statues. The portraits of several generations of the early Srasthana kings at Managudi are now explained in the light of Bharta. The Pala statues are likewise explained. Three of these, discovered together, indicate the existence of a temporal temple as described by Bharta. Since the foundation of this capital and before the Nava-Nanda there had been five kings of the Salivahsa dynasty who ruled.¹ Probably the last one did not get a statue from the Nava-Nanda conqueror (Kala-Padma). Four statues at least, therefore, must have formed the group. It is possible to find one day the fourth one near Agara Kura.

King Udaya, the founder of this capital, had, according

Personal Appearance. In the sculpture, a double chin. He was one of the Tura half line and decorated according to Emperors. some double style, but was clean shaven. He was, in the evidence of the statue, 3 feet in height.

¹ J. B. S. P., I, 120, 122-3.

His son, the Imperial Nandi, was broader and thicker and evidently taller by a few inches than his father. *Fortis* means stout and brawny; the name was given by parents probably owing to the great physical strength of the prince; his powerful, iron physique is evident from the statue.

The initial date of Udayin-Aja is 485 B.C. and the initial date of Nandi, 440 B.C.¹ The final date of Udayin-Aja, in view of the Buddhist data,² is 487 B.C. and according to the Purāṇas, 448 B.C., and that of Nandi, 400 B.C. according to the Purāṇas. The date of the statue may, therefore, be fixed circa 487-440 B.C. in the case of statue A and circa 400 B.C. in the case of B.

A little digression may be permitted here to sum up the new historical data furnished by the Statue of Udayin and Avanti and otherwise. In writing my paper on the History of Sakinika chronology I had to reveal that the Jain chronology, which is the chronology of Avanti, places Udayin's reign after the reign of Piliśa in the Nanda chapter (J.H.O.R.S., I, 301). I could not understand then why it did so and thought that here was a case of difference between the Persian and Jaina data, for I had taken Nandi (Nanda) Vardhana to have been the conqueror of the earliest kingdom of Avanti according to the Purāṇas. I would have seen the agreement between the Persian and Jaina data, if I at that time recognised the identity of Aja with Udayin, for the Purāṇas, as is now clear, place Aja the Sakinika in the end of the Avanti list. We must now take it as a fact that Udayin was the king who conquered Avanti and extended the empire of Magadha from Bengal to the Arabian Sea. Magadha became without a rival by breaking Avanti which had been overshadowing Magadha for nearly a century.³

The line of Pādāpā ended with Viśākha who should be regarded as identical with Aryaka-Gopadita. The latter,

¹ J.H.O.R.S., I, 318, 319.

² J.H.O.R.S., I, 318.



101. ANU-ENLIL.

[Front view: Head and neck are restored in plaster.]



102. ANU-ENLIL.

[Back view showing details of the garment and position of inscription.]

according to Ekta and the Kaśīmerikāgura, was the second son of Pradyota and according to the Meisachhahastika, succeeded Falaka (J.B.O.R.S., I, 109-110).

The date of the Avanti War seems to have happened about the twelfth year of Udaya (c. 431 B.C.), for the Purāṇas give 21 years to Aja in Avanti and 23 years to Udaya in Magadha. This, if correct, ought to give 74 years to Falaka and his brother, Vāṭhahayaga, for Falaka according to the Jaina chronology came to the throne in the sixth year of Ajita-Satva (J.B.O.R.S., I, 101) and the interval between the sixth year of Ajita-Satva and the twelfth of Udaya is of 74 years (J.B.O.R.S., I, 115). Now the reign-periods attributed to Falaka and Vāṭhahayaga in the Purāṇas make up exactly (24+50) 74 years. (Tani et Fuglier, page 18.) Against this the Jaina chronology, however, gives only 44 or 64 years,² which either denotes a ten years' intermission of Vāṭhahayaga before his death to Udaya of Magadha, or a mistake made by counting the post-Falaka years from the year of accession of Udaya in Magadha instead of in Avanti.

It seems that by the continuation of the Avanti War after the fall of her dynasty the Purāṇas imply that the separate entity of the Avanti kingdom was maintained by Aja-Udaya for the rest of his life and up to the 50th year by his son Nandi. Otherwise there would be no sense in the silence of the Purāṇic record.³

Under Nandi a second capital seems to have been established across the Ganges at Vallī, the old republic of the Lichchavis. He is described by Tinnabha as ruling at Vallī and as the King of Vallī. The Śata-Nyāsa of the Palli mason

¹ J.B.O.R.S., I, 78.

² The Meisachhahastika gives a separate reigns to Aja and Nandi by the "64 years", while its indication points for the two figures 21 and 23 (see Fuglier, p. 18). Some copies of the Kaśī (Fuglier, n. 40) seem to say that after the 12 years, the Vāṭhahayaga succeeded. After Nandi there were the "24 years" including the last Nandi (J.B.O.R.S., I, 110).

also mentions Vallab as the capital of Nagadha about the period of Nandi. It was during his reign that the Second Congress of Buddhists was held at Vallab.¹ Nandi after his father greatly consolidated the empire and the second part of the empire at Vallab seems to have been a step in the direction of that policy. He added Orissa to Nagadha and history rightly called him "Vardhana", 'the Enlarger'. Nandi seems to have patronised learning as according to Buddhist tradition Pipili came to his court.²

The language of the inscription is the vernacular which we find in classical Pali. That, not Sanskrit, seems to have been the official language under the Śālistambas. The change of *j* into *ś* (*śikhā* = *jikhā*) which later Prakrit grammarians regard as characteristic of the North-Western dialect, is known in the official Pali (*śikhā* = *jikhā*) and in Aśoka's inscriptions (*śikhā* = *jikhā*). Similarly the change of *s* into *p* (*pāṇi* = *sāṇi*) is found in Pali (*p* = *s*) and in Aśoka's inscriptions (*p* = *s*). The suffix *-g* of *śikhā* into *-śikhā* is common in Pali as in our inscriptions (*śikhā* = *jikhā*). The Sanskrit *śikhā* = *jikhā* (*śikhā* = *jikhā*) is in perfect accord with Pali grammar. The word *Vallab* translates well the archaic *vallab* = *vallab* = *vallab* in favour of the ancient age of the inscription. These words were still current in their old sense when the inscriptions were carved.

The place where the staves were found, bore traces of a brick-built house, very probably their original the *śikhā*. It would be interesting to read here what Buchanan says about their recovery. I quote below the whole extract kindly given me by Mr. Jackson, as it carries the history of the staves further back than that known to Cunningham:—

The house that was in existence belonging to the Hindu was very old and very small. Everywhere in digging Indian pots, but very little else, was to be found, and where the staves were, near the back,

¹ *IBR*, 1, 26.

² *ibid.*, 1, 26.

many old walls are left open; but nothing has been discovered to indicate large or magnificent buildings. In the *Shogun*, opposite to the entrance above the town, I found a stone image lying by the water's edge, when the river was at the lowest. It has represented a male standing with two arms and one hand, but the arms and feet have been broken. The face also much mutilated. It is nearly of a natural size, and very clumsy, and differs from most Hindu images that I have seen in being completely bearded, and not covered in relief with its hinder parts adhering to the block, from whence it has been cut. On the back part of the neck, which passes round the shoulders, are some letters which I have not been able to have explained, and too much defaced to admit of being copied with absolute precision. Some laborers employed in bringing this image to my house informed me that it had been some years ago taken from a hill on the south side of the entrance, and had been intended for an object of worship; but that a great fire having happened on the day when it was removed, the people were afraid and threw it into the nearby river. They also informed me that in the same hill the feet of another image projected from the ground, and that many years ago Mr. Rowley has removed a third. On going to the place I completely discovered that there had been a small building of brick, perhaps 20 or 30 feet in height, but most of the materials have been removed. On digging I found the image to be nearly similar to that which I found on the river, but somewhat larger. The feet are entire, and some part of the arms remain, but the head has been missed. On its right shoulder is placed something which seems intended to represent a Tibetan bull's tail. This is an insignia of the Yato, or priests of Judo, but in other respects the image differs little resemblance to such persons one of whom is represented in the Drawing No. 138—I rather suppose that these images have been intended as an ornament to the temple, and to represent the attendance on some God, whose image has been destroyed. In the drawing No. 2 the image has been represented with the inscription on the smaller, than on the larger, is totally illegible.

There is no doubt that the statues described as above by "**Chowri**," Buchanan are the same which are before us to-day. The device on the right shoulder of the statue of Nandi which Buchanan and Cunningham took to be a representation of "a Tibetan bull's tail" or "**chouri**" is by no means clear owing to oxidation. I could not come to a decision as to what it was. Mr. Buchanan considered it very doubtful to have been a **chouri**. If it was a **chouri** our idea that **chouri**-bearing deities were usually an attendant

must now change. Curiously enough I found accidentally in a painting copied from Ajanta in the house of Sir John Woodroffe a prince holding a *chervi* on his shoulder, to whom a lady, probably his queen, is presenting lotuses on a tray. It is evidently the king in the *Rajavatsala*, for two women are seated on thrones.¹ Thus we must also take into consideration the Jain practice of carrying *chervi* or *flyfish* referred to by Dr. Boucher, and Nandi was a Jain as evidenced by Kharavela's inscription and also according to some other evidence which Mr. V. Smith has not yet published (J.R.A.S., 1915, p. 247).

The statues are made of Mirpur sandstone which was utilized also by Aśoka in cutting his columns. The statues are marvellous, not in the sense. Aśoka's legs have been restored in the usual ugly style of restorations.

They, as already stated, bear a high and strong polish.

Now the force of the evidence of these statues
Polish and its origin. must change our view on the origin of this so-called "Mauryan" polish. Before the

discovery of these statues I had already come across a piece of evidence which had greatly shaken my belief in the current archaeological theory which ascribed the art (particularly in the sphere of pre-Mauryan materials) to Persia. My friend Balu (now Rai Bahadur) Sarat Chandra Roy some time back showed me in his private collection a beautiful piece which is generally known as 'Vajra' (diamond) with the polish ! That undoubtedly pointed to an Indian origin of the polish coming down and developed from the art of pre-historic times when primitive man devoted much attention to his stones. That night deepened the theory in my mind. Then I recalled the slight polish on the magnificent vases of the Śākya type, now at the Indian Museum. The last evidence now comes in the shape of these statues which

¹ Some other Ajanta paintings as well those very great Aśoka on the theory that a flyfish was necessarily treated to a dependent position of the holder. In a painting of Mahamegha there a flyfish is held as a fashionable decoration (see Plate LVI, *Lessons in Archaeology of Indian Polities*, Calcutta: Director, 1907).

carry the art two centuries back from the date alleged for its import from Persia. The origin of the art, in my opinion, is to be sought in the art of Dravidian India, which shaped the polished styles and not in Persia.

The general vigour and realism of the statues makes one assign a pre-Mauryan period to the monuments. The decadence which marks the imperial art of Ashoka does not even begin in the statues. Mr. Sen had not to think long in declaring them emphatically "Pre-Mauryan! Without Doubt". Yet the statues prove a previous history of the art of the Indian sculptor.

A point of importance is the attempt of the artist to **Statues as show the waves in the royal gowns or mantles. Evidence of hanging as the back, down to the heels. In Earlier Art.** In doing, it seems to me, on the principle of *Shrimiti*. This fact and the perfect familiarity of the sculptor with a conventional representation of hair which is found on the head of *Aja*, prove a previous history of his art extending back to some centuries. Mr. Arun Sen who drew my attention to the conventional hair laid great stress on its significance as telling a previous history of the sculptor's art in the country.

Details in the two statues show two different hands, though of the same school. On the arm of the father there is an ornament which is to be seen on sculptures of kings on Bhamburda railings. On the arm of the son there is an ornament with motifs of alligator and with goldsmith's designs all over. The ears of *Aja* have earrings. On the figure there is an upper garment, mantle-like, and beneath it there is a vest intended to be of dyed muslin texture, as is evident by the line at the waist and the treatment of the navel. These two garments are mentioned in Vedic literature, e.g. in *Corvus* ceremony. The over-garment is fastened at the waist by a girdle tied in a bow, hanging down in front in an elaborate loop and tassel cord. The over-garment has got an embroidered neck band which passes a cord which is tied behind. The embroidered neck has two different designs on the two statues. There is a studied

attempt to show the feet and walk it here by making the gown shorter at the front than at the back. The conversation of artist and poet is describing bare feet side by side with subtlest and continued reference to the use of shoes, is probably explainable in view of the fact that while in most Hindu kings took off their shoes and that feet were objects of reverence by consecration. The omission of the feet (they are intact only in one statue) is the most unsuccessful from the modeller's point of view. It is not in conformity with the rest of the work, falling far too inferior. Does the omission of the feet indicate an earlier cycle of consecration and decay in art? The artists have succeeded on the whole in producing the effect of majesty with masterly skill.

As historic monuments they are not only the most important remains in India but have to be classed amongst the important places of the world.



V.—The Didarganj Image now in Patna Museum.

By D. B. Spooner, F.R.S.

What has come to be known as the "Didarganj" image was discovered by accident on the bank of the Ganges near Patna on the 15th October, 1917. The exact situation is described as Nasirpur Tijjar Hiss Khand, known as Didarganj Kadam Bazar, which falls in the Mahakumbh Thana in the east of Patna City. It appears that owing to erosion of the river bank at this place a small portion of a square block of stone had been disclosed at a point fairly high up the face of the slope, which attracted the attention of Maslum Gani Saiyid Muhammad Aslam alias Ghulam Rasul, son of Maslum Gani Saiyid Muhammad Afzal alias Ghulam Mith-ul-Din. Fortunately for all concerned, the young man proceeded to scrape away the earth from this projecting bit, anticipating that the stone might prove to be one suitable for domestic purposes. Instead of this it soon became apparent that the portion first uncovered was merely part of a pedestal, which, being followed up, led to the dislodging of a complete and fairly large-sized statue, which was at first raised and set up erect near the spot where it had lain. Thereon it is alleged to have been removed by unskilled porters to a spot some few hundred yards further up the river. Here it was again set up, this time under a canopy improvised on four bamboo, which was as speedily treated with the character of an incipient shrine, that tentative worship had been instituted (under the misapprehension that the figure was a Hindu deity) before the fact of the discovery was brought to the notice of any but the Patna, who, however, reported it to the proper quarter. It is to Professor Senebier of Patna College that the general public are indebted for bringing the fact

to notice. Hearing of the matter from a student in the College, this enthusiastic antiquarian reported it to the Honorable Mr. Walsh, Member of the Board of Revenue and President of the Patna Museum Committee. Mr. Walsh proceeded without delay to inspect the find-spot and the statue itself, permitting the writer to accompany him, when the importance of the treasure was at once disclosed. By good fortune it was easy to show that the figure was merely an attendant, bearing a chowry, and thus clearly no member of the Hindu pantheon, nor entitled to worship of any kind by any community; and the characteristically energetic steps which Mr. Walsh proceeded to take towards the recovery or rescue of the image, brought it in safety and triumph within the walls of the Patna Museum before the close of the year. There let us hope that it may long remain to add lustre to an institution whose chief treasure it is likely to constitute for years to come.

As has already been mentioned, the image is that of a female chowry-bearer or attendant on some divine or royal figure, upon whose proper right the present statue must have stood. It is life-size, measuring 1 ft. 2½ in. from the highest point of the head to the top of the pedestal, which itself has a height of 1 ft. 8½ in., and is as near as may be square in plan, with a measurement of 1 ft. 5 in. a side. The pedestal is a roughly dressed and unpolished block, which presumably fitted into a socket in some large altar or other solid basement, where it would not have met the eye in the normal curve; and the angles are now slightly damaged, except the left side, back. Both it and the statue it supports are cut out of a single piece of speckled Chunar sandstone, bearing the high polish assigned, in the present state of our knowledge, exclusively to the Maurya Period of Indian History. This mirror-like polish extended originally over the entire surface of the statue, but portions are now sadly encroached, with a rough deposit of darkish (see which shows the fact to a considerable extent. The portions missing next door at present are the right side of the face, the left shoulder, the right arm and thigh, and portions of



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the back where the latter is not draped; in all of which positions we find that peculiar highly, say brilliantly, burnished surface which, so far as is now known, seems but the *Menyan* sculpture have ever watched to produce on this Chinese material.

Students of Indian Art are aware of the fact that, with very few exceptions indeed, sculptural representations in this country take the form of reliefs. Sometimes we find low reliefs, more occasionally high; but almost always the back of the figure is engaged in some kind of background, which, in the case of seated images, is frequently the sacred shell. It thus becomes a matter of special interest to note that, in the case of the Dilgaugaj image, the figure is sculptured entirely in the round, a circumstance which associates it at once with that small but important group represented by the two standing figures from Patna and the huge female figure from Banagar, now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and the disfigured Perikham image at Meitea; all of which are assignable only to the earliest period. The same detail enables us to study the drapery and the surface, and to gauge the sculptor's power as a modeler, to better advantage than could have been done in the case of an engaged figure in relief.

The drapery is interesting and persistent of the drapery on other very early statues and on early terracotta figurines. The garment, which is apparently in one piece, is thin and clinging, though these qualities are better remembered by the artist in fashioning the front of the image than in his treatment of the side and back. It is worn wrapped round the hips dhoti-fashion, being gathered into elaborate folds in front which, caught in one long loop, fall gracefully to the feet. The left hip shows some kind of knot from which one end of the costume is then drawn up obliquely across the back to be caught in the fold of the right elbow, whence it falls, at first with twisting folds, to the ground, leaving the upper portion of the body quite uncovered.

As jewelry the figure wears an elaborate and highly decorative girdle of five strands, opening naturally and gracefully over

the hips, but gathered to a single rope in front, which passes through two opposed and facing bell-shaped fasteners disposed at either side of the central pendant folds described above. These fasteners we may presume were made of gold, but the several strands of the girdle are composed of fat larvae, doubtless of semi-poisonous species, like agave or corallium, separated each from each by two round beads; both these constituent features being conspicuously met with in our carvings. In early times in India, besides this beautiful and effective ornament the statue wears a necklace of three strands of pearl-like beads, two of which strands are of substantial length and fall pendulously between the breasts, while the third is disposed in a shorter loop around the neck. The earrings, which are shaped something like an hour-glass, or double drum, with the lower member ending in an inverted cone, are extraordinarily massive and distend the lobe immensely, though not perhaps to quite Persian dimensions. The right forearm shows thirteen (or is it sixteen ?) bangles, with a prominent snake near the elbow, while even the head itself is wreathed with ropes of beads or pearls caught up to a point in front, where a large and prominent oval disk of metal had placed directly over the forehead; they are thick-set backwoods in a double line along the parting to find fastening beneath the luxuriant tresses of the profuse behind. Large and stiff-like eulists made up of what may or may not be little tails or other jagging objects, complete the adornment of a figure, which, all in all, and in view of its humble character as a carved-beast, is elaborated with surprising sumptuousness.

In point of modelling, the statue is in some ways fairly paradoxical and partial in the characterisation of both classes of early work in India, the definitely indigenous and the supposedly exotic. The pose is easy, natural, and lifelike to an unusual degree. The head is certainly good, and represents an art far beyond the incipient or experimental stage, being conceived as a work, and really in the result, so that it appears equally convincing from all sides and angles. The face is distinctly feminine



and pleasing, though a fracture to the nose has sadly disfigured it; and it is noticeable that the line of the eye (although the two are not exactly even) is hardly if at all above the diameter of the facial oval. The skin and the nose are good, the latter showing naturalistic folds or creases, but the most interesting feature of all is the eye. The way in which this is represented is curious; but I am not sure that it would be fair to call it altogether unsuccessful, since somehow it seems to give the face an upward glance, which may be in some way contributory to the general look of animation which is one of the charms of the statue. What is more remarkable still is the, to me, definite slant the eyes possess, which recalls one of the slanting eyes noticed by the sculptor Mr. Hampton in the case of the Muryen head unearthed by me at Site No. 1, Kamriker. What significance may or may not attach to this detail (which has been recently verified for me by the Honorable Mr. Walsh), I am not prepared to say.

The undraped portions of the figure are well modelled, with proportions conforming in general to even the most modern canons for the female form. Some attempt even has been made at softened muscular delineation in the umbilical region, and even of the fleshy folds at the waist; but the attempt is restrained, and the figure as a whole preserves that softness of contour and reticence without muscular prominence which are appropriate to the subject.

In other respects, however, the work is less successful. There is none of that "knock-knee" which is supposedly characteristic of the female figure, i. e. there is perhaps less narrowness across the knees than could be desired, less difference in girth between the knees and the hips than the normal female figure ought, essentially, to show; but this may be partly due to the highly unsuccessful treatment of the lower drapery, which exaggerates the apparent defect, particularly in the back, where the form as a whole is heavy and almost wooden. This portion of the figure shows the square angles and the preternaturally shallow depth characteristic of primitive art in all countries, and the back a

feature which betrays the early stage at which the artist stood. This is of course in line with what has been said above about the diaphanous quality of the drapery being better remembered by the analyzer in dealing with the front of the statue than with the other sides—a fact illustrated by the way in which the patella shows through the front drapery whereas in the back we find a more shagreen and impervious mass, lightened only by schematic folds of wholly artificial character. Even from the rear, or either of the back angles, the statue might as well be a fissioned tree-trunk, or a post, as a living human form; and this quality is an accepted criterion for early and primitive, or should I say, formative, art. It is this fact which makes the statue as a whole so paradoxical. The upper portions of it, especially the undraped parts, as well as the bold modelling, betray nothing of this clumsiness and lack of skill. Here the artist is away beyond the "memory picture" stage and, grasping like the usual Indian prodigal, the firmness and solidity in the breasts, is not untrue to nature, is the discrepancy due merely to his having paid more attention to those parts? It may be so; and yet even that explanation will not suffice, because failure of this kind to realize the importance of correct and convincing modelling throughout, means failure to grasp his subject as a whole; and it is this very failure which brands the modelling as primitive. A possible explanation of the paradox is that we are dealing with the work of an artist of the primitive school represented by the Fickham bronze, working under the tutelage of a Maoryan master, who added certain touches in the finishing or even modelled certain parts (e.g. the head) himself. The curious distortion of the right hand and the extraordinary clumsiness of the feet, which are treated formally or schematically throughout, and, of usually surface width from front to back, show no attempt whatever at articulation, would bear out an idea of this kind. But I cannot pretend to solve the problem. It is a fact for any observer to perceive that the various portions of the whole

represent very varying and disparate stages of artistic power, but the final explanation of this fact I cannot as yet easily give.

For purposes of comparison, the colossal female figure from Benagur presented by His Highness the Maharaja Scindia to the Indian Museum, may be cited. Here we are dealing with what is generally accepted as a product of the early indigenous school, whose several of the characteristics of primitive art appear. In the matter of costume, however, the figure from Benagur is not unlike our Dolagooj image, as far as the modified condition of the former permits of judgment. Here again we find a many-attended girl in similar way. But the head-dress is markedly divergent, as the Benagur statue wears what is either a wig or a knitted cap, and the hair is shown plaited in two knits which fall to meet the top of the figure in the back. The relief is lower in the case of Benagur, and the edges of the component heads, etc., in the make-up of the figure are less sharp. But this may be merely due to the image being more worn than our recent find. The face is peculiarly inferior to illustrated for any comparison to be drawn, but nowhere is there any trace of polish on the stone, and all in all, the Benagur figure is far more clumsy than the one from Dolagooj. The lower portions of the latter, however, bear definite affinity with the same portions of the statue from Benagur, while for the remaining portions the comparison is rather with the two school from Patna also in the Bharhut Gallery in Calcutta. They themselves, however, are least successful and convincing in their limbs and lower portions, and in this are closely allied to the shewn/bearer of our theme. That all three are of the same general school and period is hardly to be doubted, but I am not yet satisfied myself that the inconsistencies of all three have been finally explained as yet. To me they seem most probably transitional.

VI.—Shivaji in South Konkan and Kanara.

By Professor JAGANNATH SARTAR, M.A.

Shivaji's dealings with the English merchants of Rajapur have been described in our December 1918 number. Here we shall narrate his doings in Kanara.

In the seventeenth century, Kanara, the extensive country along our west coast, was held by various Hindu chieftains. North Kanara (now included in the Bombay Presidency) owed the suzerainty of Bijapur, which ruled directly over the coast-strip from Karwar (mouth of God) to Mirjan (24° 55' N. Lat.), leaving the inland districts in the hands of feudatory chiefs, among whom the Nayaks of Sonda were the most important. The portion of Kanara that lay south of Mirjan formed a large and independent principality under the Kolahli dynasty, whose capital was then at Belgaon.

A Muslim officer with the feudal title of *Bastur-i-Zaman* was the viceroy of the southernmost sector of the Bijapur kingdom. His charge extended on the west coast from the Ratnagiri town, going round the Portuguese territory of Goa, to Karwar and Mirjan, while landwards it included the southern part of the Ratnagiri district, Kolhapur, Belgaon, a bit of Dhule and the western corner of the North Kanara district. His seat was at Hisej. The fort of Pashala lay within his province but it was governed by a commandant directly under the orders of the Sultan. He administered by means of his agents the flourishing ports of Rajapur in the north and Karwar in the south, through which the trade of the rich inland places flowed to Europe. In both towns the English had factories.

* The best pepper is the world is of the growth of Sonda known in England by [the name of] Karwar pepper, though

Two days' journey distant from Ghassan." [Pryor, II. 42.] Indeed, after the loss of Chiraz, Karawa became the greatest port of Rijaz on the west coast. "The finest squalls of western India were expended from here. The wandering country was inland, to the east of the Sahyadris, at Hami (i.e. the Dharrar district), and at other centres, where the English East India Company had agents and employed as many as 50,000 warriors." (*Review-Gazetteer*, XV., Pt. 2, pp. 122-123.)

At Mirjan, a port twenty miles south-west of Karawa, pepper, salt-petre and benzoin were shipped for Surat. [Ibid., 122.] Gampy, a district situated by Hadram, was so famous for its pepper that the Portuguese used to call its Rasi "the pepper Queen". [Ibid., 124.]

In 1648 the pepper and cardamom trade of Rajapur was the chief attraction that induced the English Company to open a factory there. Viagarla was spoken of in 1580 as a great place of call for ships from Britain, Japan and Ceylon on the one side and the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea on the other. All the ports of the Bataegiri district did much trade also in saloons, silk, gins and some less, though pepper was their chief export, "which coming out of Kabsa is sent by sea to Persia, Surat and Europe. This country is the storehouse for all its neighbours." (*Review-Gazetteer*, X, 132.)

II.

After the Ghassanids fell out of A'raf Khan, Rustam-b-Zaman had marched against Shiraji [October, 1558] with 5,000 horse, but this show of hostility was made chiefly to save his credit with his khalif. The quasi-regent, Rasi Bakha, being his enemy, he had made a secret alliance with Shiraji for self-protection. This fact was well known to the country around and even the English factory had heard of it. Not even if Rustam had been in earnest, he could have done little with his small army.

Shiraji had followed up his victory over A'raf's army by pushing on to Fakhla and capturing that fort. Then he entered the Bataegiri district and began to "take possession of all the

port and island towns". The Bijapur governors of these places fled to Bijapur, which was at first spared. "Ismail & belonged to Rustam-i-Zaman, who [is a friend of Shiraj?]. (Bijapur to Surat, 10th October 1682, *P. R. Surat*.)

In March 1683, Rustam-i-Zaman did another friendly turn to Shiraj. Nizam-i-Mulk, Shira's "lieutenant-general", had raided the Imperial territory, but a large Moghal division of 7,000 cavalry pursued him as close as to force him to march 45 or 50 miles a day. Rustam met this army near Bijapur and persuaded the Moghal commander to give up the chase as "that country was dangerous for any strange army to march in, Bhochra promising them to go himself and follow him, by which doubt Nizam got escaped, though not without the loss of 300 horse and himself wounded". (Oxford to Surat, 30th March and 8th April 1683, *P. R. Surat* 105.) This success defeated Shiraj's plan of making North Kanara and penetrating to the rich port of Karwar. (*P. R. Surat*, Vol. 2, 8th October.)

On 1st March 1685, Ali Adil Shah II., with all his court, left his capital for Banapur. There they were at first received with respect by the mother of Akbar Bahadur Khan, in whose bed it lay. But the queen soon was opened to the King. Ali Adil Shah married Bahadur Khan, Shahji and other officers from the Kanara, who came by forced marches and walked on the King on the bank of the Uarda (an affluent of the Tungabhadra). Bahadur and Shahji were at once arrested and placed in chains (end of June 1685), but Shahji was released in two days, though he continued to be deprived of his command for some time. The Bijapur invasion of Kanara had already begun. (*P. R. Surat* 123, Oxford to Surat, 8th April, 10th July 1685.)

¹ *P. R. Surat*, Vol. 112, Oxford to Surat, 20th July 1686. A letter from him to Surat, 30th March, says that the Ali Adil Shah court went there in fear of the English who had come within five leagues of Bijapur: in pursuit of Nizam. But Desdimer-Des 12, 120-124. (also *P. R. 200*) says that it went to Banapur to meet the opposition against the Rajah of Bidar in person.

III.

Shivappa Nayak,¹ who governed Belgaum for forty-five years (1618-1663), first as viceroy and then as king, had extended his kingdom on all sides by his conquests and stretched his sway over the whole of South Kanara, the north-west corner of Mysore, and North Kanara up to the Gangavati river, including the fort of Mirjan. At the close of his life his ambition brought him into collision with Bijapur. He had conquered South and some other forts belonging to vassals of Adil Shah and had thus come dangerously close to Basapur, the fortress of asylum of the Bijapur sultans in the south-western corner of their kingdom. (*Stanley Gazetteer*, XV, Pt. 2, pp. 125-126.)

All Adil Shah's campaigns against the Belgaum Rajahs were short but vigorous and as successful as usual. Shivappa Nayak could make no stand against the combined resources of the entire Bijapur kingdom; Salim Shah, Belgaum and many other forts, and was forced to make peace by restoring South to its former chief and providing an indemnity of Tulkas of Rs. to Adil Shah. On 21st November the victorious Ali II. returned to his capital. (*N.S.* 268-270; *P.R.*, Surat 102, Kanwar to Surat, 28th January and 20th February, also *Gyfford* to Surat, 23rd July 1662.)

IV.

We now turn to the activities of Shivaji in this region. While Ali was engaged in the struggle with Belgaum, Shivaji had been active in South Kanara and in the north-western part of the Kanara District. By way of Kolhapur and Kadli, he marched to Vingola (May 1662); "all the way, as he goes along, he gives his *quat* (*janamsani*), promising them that neither he nor his soldiers shall in the least do any wrong to any body that takes his *quat*, which promise he observes both ways" (*P. R.* Surat, Vol. 102, *Gyfford* to Surat, 24th May, 1662.)

¹ In the Persian histories of Bijapur he is called *Shivappa*, from *Shivachya*, the original name of the founder of the dynasty. He is there styled the Rajah of Malani, which was Kanara most meaning "all country". (*Stanley Gazetteer*, [I, 108.] *The Stanley Gazetteer*, XV, part 2, p. 125, places his death in 1669. But the English history records prove that he died at the close of 1663. (*Stanh.* Vol. 186, Kanwar to Surat, 28th April 1664.)

His going down the coast caused such alarm that "all the Mahomedan governors as far as Singay [Nchakul in Serwet-mul] and Bichala [=Bichal in Gaa] were shut", and in consequence the petty robbers on the route became more active than usual. In June Shiraj returned from Vignoria after having a garrison of 2,000 soldiers there. Shortly before this Shalata Khao had defeated a Mauntha army, killing more than 100 men. (*Ibid.*, Gyfford to Surat, 14th May, 22nd June 1803.)

In July the Bijapur Government ordered the Governor of Poonah to join forces with the Sarani of Vail and other petty Rajas and try to drive Shiraj's men out of Bijapur and Kharepatna. But nothing was done, as "they were juggling between them, and he remained possessed of all". (*Ibid.*, 29th July 1803, Vol. 80, Surat to Co. 18th November 1804.)

In punishment of Bhatani-Zaman's secret friendship with Shiraj, the Sultan deposed him from his vicereignty and gave the Province to Mahomed Ikhtiar Aliyar, the eldest son of the late Khan-i-Khalisi. His son Khan and a brother of Khawar Khan, while Dekhal and Chupha were given to Halli Khan. Shiraj got possession of Bijapur at this time and kept it personally in his own hands. (*Ibid.*)

Bhatani's agent at Karwar found the English factors there so secretly that in July 1803 they were ordered by the Council at Surat to remove themselves and the Company's goods quietly to Hahli. Adil Shah and Bhatani-Zaman also were sensible of the loss of revenue caused by such expropriation of traders, and therefore the King sent them a *farran* providing that they would be left in peace at Karwar and would have to pay no other duties than they had formerly done. Thus the factory was re-established at Karwar. (*P. B. Seret*, Vol. 2, Council, 14th August 1803.)

V.

In 1804 the war with Bedaw was renewed. Shirappa Nayak, evidently an old man, died soon after his defeat by the Bijapuris in 1803. His son and successor, Soma Shikhar, was murdered by his Bedawans, and as infant grandsons named Basava was set up on the throne under the regency of his mother Charamma[?]

and her favourite Timura Naysik, a boldy-seller, who "by his winning policy won himself to be general and protector" of the ruler. At this revolution Ali Adil Shah II. was so interested that he sent his generals, Bahadur Khan and Syed Mirza Shams Khan, to invade Bidar from two sides. [April 1864.] [*P. R. Surat* 104, Karwar is Surat, 15th April 1864, *Pyrar*, II. 41-45.]

By this time Rustam-i-Kanara seems to have returned to favour at Court. Mahamud Bahadur Khan was transferred from the government of Karwar and his friends from Chet of Ankola, Shivnagar (or Hahkot), Kadra and other places in North Kanara and these tracts were given to those of Rustam's sons. In August Rustam himself was ordered to go to that region with two other Bijapur generals and try to expel Shivaji. He reached Kudal at the end of August but did nothing. [*P. R. Surat*, 104, Karwar 12th July and Hahkot 29th August 1664.]

Any serious attack by Ali Shah on Shivaji was now rendered impossible as the Sultan's attention was directed to Bidar, whither he wished to march in person with 12,000 horse after the Devali Festival (October) and co-operate with Shams Khan in crushing the Kanara Rajah. Throughout the second half of 1664 the north region was in an unhappy condition. As the English traveller writes, "Dewar and all the north countries are all embroiled in civil wars, king against king and country against country, and Shivaji reigns victoriously and uncontested, that he is a terror to all the kings and princes round about, daily increasing in strength. He hath now fitted up five more vessels and sent them down to Bhatkal and Chaulwate, whilst he intends to send three overboard with a flying army of horse.....The news of him at present are that he is intercepted in his journey down to his fleet by a party of this king's army and fought, where between themselves thousand men were slain, himself worsted¹ and forced to fly to a castle [not named].

¹ It is worthy to note that it referred to in the *Rustam-i-Kanara*, 174-175 : "Anangul and an army to Ali Shah to beg his cooperation with Jal Singh in the war with Miran. Before Jal Singh's death, Ali Shah sent an army against Kanara Khan. After hearing of it began to close the mountain pass" (Ghat), but Kanara, by making good numbers, caused the Shah's army and

where this army following is present both very strictly gilt him in that he cannot stir." (*J. N. Ford*, Vol. 89, Serat Co., 20th November 1884.) And again (on 18th March 1893), "The subjects [of Add Hall] unanimously cry out against him for suffering Shrivji to forage to and fro, burning and robbing his country without any opposition, wherefore it is certainly concluded by all that he shares with the wild rebel in all his rapine, so that the whole country is in a confused condition, merchants flying from one place to another to preserve themselves, so that all trade is lost....The rebel Shrivji hath committed many atrocities and great robberies since that of Serat, and hath possessed himself of the most considerable ports belonging to Daman [i.e., Diu] to the number of eight or nine, from whence he sets out two or three or more trading vessels yearly from every port to Persia, Bary, Mecha, etc."

VI.

Early in December 1881 Shrivji burnt Halli and many other rich towns of that region, holding several valiant merchants prisoners for ransoms. He had won only three hundred lancesmen to Halli, but those did their work so thoroughly that the town "was little better than spoiled". The merchants who had fled at the attack were too frightened to return there soon, even after the departure of the Marathas. The raiders were said to have been assisted by some of Harrison's soldiers; that noble, as the English remarked, had "begun to taste the sweetness of plunder [sic] that in a short time he would get a habit of it". Soon afterwards, Shrivji plundered Vingola, an important en-

deavour (Jaka Kholas ?). While the negligent Khawas Khan did not even know of Serat's capture, the latter with his full force surprised him and completely burned the town in an irretrievable spot, where the Bijapur army had not gone enough to move about or even to watch the work. Khawas called his officers together and bawled down in the midst of their anger. The Khawas spoke first; the Bijapuri advanced to close quarters and fought a severe battle, being led by Serat (the Abyssinian general), Shah Serat, Shah Khan and some other officers. The defeat of the Madras armed forces, when Khawas Khan charged sword in hand, his troops followed him bravely to our help, and many were debated and put to flight."

past and trade routes, from which he carried away vast stores. "Hima and his sons range all over the country, making havoc wherever they come, with fire and sword." (*F. R. Surat* 104, Karwar to Surat, 8th January 1844, Taylor to Surat, 14th December 1844, Vol. 80, Surat to Karwar, 23rd March, Surat to Co. 2nd January 1855).

At the beginning of February 1855 Shiraji left Malvan with a fleet of 53 frigates and three large ships, sailed past Goa to Diu, which he plundered, and landed at the holy city of Ulkarna, on the coast, 12 miles south of Karwar, to take part in the holy bath festival before the great temple of Mahabharwar on Shivaratri day (25th February). He sent marched to Ankola (nine miles northwards) with 4,000 infantry, sending all his fleet back, with the exception of twelve frigates, which he detained for transporting his army over the rivers on his way back to North Konkan. On the 24th he came to Karwar. The English factors, having got early news of his coming, from the spies they had employed, put all the Company's ready money and portable goods on board a small iron-clad ship belonging to the House of Mader, then lying in the river, the captain Hassan-i-Dawarida promising to defend it as long as he lived or his vessel kept sailing. The factors themselves took refuge in the ship. Sher Khan, 'a son of the late Khan-i-Khanan Ikhlas Khan and a subordinate of Bahadur Khan, arrived in the town that very night without knowing anything of Shiraji's approach. With the help of his escort of 500 men he quickly fortified himself as well as he could to protect the goods he had brought down, and sent a messenger to Shiva in the night urging him not to enter the town as he would crush him to the utmost. Sher Khan was famous throughout the country for his valour and ruling capacity, and his chief, Bahadur Khan, was "one of the potentates in the Kingdom of Bijapur". Shiraji, therefore, shrink from provoking him, and after much discussion "condescended to go a little out of the way, and so

* The cause of his coming to Karwar was to charter a ship of Hassan-i-Dawar to carry Bahadur Khan's mother to Mecca.

came and encamped with his army at the mouth of the river "Kafana," spring the town.

From this place he sent an envoy to Sher Khan, asking him either to deliver the English merchants up to him or, sitting himself, punish him to avenge himself on them, "whom he styled his inveterate enemies". Sher Khan sent this news to the English and desired to know their final answer, which was that they had nothing on board except powder and bullets which Shrivaji might come and fetch if he thought they would serve him instead of gold. "This our answer being sent to Shrivaji did so incourage him that he said he would leave us before he departed, which the governors of the town hearing, they persuaded all the merchants to agree to send him [Shrivaji] a present lest he should smite his feet, which lay on this side of Salotto." (*J. R. Hunt, Vol. 104, Kewar to Surat, 14th March 1605*.) To this blackmail the English contributed £112, as an out to exchange the Company's property in Kewar, worth 5,000 *tan*. "With this Shrivaji departed on 22d February, very unwillingly, saying that Sher Khan had spoiled his hunting at the *Nav*, which is a time he generally attempts went with design."¹

Thence the Surpeshah Muzahhid returned to Vingirah (early in March). But soon afterwards Jai Singh's signs of Parahdar and vigorous invasion of the neighbouring country called away Shrivaji to the defence of his home, and Kanara enjoyed peace for some time.

VII.

By the treaty of Parahdar (15th June 1605) the Moghuls left Shrivaji free to annex Adil Shahi Tal Kanara. The affairs of Bijapur also fell into confusion at this time.

¹ Shrivaji's last of Surat and visit to Kewar - *J. R. Hunt, Vol. 104, Kewar to Surat, 19th January and 14th March 1605. Dakh. 56-71, Chit. 56-71.*

Shrivaji is here often met of *Chandpur* in the North Census District, also known as *Bavdheri*. "The principal post of the Sultan's Rajahs" *J. R. Census Districts, v. 322. The Moghul Archives speak the name as *Bavari* or *Bavari*.*

Dahal Khan died June or July. He had come to Bijapur from the Karastak war at the King's call, but died of illness only eight days after his arrival. The Sultan being jealous of his large force, 20,000 brave Afghans, tried to sow dissensions between his two sons and nephews. Shoo Khan, a brave, able and upright man, kept them at peace. But he was soon afterwards poisoned, it was suspected, by Adil Shah, and immediately latter quarrels broke out between the two sons of Dahal Khan, which the Sultan fanned and utilized to seize some of their fief. The affairs of the royal household at Bijapur passed from bad to worse. (F. R. news, Kashmir to Surat, 22th August 1681.)

The Bijapur Governor of Dahal fell into disfavor at Court and the Governor of Mirjan rebelled, Muhammad Khan attacked that fort (August 1681). He had recovered Dahal and many other places in South Kashmir from the Mirathas, while the latter were busy fighting Jai Singh. But by November next Shiroji, now an ally of the Marathas, had reconquered all that country after slaying 2,000 soldiers of Muhammad Ikkin, including several men of note. The Khan fell back on Kadal and waited for Shoo Khan to reinforce him. But no such aid came, as Jai Singh began his invasion of Bijapur that very month and Ikkin Khan had to hasten from Kadal to the defence of the capital. But Vingurik and Kadal continued in Bijapur hands, while Shiroji held Bijapur and Kharpotian (or Charepur?). The country about Kermur was at this time subjected to constant pillage by the soldiers of Shiroji's garrison there, who used to burn their forts and march about in a band of 200 men up and down the country, plundering the small towns. Moratai Beg, who had lost his fort, also took to plunder with his retainers. (Fid, 22th August, 21st September and 27th November 1685 and 15th January 1686.)

VIII.

In the course of Jai Singh's war with Bijapur, Shiroji had been detached against Puchala. His assault on that fort (16th January 1686) failed and then he went off to Kholm. From

this place he sent 5,000 men under a Muhammadan officer to besiege Phonda.¹ The garrison resisted for two months (February and March), killing 900 Marathas, and finally agreed to surrender in six hours. In the meantime the Bijapur Government had sent 8,000 horse and 1,000 foot under Siddi Masud, Abdul Aziz (the son of Siddi Jankar) and Rustam-i-Zaman to the Pashala region. They formed a plan for surprising Shivaji, who lay on the top of the hill overlooking Keshin. When their war, under Rustam, approached he beat his drums and sounded his trumpets and thus gave his friend Shivaji timely warning to escape. But Masud charged the Marathas with 600 drums cavalry and cut off 100 of the enemy. On the way back he intercepted Shivaji's friendly letters to Rustam, which he immediately sent to Bijapur. At this Adil Shah wrote to Rustam that though he reluctantly perceived this act of disloyalty, he would pardon him unless he raised the siege of Phonda. Rustam then wrote to his agent Muhammad Khan to save Phonda by all means. This was effected by a stratagem. Muhammad Khan could get together only a small force, with which he went and sat down in a town of his master's about three miles from Phonda, and sent word to the general of Shivaji that he had only come to look after his own country. The general suspected no stratagem, as his master and Rustam were friends. He went with his Muslim soldiery to a hill a mile off in order to say his prayers in public. Muhammad Khan seized this opportunity, he surprised and routed the soldiers left in the camp, and after a long and well-contested fight defeated the rest of the Marathas who had hurried back from the hill. Thus the siege of Phonda was raised after the poor men in it had been driven to eat leaves for the last five days. "This business," it is generally thought, hath quite broken the long continued friendship between Rustam-i-Zaman and Shivaji. Rustam hath taken now Phonda, Kadai, Bando, Bunde [= Chavandi] and Dandale [= Dandoli in Goa territory],

¹ First siege of Phonda: *J.R. Hist. Soc.*, "Deccan Notes", collecting a letter from Kharas, dated 1605 Apr. 1599.

five towns of note, from Shivaji.¹⁴ All these places except Ponda and Dadoli are in Savant-vadi.

IX.

Soon afterwards, at the end of March 1680, Shivaji went to the Maghal coast. For the next four years he gave no trouble to Bijapur or Kanara; his opponents during this interval being the Portuguese and the Siddis. The English merchants of Kanara repeatedly speak of Shivaji in 1678 and 1679 as being "very quiet" and "keeping still at Rajgarh", and of his credit as increasing during these years of inactivity while the "country all about was in great tranquillity". (*P.R. Surat*, 105.) Late in October 1683 Shivaji made an unsuccessful attempt to reconquer the territory of Goa by stratagem. He smuggled into the towns of this State 400 to 450 of his soldiers in small parties at different times, and under various disguises, hoping that when their number was doubled they would suddenly rise on sight, seize one of the passes, and admit him before the Portuguese could raise a sufficiently large army for defence. But either the plot leaked out or the Portuguese Viceroy's suspicion was excited. He made a narrow search in all his towns, arrested the 400 or 500 men of Shivaji at various places, and evidently extorted the truth from them. Then he sent for Shivaji's uncle-in-law, with his own hand gave him two or three cuffs in the ear, and turned him and the Mamla prisoners out of his territory. On hearing of it Shivaji assembled an army of 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse, threatening to lead them against Goa in person. From the south of Rajapur he marched to Vingula, inspected all his force in that quarter, "changing their men and putting in [fresh] provisions and munition", and then in December returned to Rajgarh as he found "the Portuguese well prepared to give him a hot reception". (*Oxford's Surat*, 13th November and 15th December 1683. *P.R. Surat* 105.)

At the beginning of 1670 came his rupture with the Maghals, which kept him busy in other quarters and prolonged the peace in Kanara till the close of 1673, when, taking advantage of the

death of Ali II., he renewed his depredations in Bijapur territory.

Hosdurga, in September 1671, Rustam-i-Kanwa had broken out in rebellion against his master. He had at last been deprived of his vicereignty and *jagir* for his treacherous intimacy with Shira, the morning star of which was the surrender of one of the king's forts to the Marathas. And now he took up arms in the hope of intimidating the Government to reinstate him. With the underhand help of Shiraji, he occupied Bijapur territory, yielding three lakhs of *dan ayoze*, and plundered and burnt Rahagis, completing the ruin of that port, previously sacked by the Marathas. But within a month the royal troops crushed the rebellion,—the forts of Mirjan and Arkade alone holding out for several months more. By the middle of 1672 Munfar Khan, the new Add Shahi Vicary of the Kanwa coast, had made peace with the rebel chieftain (Nayakwaris) of Shirwadwar and Kalra.¹

X.

The death of Ali Adil Shah II. (on 24th November 1674) was followed by the rebellion of the Rajas of Benda and Bolnur, who invaded the Bijapur territory across their frontiers. An army under Munfar Khan chastised them (February, 1675) and evicted Benda from its Rajas. (*P. H. South*, 106, Kanwar to Co., 17th February 1675.)

This rebellion had been hardly suppressed when the Marathas made their first incursion into Bijapur Kanwa, taking many forts and rich cities in that region. Their general Peshwa Rao raided Haldi,² the most important inland mart of the province,

¹ *P. H. South* 106, Kanwar to Benda, 26th September, 21st October 1671, 22th June 1672.

² The commercial importance of Haldi can be judged from the following remarks of the English merchants:—"Haldi, the mart of our Eastern industry, where we stand to buy most of the goods that pass a trade to." (*P. H. South* 87, 16 November 1674) "Haldi a great mart [= inland] town and a mart of very considerable trade" (*O. C. 3779*) Kanwa invasion of Haldi in 1675: *P. H. South* 3, Corbett, 24th May, 12th and 13th July, Vol. 37, Benda to Benda, 1st November: *O. C. 3779* and 4000; Sentinal to the only eight times for the week of 1675-76, 16th 77 (also Benda only; again, may refer to 1675 or 1676).

causing a loss of 7,804 *huk* to the English Company alone, besides the private property of the factories (May 1673.) The Company's house was the first they entered and dug up, sweeping away all the breadstuffs in it to their general use and in the lanes. Mumtaz Khan, however, promptly came to the scene with 5,000 cavalry and saved the town from total destruction. The Marathas fled precipitately with what booty they had already packed up, "having several goods set in the streets which they had not time to carry away." When the English at Surat complained to Shivaji about the outrage, he denied that it was done by his soldiers.

At Haddi, Mumtaz misled the Maratha soldiers by just one day. He was probably suspected of having entered into a secret understanding with them, like Rustam-i-Kerman, for immediately afterwards all the nobles under his command and most of his own soldiers, forsake him and the Bijapur Government removed him from his vicereignty. This drove him into rebellion and he tried first to retain possession of his fief. The great fort of Belgaum remained in his hands and also many strong places between Goa and Kasara (June 1673). Adil Shah sent a large army to reduce Belgaum, in case Mumtaz declined the compromise offered to him.

In June Bahadur Khan with a large Bijapur army held Kolhapur and defeated the Marathas in several encounters, forcing all their warring bands to leave the Karnar country. He also talked of invading South Kanara and recovering Rajapur and other towns next autumn. In August he is still spoken of as "pressing hard upon Shivaji, who supplicates for peace, being fearful of his own condition." But soon afterwards Bahadur Khan, his irresponsible enemy, fell ill at Miraj and Shivaji's help was solicited by the Bijapur and Golkonda Governments to defend them from a threatened Mughal invasion under Bahadur Khan (September). Shivaji's gains during this year included the strong forts of Peshwa (6th March) and Satara (early September).¹

¹ O.C. 1669 and 1671, F.E. 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, and 1674. Tephedhar 1671, 2, 3, 1672.

At the end of September we find Shivaji at the head of a great army raised for "some notable attempt against the Mughal." He also used 20,000 sacks of cotton for conveying the plunder he expected to seize! But on the disaster day (early October), an unexpected time with the Hindus for setting out on campaigns, he sailed forth on a long expedition into Bijapur territory, with 25,000 men, sacked many rich towns and then penetrated into Kanna, "to get more plunder in those rich towns to bear the expenses of his army". Early in December he reached Kaha (20 miles north-east of Karwar) with a division of 4,000 foot and 2,000 horse and stayed there for four days. The bulk of his forces camped a little east of Hali. But two successive defeats at the hands of Bahadur and Shiroa Khan at Basapur and Chaudagpur (? Chaudagur) respectively forced him to evacuate Kanna quickly.¹ [F.R. Surt 186, Bombay to Surat, 25th September and 10th October, Vol. 33, Karwar to Surat, 17th December, -G.C. 2918, Paper, II. Nash. Rev. 11, No. 185.]

XL.

Though Kanna had been freed from the Marikha, that province enjoyed no peace. Mica Sahib, the brother of Karwar (instigated it is said by Shivaji, Bahadur and Adil Shah) had to conduct a long war before he could be suppressed. The two sides continued to have skirmishes with varying success. In February 1654 the royal troops captured Benda, with the rebel's wife in it, but he held out obstinately in his other forts. By 22nd April this "long and tedious rebellion" was at last ended by the arrival of Ala Khan, Bahadur's younger son, to the war victory. Mica Sahib's followers deserted him for lack of pay; his forts (Kades, Karwar, Achala and Shivendrapur) all surrendered without a blow, and he himself made peace on

¹ The Portuguese File de Jerny (Lisbon, 1783), p. 2, speaks of "grande lago de algodão (Chaudagur, de grande nome muito famoso por ser muito de)" There is a Chaudagur, 20 miles north-east of Basapur. (Philips, *India, Mysore and the S. M.*) Chaudagur, 25 miles north-east of Kanna, seemed to be the place meant.

condition of his wife being released. Shirazî was then only a day's march from Karmar "going to build a castle upon a very high hill, from which he may very much annoy those parts." (*J.N. Surat 88, Karmar to Surat, 16th February and 18th April 1674. Orms, 15.*)

Unlike his father, the new Rustam-i-Zaman did not cultivate friendship with the Manicha. In August 1674 he seized a rich merchant, subject of Shina, living at Nasa (16 miles from Phonda), and the Manicha King prepared for retaliation. In October Rustam was summoned by Khawas Khan, the new sultan, to Bijapur; and, as he feared that his post would be given to another, he extorted forced loans from all the rich men of Karmar and its neighbourhood that he could lay hands on, before he went away. (*J.N. Surat 88, Karmar to Surat, 4th September and 17th October 1674.*) In the beginning of September, "in Kudal about four hours [journey] from here [Vingurda], one of Shirazî's generals called Arsaî came with 3,000 soldiers to surprise the fortress Phonda, but Mansur Khan who was there armed himself, so that the aforementioned accomplished nothing." (*Darîl-Raw, Vol. 84, No. 841.*)

At Bijapur everything was in confusion; "the great Khawass were at difference." The worthlessness of Khawas Khan was driven to hard words by the Afghan faction in the State. Rustam-i-Zaman II. after his visit to the capital evidently lost his viceroyalty. This was Shirazî's opportunity and he conquered Karmar for good. First, he befriended the Mughal viceroy Bahadur Khan by sending him a pretended offer of peace, asking for the pardon of the Mughal Government through the Khan's mediation and promising to send the Imperial Geta he had recently conquered as well as the twenty-three lists of his own that he had once before yielded to Jai Singh's Geta. By these insincere negotiations Shirazî for the time being averted the risk of a Mughal attack on his territory and began his invasion of Bijapuri Kanara.¹ with impunity of mind.

¹ Invasion of Kanara and capture of Shirazî (1677). *J.N. Surat 89, Karmar to Surat, 16th and 18th April, 9th and 11th May. Bijapur to Surat,*

XII.

In March 1675 he got together an army of 15,000 cavalry, 14,000 infantry and 18,000 pikemen with pikemen, crossbows and katibets, etc. Arriving at Rajapur (22nd March), he spent three days there, collecting fifty small ships to go to Vlangu with all speed and there wait for fresh commands. Next he marched to his town of Kodal, within a day's journey of Phanda, and early in April laid siege to the lustnamed plain.

The hill fort of Phanda commands one of the easiest passes leading from South Korea into the Deosan plateau; beyond the Western Ghats and establishing direct communication between Rajapur and Kolharpur. So convenient is its situation and so gentle its gradient, that it has now been made practicable for artillery, and in one year (1917) nearly 200 thousand carts from Rajapur crossed it on the way to the Deosan. Both Rajapur and the Kolharpur district being in his hands, it was necessary for Shimaji to secure direct connection between them by taking Phanda. While he was prosecuting the siege, another division of his army plundered Sitgiri in Adil Shahi territory and two other large cities near Haidarabad, carrying away "a great deal of riches, besides many rich persons held to ransom".

He began the siege of Phanda on 5th April 1675 with 2,000 horse and 7,000 foot, and made arrangements for sieging down before the hot sun during the evening rainy season in order to starve the garrison into surrender. Muhammad Khan had only four months' provisions within the walls; there was no hope of relief from Rajapur or even from the Portuguese who were troubled for the safety of Goa and opposed Shimaji by providing neutrality. Basmachi-Jewar II. had too little money or men to attempt the raising of the siege. But Muhammad Khan made a heroic defence, unaided and against overwhelming odds.

1st and 20th April; 2nd, 3rd and 10th May; 1st and 14th June, D.D. 461, 462, 463, 464. Kharisli records in Gulland, 78 (partly). Phanda described, *Asiatic Researches*, X, 107 &. 313, 348 and 355.

Dated in page after to Nagada D.D. 465, O.E. 466.

Shivaji ran four mines under the walls, but they were all countermined, with a heavy loss of men to him. He then threw up an earthen wall only 18 feet from the fort and his soldiers lay sheltered behind it. The Portuguese, fearing that if Shivaji took Ponda their own Goa would be as good as lost, secretly sent ten boatloads of provisions and some men in aid of the besieged (middle of April) but they were intercepted by Shivaji and the Viceroy of Goa disavowed the act.

The siege was pressed with vigour. By the beginning of May Shivaji had taken possession of two caravans, filled the ditch, and made 800 halberds and 500 gold bracelets, each bracelet weighing half a seer, for presentation to the foreign hope who would attempt the assault.

Rahim Khan, who was at Miraj with 15,000 troops, wanted to come down and relieve Ponda, but Shivaji had filled up the passages with trees cut down and fixed the straddles with his own, and Rahim, being certain of heavy loss and even an utter repulse if he tried to force them, returned to his base. His inactivity during the siege was imputed to lethargy by Shivaji. At length the fort fell about the 15th of May. All who were found in it were put to the sword, with the exception of Muhammad Khan, who saved his own life and those of four or five others by promising to put into Shivaji's hands all the adjoining parts belonging to Bijapur. In fear of death the Khan wrote to the governors of these forts to yield them to the Marathas, but they at first declined. So the Khan was kept in chains. Inapat Khan, the *rajput* of Ankola, seized the country and forts lately held by Muhammad Khan and placed his own men in them, but he could make no stand against Shivaji whose forces were now set free by the fall of Ponda. He therefore compounded and gave up the forts for money. In a few days Ankola, Shirachur (which had been besieged by 2,000 Maratha horse and some foot soldiers since 24th April), Karwar, Kadra (which else had made a short stand), all capitulated to Shivaji, and by the 15th of May the country as far south as the Ganges-wadi river had passed out of Bijapuri possession into his hands.

XIII.

On 16th April one of Shiva's generals had visited Karwar and "burnt the town effectually, leaving not a house standing" in punishment of the fact of Karwar still holding out. The English factory was not visited. This general, however, went back in a few days. But next month, after the fall of Phanda, the fort of Karwar surrendered to the Marathas.

The rainy season now put an end to the campaign. Biddi Khan went back to Bijapur, leaving his army at Miraj. Shiva at first thought of restoring for the rains in a fort on the frontier of Banda, but soon changed his mind and returned to Raigadh, passing Rajapur on 11th June.

A Maratha force was detached into the Banda Rajah's country at the end of May. "They finding no great opposition joined upon Suga and Wharwa (T. Ulri) belonging to the Rajah." But Khidr Khan Pasi and the *Aravals* in concert attacked the Maratha garrison there, killed 800 of the men and recovered both the places. A party of Marathas that was posted at Durbala (Vandoli, seven miles south of Ankola) to take custom duty on all goods passing that way, was now forced to withdraw. (August 1675.) (Ibid, Rajapur to Surat, 27th August 1675.)

The *Aravager* Rani of Belwar had quarrelled with her colleague Yimaya, but had been compelled to make peace with him (August), she being a mere cypher, while he held the real power of the State. The Rani then appealed to Shivraji for protection, agreed to pay him an annual tribute, and admitted a Maratha resident at her Court. (Ibid and Chh. 70.)

The *dolet*, or lieutenant of the *desai* who had been the local Bijapuri Governor of North Kanara, had sided Shivraji in the conquest of that district. But now (1675), disgusted with him, the *dolet* was moving about the country with a force, saying that he would restore his former master. He attacked Shivraji's garrisons in Karwar town and forced them to retire to the castle. The people were in extreme misery in Shivraji's new conquests: he scorned the *Aravals*, who in their turn scorned

the reign. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, XV. pt. 1, 188). But Bijapur was now in the grip of a civil war, the Adil Shahi State was hastening to a dissolution, and Shivaji's possession of South Konkan and North Katara remained unchallenged till after his death.



VII.—Birth and Funeral Ceremonies among the Mos.

By Christina Smith Barker, B.A.

(I).—**BIRTH CEREMONIES.**

Like all other people a Mos has a great desire for a child, especially a male one to keep his memory alive after his death and to give him food, drink, and comfort in his old age.

Barren women are despised and supposed to be cursed by *Sag-kept* (the Sag-god). Barrenness is generally attributed to bad words or sins sin committed by the woman in her previous life. But measures are taken to make a barren woman fruitful. The woman is made to drink a decoction of the root of the *did* creeper and if she continues she the the root until her waist as a charm against all evils that might befall the child in the womb.

The Mos believe that children are born by the will of *Sag-kept* (The Sag-god). They say *Sag-kept* decided (God gives it), but they are all aware of the fact that a woman cannot conceive without intercourse with a man. The Mos also believe that the souls of the dead never die, but are reborn in infants. The dead are recognized in the new-born children by the umbilicus which they bear to the former. Thus when a child is born his grandfather the father says that his father is born again to grace his family.

A Mos woman takes pregnancy as a matter of course and does not take any particular care as to her diet or behaviour during the first few months. Unlike the Hindus no ceremonies are observed among the Mos, at the seventh or other month of pregnancy. But when the time for delivery draws near she is strictly forbidden to frequent the places supposed to be possessed over by the *beasts* (spirits), holds herself aloof from women who are suspected of sorcery and witchcraft and avoids coming out after dark.

Each family generally has one hut with a single room where

The lying-in. It keeps everything that is necessary for daily intercourse.

Life. This is the bed-room as well as the storeroom. They cook their meals and sit ordinarily on the *swanah* which is a raised floor about three feet wide. The mother and the mistress of the house sleep in the hut with all their children. When the time for delivery arrives the room is reserved for the expectant mother and her husband. The huts of the Hov are windowless and therefore entirely safe from any cold blast. The would-be mother and the father enter the lying-in-room and its door is shut against all other persons. Delay in delivery is believed to be caused by the eye of some evil spirit or the fact that before marriage the mother had intercourse with some young man other than her lawfully married husband who caused her for having been taken away from him and united with another man. In the latter case she confesses her misdeed and gives out the name of the lover who is asked to reveal the truth and be done so at once. Now a propitiatory sacrifice, generally a hen, is offered in *Shap-beng*. Then the labours pains are lessened and the delivery becomes easy. Sometimes it is also believed that midwives through their magic power pretend the delivery so that they may be called to facilitate it.

When the would-be mother is conscious that baby is about to be

The Hira.

When she sits down in a kneeling down posture stretching her thighs wide. Her husband supports her from behind leaning against the wall. As soon as the child comes down on the floor the mother picks it up in her hands. The father cuts the umbilical cord with the side of the maize plant (*atapiki siapi*) which has a sharp edge. He does not use a knife for this purpose but the steel-string might take septic poison. The cutting of the umbilical cord over the mother wipes the babe's body if faced covered with membrane with a piece of rag and after kneeling over the child so her husband proceeds to remove the after-birth and to clean the face. The father now gives the child back to its mother and prepares hot water with which the mother bathes herself and her child. The mother

now spreads a palm-leaf mat and lies down on it suckling the child. The father then bathes and cooks rice for himself and his wife. Nobody is allowed to remain in the confinement room except the husband, the wife and the child who are, as is usual, secluded for a month and are regarded as ceremonially unclean. Nobody would touch either their bed or clothes. The mother and her husband bathe every day with tepid water throughout the month of their confinement. She takes hot rice instead of stale rice. She is strictly forbidden to take pot-herb, fish and meat, but is allowed to drink cold rice-herb as a stimulant. The after-birth is buried under ground somewhere outside the confinement room and is carefully covered with earth so that no evil eye may fall on it to do harm to the child.

Just a month after delivery comes the *diu-ter* *Radl-chuts*.

The Radl-chuts Care-money. (knowing any of the custom vessels). The custom pitchers and vessels that were used in the confinement room for cooking rice, boiling water and keeping drink are thrown away. The walls and the floor of the hut are washed with cowdung and the parents with the child are re-admitted into society and feast is given to all the relatives.

Even after being released from confinement the mother as well as the father has to take certain precautions. They have to be careful when they go to bathe in tanks lest the *Nago-Bongt* (water-deity) might do some harm to the child. They should not pass themselves in places where *Bongts* are supposed to live, nor should they bathe in tanks lest the *Nago-Bongt* (water-deity) might do some harm to the child.

The naming of a life child takes place in some cases on the twelfth day and in other cases on the twentieth.

The Naming Care-money. Being free from the principle of re-birth, the Hm. invariably name their children after their deceased grandfathers or grandmothers and great-grandfathers or great-grandmothers. In choosing a name for the new-born child the Hm. like the Quana, perform a sort of lottery by dropping grains of rice

into water. A grain of husked rice is dropped into a pot filled with water and simultaneously a name is suggested. A second grain of rice is dropped into the same pot. If the second grain touches the first one and lie closely parallel to it at the bottom of the vessel, then it is mysteriously indicated that the name suggested has been predestined for the child. Sometimes as soon as a name is uttered, a certain number of grains of husked rice are taken on the palm of the hand and then the whole number is determined to be odd or even by putting the grains on the ground two by two. If the number is found odd, the name is rejected; if it is found even the name is given to the child. The process continues until the number is found even, failing which the name of some great and influential man is selected with the unanimous consent of the community. The name-giving is attended by no special ceremony.

(II) DEATH CEREMONIES.

Premature death is generally ascribed to the evil-eye or to the anger of some spirit (*hongi*). But when an old man dies the Ho say that the man has died of natural decay. When cholera or some other epidemic breaks out in a village—bel-spillemat diseases are very rare in Ho villages—and the trouble of the dead smells terribly, it is suggested that some evil spirit is at work. In such a case the villagers go in a body with all their used earthen vessels and throw them away beyond the village, where they perform a ceremony to drive the evil spirit away from the village with the help of a man reputed for driving away spirits.

As soon as a Ho breathes his last, his female relatives rent the air with loud wailings which denote the death. Other fellow-villagers instantly come to the deceased's house and weep for him. For this act of sympathy they get some reward. Those who do not join the mourning party are looked upon as enemies. The widow will put off all her jewellery and abstain from rice—both boiled and dried—until the cremation is over. So also do the spouses of the deceased.

The Hio prepare a coffin for the dead which they call *Atah-did*. Sometimes it is prepared after the death has actually occurred, and sometimes before death, at the request of the dying man. Frequently old men have their coffins made, even when there is no sign of any illness. In order to make a coffin, a living tree is cut down, and four planks are seen out of its trunk. The plank which is fixed at the bottom of the coffin is called *Ovini*. The plank which is used for the lid or the cover is called *Atahrap*. The remaining two are fixed lengthwise and are called *Alac*. Then remains to be prepared a horse's head and a horse's tail, which go by the name of *Abidre*, out of the stump of the tree. These two are fixed at the two ends of the coffin. Perhaps this is the reason why the Hio take the horse to be a part of all funerals.

The corpse is allowed to remain in the house until the coffin is ready. The face is then shaven and the **Cremation.** forehead is painted with alternate dot marks of vermilion and red ochre diluted in water. It is then placed carefully in the coffin with its head towards the horse's head. All the clothes of the deceased, together with some rice and copper coins, and sometimes even silver coins are placed in the coffin which is then closed and carried by the relatives of the deceased to the burning place—generally an open plot of ground within the village boundary. Logs of wood already gathered are heaped to form a low platform on the centre of which is placed the coffin with the head towards the south.

More wood is piled over the coffin, to thoroughly cover it, and fire is then applied by two persons kind for the purpose. One of them stands at the east of the pile and the other to the west, each with a kindling log of wood in her hand. The woman standing on the east side goes round to the west of the pile and applies her kindling log. The woman standing on the west goes round to the east and does the same. If the pile does not take fire, it is believed that the soul of the deceased is reluctant to leave its former body behind, on account of the affection, which it bears to some particular member of the family.

Then all the family members go round the pile weeping. Those to whom the deceased was much attached, wash their faces with water and sprinkle it on the pile, which it is said, then, at once takes fire.

The dead are cremated at night and the funeral pile is allowed to burn until next morning, when the fire is extinguished by sprinkling water on it with twigs of a poplar tree.

The bones are then picked out from the ashes, and placed on a mimmering fan. After they are dried till soon as a piece of new cloth spread over a string-birdshead, the ashes are buried and the place where the corpse was burnt is cleaned and homesteaded with curlew digested in water. After the bones are dry, they are kept in a new earthen pitcher and covered with leaves of the *Gingy* plant. Another new and empty earthen vessel is similarly covered and within it the disembodied spirit of the deceased is supposed to reside. This empty vessel is addressed thus:—“You have been taken away by your God and we isolated from us up till now. We shall take you home on the third day.” After having consulted the departed spirit thus, the funeral party bury this empty vessel under the earth and carry the vessel of bones to the house of the deceased and hang it from the branch of the oak.

The party now go to a neighbouring stream or pond, wash their limbs with turmeric and oil, and take a purificatory bath. This bath is called *Nyāthidatta* which literally means, we touch of the corpse and therefore we bathe. After the bath, the party take boiled rice and rice-beer at the house of the deceased, sit there for some time, consulting the bereaved family and then return home.

On the third night after the death, a ceremony called *Ri-t-andir* takes place in the room where *ni-t-andir* the family deity of the deceased resides. Ashes are spread on the floor of this room. A male member of the family, either the brother or the father, takes his seat in one corner of the room, and a female speaker, either the sister or the widow of the deceased, sits in another corner.

The door of the room is carefully shut from within. Now, from the place where the dead body was kept, two men proceed towards the door of the room. One of them comes squirting water and scattering boiled rice and the other follows him striking a spade against a ploughshare and thus producing a tinkling sound. On reaching the door of the room they ask, "Sokusha hi Dakusha?" (Entered or not entered). The woman sitting in one corner of the room, at once lights a lamp already kept ready before her and examines the walls on the floor, in order to discover the footprints of any creature whose entrance into the room has been expected. If she finds the footprints of a bird, it is at once believed that the deceased has been re-born as a bird; if the footprints of a particular animal is found, then it is believed that the deceased in his next birth has become such an animal; and if the footprint of a human being is discovered on the wall, it is determined that the deceased is re-born as a human being.

If the woman, sitting in the corner, on being asked if the spirit of the deceased has entered or not, replies "Sokusha" (not entered), then the two, sitting in another corner of the room, would forthwith begin offering a sacrifice to the presiding deity, and the two men outside will again go back to the burning place, and the same process is repeated until some sign signifying the entrance of some creature into the room is found.

The next day takes place the ceremony called *Haring Sibi*, the relatives of the deceased shave their heads with a razor, have their hair cut and nails pared. It may be noted here that the razors which the Hise use, are generally manufactured by themselves in their own villages. I have examined one such razor, and I may say that it produces a painful sensation during shaving. The Hise never engage barbers or washermen except as a recent innovation near Chikusa.

The ceremony called *Miring Sibi* takes place the day following. The relatives of the deceased wash all their clothes and take a purificatory bath, after which they are readmitted into the society.

Jing-tsyin, or the burying of bones, takes place either on the fourth day after the *Re-s-chü*, or a year or two afterwards, as it suits the convenience of the members of the deceased's family.

Another ceremony called *Jing-tsin* (carrying the bones) just precedes *Jing-tsyin*. One of the two women who set fire to the pyre, takes out the bones from the earthen vessel that was kept hanging from the roof, puts them in a bamboo tray decorated with artificial flowers made of Shou (rock) and carries this tray on her head. The other woman usually carries an empty water pot. A third woman carries on her head a basket at the two ends of which are fastened two balls. These three women followed by a number of dragoons, and the relatives and the neighbours of the deceased, start from the deceased's house in a long procession. The drumming begins to sound:—

Tsyin, tsyin, tsyin, tsyin, Jing-tsyin.

which literally means

"We'll bury, we'll bury, we'll bury, bones we'll bury."

The three women dance a *tsing-tsin* dance and the men and their heads to the beating of the drum. In this way the procession solemnly advances through the village and stops at the door of every relative who comes out of his house weeping and offer some quantity of rice to the deceased. If the deceased has relatives living in villages, the procession must visit those villages also. If the number of such villages be large, the party visits as many of them as possible up to the evening, and then stops for the night. The solemn dancing march begins again next day, and it continues until the bones are carried to the doors of the rest of the relatives.

After the *Jing-tsin* is over, the procession returns to the burial-place which is usually fixed within the village, and even within the boundary of household lands. The day before the *tsing-tsin*, a grave has been dug four feet deep, four feet in length, and the same in breadth, so that the bones may rest safely within it. The hollow firm mud already in the

ground is besmeared with cow-dung and sanctified rice, collected during the house-carrying is first put into it together with any ornaments of the deceased that remained unburnt at the cremation. The bones are next taken out of the bamboo-tray and placed in a jar and entirely and eastwardly jar. This jar is then painted with a paste of rice flour and covered with a piece of red cloth, after which it is placed in the grave. A quantity of stale rice from which beer is prepared, is put just besides the jar. The grave is then filled in and a big slab of stone is placed over it. Four pieces of small stones also are put under the slab as supports, at the four corners of the grave.

At the time of interment, the Hui sui goes, the reports of which announce to the public the entrance of the relics of the deceased to their last resting place.



MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I—Inscription of Udayasri (Patna Museum).

By M. G. Majumdar, B.A.

This inscription was discovered by the late Dr. Theodor Hock on the pedestal of a Buddhist image at Bakh Gajr though he could not touch the image itself. In his paper, entitled *Notes on Bakh Gajr*, published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1893-94, p. 147, will be found a notice of the inscription together with its transcript and translation. It is now in the Patna Museum (No. 140). The reading given by Dr. Hock needs some correction. It is therefore re-edited here.

It consists of two lines only which make up a single verse. The writing covers a space of $2\frac{1}{2}' \times 1\frac{1}{4}'$. The language is Sanskrit. The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They have a close affinity with the characters of the Gwalior inscription of Kuntaldev,¹ a Queen of the Gahadavala King Govindachand, for whom we have dates ranging from 1136 to 1188 A.D.

The object of the short epigraph is to record the installation of (an image of) the Hareṣa One (*Harṣa*) by a certain individual named Udayasri, a pilgrim from Ceylon.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 272 B.

TEXT.*

1. Kīrto Bhagavān-aka Śaśibhāva-Ōdayakīyē dāḥh-
 irobbhāsihi-cirumagga-¹ jagad-ottama
 2. paribhāga].²

TRANSLATION.

"This [image of the] Lord was caused to be made by
 Udayakī, from Ceylon, with a desire to deliver the world sub-
 merged in an ocean of woo."

* Read, read *cirumagga*.

¹ Read, read *adibhāsihi-cirumagga*.

² The new reading has been recovered by Mr. H. Pausley with the original and found correct. Its Sanskrit is published.—E. P. J.



II.—The Janibigha Inscription and Bisapi Grant.

By H. Pandey, B.A.

In the September number of this Journal for 1915 (Vol. IV, page 275), when discussing the date of the Janibigha inscription I alluded to the evidence of the Bisapi grant of Riva-Nidha which put the commencement of the Lakshminaga-Sena Sakrat thirteen years earlier than the accepted date for it. Mr George Grierson who first brought the grant to light in 1902,¹ has kindly drawn attention to subsequent papers by him in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in which he has shown that the grant is a palpable and clumsy forgery.² The date of the commencement of the Lakshminaga-Sena era arrived at by the late Dr. Kalkori, namely, the 7th October, 1110 A.C., is therefore the only date which rests on good evidence. The date of the Janibigha inscription is thus, as stated in my first note, November, 1203 A.C.

¹ *Ibid. loc. cit.*, 1902, p. 100.

² *J. A. S. B.*, 1909, p. 66; 1910, p. 229 [The "Pala era" cited in the grant, as Mr George points out, never existed—R. E. A.]

III.—Purnahottama Deva, King of Orissa.

By Taran Charan Sath, B.A.

The past glories of Orissa achieved by her later independent Hindu Kings are still fresh in the memory of our countrymen. Orissa alone asserted boldly her independence for full two centuries long after the rest of India succumbed to the lust of the sturdy Muhammedan invaders. The last independent Hindu prince of Bengal is said to have escaped through the backdoor of his palace¹ at the approach of the Muhammedan hordes and taken shelter in Orissa till his death. The Telingana King on a similar occasion expressly approached the Orissan monarch to lend him a helping hand, and he did so. Even the brave general of Emperor Akbar so late as 1590 A.D., repulsed by the Orissan forces, had to turn his back acknowledging the sight of her estimate of grand religious edifices, venerable rivers and strong forts, "This is the land of gods and no fit subject for human conquest."

Purnahottama Deva Gajapati, one of the most conspicuous Kings of Orissa, ruled the vast country left to him by his father, Kapilendra Deva, during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. He was present by the side of his brave father when the latter died at Kondapalli on the banks of the river Kutaka, when he was immensely regaled in several ways and was crowned as the King of Orissa by the Orissan armies at the very place. Among his numerous sons Kapilendra Deva had decided beforehand that his mantle should fall on Purnahottama Deva, the youngest, to whom he was very fondly attached, owing to his very superior qualities of head and heart. Purnahottama Deva had at the onset to encounter with unnumbered difficulties from his brothers.

¹ [See J.S.O.E.A., Vol. IV, p. 208 E. K.—P. J.]

The most remarkable event in the reign of Purushottama Deva Gajapati is his expedition to the south known in Orissa as the "Kanki-Kanuri" expedition. The eventual success achieved by the King himself, together with his marriage with Padmavathi or Rupasikha, the lovely daughter of the King of Karnata, has left a landmark in the history of ancient Orissa. The event is so popular that it is talked of in almost every household with no small pride. It would be highly interesting to give a brief account of the same.

The daughter of the King of Karnata or Vijayanagara named above had been betrothed to King Purushottama Deva Gajapati. The King of Karnata subsequently learnt that it is customary for the Orissan King to sweep the car of Sri Jagannatha at Puri during the car festival days, held in the month of Ashvina, with a golden incense-burner. This the King regarded as an act derogatory to the position of a Kshatriya, and refused to give his daughter in marriage to such a "chhapla" (sweeper) as characterized by him. At this Purushottama Deva considered himself highly insulted and resolved to punish the King of Karnata by fighting against him, taking his daughter's prisoner and marrying her actually to a real "chhapla." In the first attempt he failed but the second time he fully succeeded. He then sacked Kanki, the modern Coochbehar, laid waste the country as far as the river Kanuri, took Padmavathi a prisoner and returned to his capital victorious. He then entrusted her to his minister for being married to a "chhapla." This wise minister took pity on the lovely girl of royal birth, and at the next car festival which immediately followed while the King was actually sweeping the car of the famous deity of Sri Jagannatha, offered him the beautiful daughter of the Karnata King in marry. Purushottama Deva who was by this time already pacified accepted Padmavathi or Rupasikha in marriage.¹

[¹ The next story relating to a few details is given in *Barber's Orissa*, Vol. I. pp. 380-381—R.P.S.]

Evidence in proof of this is obtained from—

- (1) The old book entitled, "Kanchi-Kaveri" written four hundred years back in Oriya graphically describes the event though probably with some exaggeration.
- (2) The temple archives known as "Machala Panchi" preserved in the temple of Vet Jagannatha in palm leaf, make clear mention of these facts.

The South Indian images of Sakhi Gopala and Gopala brought by the King during the expedition from Kanchi are to be seen to this day consecrated at Satyavadi and Puri respectively.

- (3) The "Samantathi-Vidya," the huge legal compilation of the Oriassa King Prataparudra Deva, son of Parashottama Deva and Padmasukhi, makes in the introduction in unmistakable terms mention of the expedition of his father and his marriage.
- (4) In the contemporary Tamil inscriptions of South India this is referred to as the "Oddiva Kalikona."
- (5) The contemporary records of the Muhammadan Kings of Gallaaga also make mention of the expedition.
- (6) Two inscriptions at Udayagiri (Nellore District) in the fort on the hill state that Krishna Deva Raya made certain grants after having defeated Prataparudra Deva Gajapati of Orissa and taken prisoner the latter's uncle Tirumalappa Raya in Saktakana Sakra 1490 or 1516 A.D. This Tirumalappa Raya was obviously a maternal uncle of the Oriassa King and a descendant of the first ruling dynasty of Virramagar, left in charge of the fort at Udayagiri.
- (7) King Parashottama Deva during his victorious triumphant return from Kanchi rewarded most of his generals who had helped him in the war by making them petty chiefs with small tracts of land and their descendants are to be found even to this day in the Odia-speaking tracts of the district of Ganjam.

It is rather difficult at present to fix with precision the date of this Kanchi-Kaveri expedition of King Parashottama Deva and find out the name of his contemporary King of Karnata with whom he waged war and whose daughter Padma-vaiki he married. Parashottama Deva ruled over Orissa from 1479 A.D. to 1504 A.D., or according to some from 1488 to 1495 A.D. Virupaksha Deva Raya, the last king of the first ruling dynasty of Vijayanagar, is said to have ruled from 1466 A.D. to 1506 A.D. He was weak and licentious. During his time Saluva Narsimha Raya, his chief general and minister, was all powerful. This general in fact usurped the throne of Vijayanagar for himself and founded a new dynasty. Saluva Narsimha succeeded in repelling the Orissan King from Vijayanagar in his first attempt but failed to offer any effective resistance when the latter advanced a second time and met him at Kanchi. Kanchi, or the modern Conjeevaram, was an important stronghold of the Vijayanagar Kings in the South. Parashottama Deva during his second campaign against the Karnata kingdom obviously did not meet with any opposition till he advanced as far south as Kanchi, which fell into the hands of the brave Saluva Narsimha Raya. Parashottama Deva appears to have extended his conquests this time as far south as the Kaveri river before he returned to his capital. There is reason to believe that he invaded Karnata soon after his accession. So the year of the Kanchi-Kaveri expedition may be fixed as 1479 or 1480 A.D. The King of Karnata with whom he fought would be Virupaksha Deva Raya.

Some people would be inclined to ask as to why the King of Orissa who had extended his conquests so far south failed to leave behind him any inscriptions. In the first place it has to be observed that the Kings of Orissa were not fond of making their names permanent in stone inscriptions like their kinsmen in the South. Secondly, their conquests beyond the Nilgiri District were but merely military occupations. Lastly, Orissa inscriptions, if any in the South, I think, have not yet been picked up and deciphered, the language being quite foreign there.

IV.—Note on a Discovery of Ancient Copper Smelting Apparatus at Rakha in the Dalbhum Pargana of Singhbhum.

By C. OLDS, Superintendent, Cape Copper Company, Limited.

I have for a long time been searching for evidence of the process by which the ancients smelted their copper, and have been successful so far in discovering segments of a clay circle which I should say belonged to an oven about 2 feet or 2 feet 6 inches in diameter, with which were connected clay blast-pipes, of which also I have found portions. I imagine their method must have been as follows, viz:—

(1) The oxidized ore from the portions of the hole above permanent water level may have been smelted between alternate layers of charcoal and copper ore, the layers being about 4 inches thick, the pile being brought to the shape of a cone, and ignited from the bottom. This would have the effect of reducing the surface in the charcoal is combined with the oxygen in the oxides, giving off CO and CO₂, while liquid or sweating out shots of copper.

(2) When the fire was extinguished, I suggest the copper shots were collected and put into a receptacle, referred to above, and, by means of an air-blast, shot copper with charcoal was melted and poured into shapes or moulds to suit requirements.

This is purely a surmise on my part, but I know this is the process in Central Africa and Central America by natives who have no knowledge of modern practice.

I shall continue to look for other relics of the ancient copper industry of which I will advise you from time to time.

I have found some pieces of native copper, evidently manufactured by the ancients, and from its appearance and general properties, I suggest that they were able to produce a very fine class of metallic copper suitable for beating into various forms.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

I.—Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on the 25th January 1919 at 3 p.m. at the Society's Office.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. K. H. C. Walsh, C.I.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. H. A. W. Oldham, C.I.E., I.C.S.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Jansinga, C.I.E.

Professor J. N. Sengupta, M.A., B.A., F.R.S.E., Honorary Treasurer.

1. Letter from Mr. Jayasund, Honorary Secretary, was read, regretting that he is unable to attend the meeting.

2. The proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

3. The following new members were elected :—

(1) Pandit Kashi Nath Das, Professor, Ramnath College, Cuttack.

(2) Kameswar Hari Krishna Das, M.A., Sebia Bazar, Calcutta.

(3) Professor H. R. Bhattacharya, M.A., Patna College.

(4) Professor Jagannath Prasad Pandey, Patna College.

(5) Day Bahadur Basudeo Kari Ganguly, Deputy Magistrate, Patna.

(6) Bala Sureswar Das Gupta, Central Jail Library, Arrah.

(7) N. Chatterji, Esq., 42, Chowringhee, Calcutta.

(8) Rai Yashwanath Nath Choudhary, M.A., B.A., 1, Kishin-gatta Road, Ramnagar, Calcutta.

(9) Bala Ramnagar Nath Singh, M.A., B.A., Manick, Buxar.

- (10) Professor Rallagopala Sank, M.A., 88-1 Brown Road, North, Bhubaneswar, Odisha.
- (11) Professor A. P. Shastri, M.A., Greer Bhawan Brahman College, Munsterper.
- (12) Panna Lal, Esq., M.A., Dehra Dun.
- (13) Bala Rajendra Prasad, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Patna.
- (14) Pandit Anilala Dossad Upadhyaya, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Patna.

4. The appointment of an additional peon for the office was considered. It was resolved that an additional peon on Rs. 4 a month be appointed. The other peon will then be available for the Honorary Secretary's work.

It was also resolved that the Honorary Secretary be asked to report whether in view of the appointment of the extra peon, it is necessary to retain the post of Duffi, or whether it would be better to get bookbinding done locally and the extra peon would do the Duffi's routine work.

5. The appointment of a peon on Rs. 5 a month for the Honorary Treasurer in place of the present allowance of Rs. 4 granted to him for the purpose was considered. It was resolved that a peon on Rs. 5 a month be appointed.

6. It was resolved that the number of copies of the *Journal* be reduced from 700 to 500.

7. The following letters were read and resolved :—

- (1) Government letter No. 1837E., dated the 3rd November 1918, making an extra grant of Rs. 400 for cataloguing Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bihar district;
- (2) Government letter No. ~~1837E.~~^{1838E.}, dated the 17th November 1918, making a grant of Rs. 1,000 for the purchase of books for the Society's library; and
- (3) Government letter No. 1847E., dated the 7th November 1918, conveying sanction to Rai Bahadur Sanat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., Anthropological Secretary, to attend the meetings of the Indian Science Congress at Bombay.

II.—Proceedings of Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on the 25th March 1919.

PRESIDENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, C.A., F.C.A., President.

The Hon'ble Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.A., F.C.A.

Professor J. N. Sengupta, Honorary Treasurer.

K. P. Jajawal, Esq., Honorary Secretary.

(1) A letter from the Hon'ble Mr. Jourd'art was read, requesting that he was unable to attend the meeting on account of a meeting of the Syndicate.

Mr. Jackson was also unable to attend.

(2) The proceedings of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

It was resolved that the diary should be retained, as the present diary is an expert bookbinder and also cuts the pages of the Library books on receipt and affixes the number-labels to them and detaches work which could not be done by a poor in addition to the packing and despatch of the Journals, etc.

Mr. Jajawal thought that the extra price will not be required for the next six months. It was resolved that the extra price should not be retained for the next six months, and that the matter be reconsidered at the end of that period.

(3) The following new members were elected:—

1. Sri Babudar Badha Krishna Jalan, Patna.
2. The Hon'ble Sir J. Woodroffe, High Court, Calcutta.
3. The Hon'ble Sir A. Mukherjee, High Court, Calcutta.
4. M. C. Sen, Esq., Barrister-at-law, Judge, Small Causes Court, Calcutta.
5. Arun Sen, Esq., Barrister-at-law, 55, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

8. Dr. H. Majumdar, FR. S., Calcutta.
7. Babu Nien Nanjan Singh, B.A., High Court, Patna.
8. Babu U. K. Das, Manager, Sree Nakh Mill, Calcutta.
9. Babu Ramchandra Prasad Varma, B.A., Translator,
High Court, Patna.
10. Professor Hain, Cuttack.

(4) The question proposing Honorary Members at the General Meeting was considered. Resolved that the following names be proposed:—

| | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| M. Smart. | } Honorary Members. |
| M. Syraïn Lévi. | |
| M. Foucher. | |

(5) The draft of the Annual Report was approved.

(6) The question of the investment of the funds of the Society was considered. The balance at the close of last year was Rs. 2,890 in fixed deposit for one year at 4 per cent, from May 1915 and Rs. 2,449-7-5 in current deposit account.

Resolved that on the expiry of the term of deposit of Rs. 2,890 in May next, Rs. 2,500 be invested in the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Co-operative Bank.

(7) The preparation of the Literary Catalogue was considered. Resolved that after a final revision by Mr. Joyram and Mr. Banahar the proof of the Catalogue be printed.

(8) The question of the balance due to the Society from Messrs. K. V. Sanyal Brothers on account of money advanced to them for the purchase of paper for printing of Plates was considered. It was resolved that the Honorary Treasurer be asked to examine the accounts and correspondence with Messrs. Sanyal Brothers and the Honorary Secretary and advise as to what legal action the Council should take in the matter.

(9) It was resolved that the practice of other learned Societies be adopted and that a list of the defaulters whose names have been struck off for nonpayment of subscription be published in the Proceedings, but that notice of this resolution be sent to the defaulters before this is done, to give them the

opportunity of paying up their arrears, so as to prevent the publication of their names as defaulters.

(10) Read a letter dated 17th February 1919 from Mr. H. N. Mukharji addressed to the Honorary Secretary, complaining that he has made five payments of annual subscription but has only received receipts for four payments. The Honorary Treasurer stated that the treasurer's receipts show only four payments as made, for each of which a receipt has been given. Mr. Mukharji stated that he paid in advance but he was elected in 1918 and the first payment was made in February 1918 which was, therefore, for the preceding year and was not an advance payment for 1918. The other payments made on 24th December 1918, 28th March 1919 and 5th February 1919 were, therefore, in each case for the previous year. Resolved that the Honorary Secretary should inform Mr. Mukharji accordingly.

(11) Read application from three persons and drafted for grain compensation allowance. Resolved that they be given grain compensation allowance at the Government rate from 1st March and the newspaper who is a half-class servant be given an extra 8 annas a month.

III.—Annual Report of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1918.

The year under review has been one of solid progress for the Society in more than one direction. Although there has been a great decrease in the number of members, from 365 at the end of 1917 to 245 at the end of 1918, it is the result of the healthy process of weeding out. Not far from three members whom we lost, we might say, by death, and 19 who resigned; that large number had been composed of persistent defectors who in spite of repeated warnings failed to clear off their dues. It is all the more regrettable that many of these defectors are holding responsible positions and had been regularly receiving the *Journal*, some were the very establishment of the Society. Twenty-eight new members have been elected. There has been a marked increase lately in the number of applications received from other parts of India, and it is hoped that our number will be substantially stronger in the near future. At the end of the year there are eight Honorary Members and nine Life Members, besides the 245 Ordinary Members on the roll.

Four issues of the *Journal* have been published in the year under review completing Vol. IV of the series. There has been a growing demand for the *Journal*, as will be seen from the fact that the cash sale of the *Journal* amounted to Rs. 144-5-3. The *Journal*, it is gratifying to note, has been well received by some of the learned Societies of other countries. Owing to the winding up of the firm who used to prepare books for the Society, the publication of the *Journal* for December was somewhat delayed. We, however, hope to be more punctual in 1919.

Principal Jackson is still working at his new edition of *Buchanan's Journals*. The value of these journals is more more testified to by the extract from it on the *Wairarapa Statues* which is being published in the March issue of our *Journal*.

These statues are of such historical importance that a brief notice of their discovery and identification may be given here. The statues are at present in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The importance with which they are now invested might suggest to the Society some action regarding them. These life-size statues of male figures were discovered about 1812 outside Patna City, very likely near Agam Kuan. Two of these apparently found their way to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, which transferred them to the Indian Museum. Although the two statues have thus been known for over a century, their identity was discovered only the other day when Mr. Jayramil examined the inscriptions on the two statues and found that one of the inscriptions was a statue given to King Ajatashatru by the original founder of the capital, and the other represented his son, the great conqueror Nandī. Statues were given to Hindu Kings, according to *Jidān* an ancient dramatist, soon after their deaths. The statues of the Patna emperors will therefore date back to the fifth century B.C. when the two Empires flourished. These monuments are now proved to be amongst the oldest royal statues in Asia and Europe and stand amongst the greatest historical treasures of the world. To see at Patna, the original seat of the statues, they have a personal interest. We have the great satisfaction of re-finding them. Might not this Province have also the satisfaction of bringing them back and erecting them once more in their original capital?

During the year there were five meetings of the Council. One ordinary meeting was held on the 22nd April at which Mr. Jayramil read a paper on "*Hindu Republics*." As the paper forms part of a book by the author which is being printed by the Calcutta University it has not been published in the *Journal*.

It is a matter of satisfaction to the Council that progress has been made in respect of the Library. Books worth Rs. 1,661-6-8 have been purchased during the year and a catalogue of the library has been prepared. The total number of books is 1,201. A large number of Sanskrit texts have been ordered and standard works of reference have been sent for from England. It is hoped that by the end of 1919 the Library will be one of the most efficient collections in the Province for the purposes of Indian research.

Mr. Sadhisananda Saha, in place of the books which he had kindly promised to present from his own library, has placed an order with Messrs. Thacker Spink and Company to supply new copies of 33 books on the subjects in which the Society is interested, ten of which have already been received.

The search for Sanskrit manuscripts has been conducted both in Orissa and Mithila under the direction of the General Secretary. The Orissa Fundi has been given an assistant. His work has been fairly satisfactory. The majority of the unpublished works yet found in Orissa are medieval, composed under the Gajapati kings and later. The search, however, has brought to light some useful books. Two commentaries on the rhetoric work *Alidya Darpa*, composed within a short time of the original work, have been found. Dr. Shadishand intends editing one of these commentaries. A useful commentary on the mathematical work *Ilkhaff* has come to light. One book on hunting and one on war and the army and a new commentary on the *Ramayana* are amongst the Orissa finds. More noteworthy works are a book on *Voila* grammar by one Jayadasa and a history of the Ganga dynasty [*Ganga Vamsavalikrita*] of which no written history has hitherto been found.

The search in Mithila has yielded still better results. An ancient copy of the *Vishva Purana*, several *Vedic* books, works of interest on *Nyaya* and *Hindu law* and a work on *Hindu politics*, amongst others, would not

labour. A manuscript in the handwriting of Vidyapati has been traced. The Council is informed that a complete collection of the songs of Vidyapati is recoverable. The manuscripts collected in Mithila are of higher antiquity. Several copies which are five hundred years old have been noted. Only one Prākṛit work, the *Satoharāḍī* (some five centuries old), has been discovered in Mithila. Likewise in Orissa the *Prākrita Samudra* is the sole Prākṛit work yet on our record. Our attempts to recover the *Spīlatharī* has failed up to this time.

Government have mainly financed the work of search for manuscripts. The salaries of the two Prākṛit have been paid by Government. Government have been considering the request of the Society to enhance the grant to cover the cost of travelling in the case of the Mithila Prākṛit.

Arrangements will have to be made for the publication of some of the new books discovered by our search.

The total number of manuscripts noticed in Orissa (1911—1912) is 1,584, and in Mithila 1,028. Out of the former some 800 manuscripts are of unpublished works and out of the latter the unpublished works would be about 125. The work in Mithila has only been taken in hand since April, 1913.

An abstract statement is appended to this report. During the year Rs. 8,000 has been placed in final **FINANCES.** deposit in the bank of Bengal. The arrears, thanks to the energy of the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Banadīar, have been realised to a great extent, while the names of the permanent defaulters have been struck off. It is also to be noted that the paper in stock, already paid for, will last for almost the whole of 1912.

The Council offer their thanks to Government for the grant of Rs. 1,000 for the Library. Government have also made a further allowance of Rs. 2,500 to cover the travelling expenses of the Anthropological Secretary and Rs. 500 for his office establishment, and Rs. 500 for the execution of Assurances.

The Report of the Anthropological Secretary on his work during the year, both with regard to the Honorarys of Ass

burial sites and Ethnological enquiries, is annexed as an Appendix.

The Council hope that the work of the Society will be more generally appreciated in the Province, and that others will follow the generous example of Raja Kumbhaknari Prasad Singh of Meerut.

Abstract of Account from January to December, 1918.

| Receipts. | Expenditure. |
|---|--|
| Rs. a. p. | Rs. a. p. |
| Balance at the Bank at the end of 1917. | Office expenditure including the price of books. 1,384 8 7 |
| Subscription from members. | Pay and travelling allowances of the Ethnological Society for month of manuscript in Ethn. |
| Government Grant for Library. | Pay of the Assistant to the Ethnological Society. |
| Government Grant for purchase of new Ethn. | Furniture — — — 100 0 0 |
| Government Grant for publication of the Journal. | Price of Typewriter for Ethnological Society. |
| Government Grant for Ethnological Research. | Ethnological Research paid to Raj Bahadur S. C. Roy. |
| Government Grant for Ethnological Research. Secretary's Office establishment. | Rent to Raj Bahadur S. C. Roy for temporary office. |
| Government Grant for Ethnological Research. Secretary's Travelling allowance. | Travelling allowance paid to Raj Bahadur S. C. Roy for Ethnological Research. |
| Donation from Raja Kumbhaknari Prasad Singh for the Library. | Office expenditure of Ethnological Society paid to Raj Bahadur S. C. Roy. |
| Grand total — 21,711 15 8 | Grand total — 8,740 8 19 |

| Receipts | | | Expenditure | | |
|------------------------------|-----|-------------|--|-----|-------------|
| | Rs. | a. p. | | Rs. | a. p. |
| Donations Received | — | 11,717 12 3 | Donations Received | — | 6,740 10 10 |
| Sale of the Journal | — | 201 0 0 | Paid to Printed and Published for Madras's Journals | — | 681 30 0 |
| Other Miscellaneous Receipts | — | 10 0 0 | Paper for the Journal | — | 3,358 34 0 |
| Total | — | 11,928 11 3 | Paid to Government Press for printing the Journal | — | 1,102 4 0 |
| | | | Cost of binding books and printing plates, stationery for the Journal, including salary of Mr. G. G. to S. V. S. and part payment of Mr. 200 for work done | — | 1,100 0 0 |
| | | | Books purchased for the Library | — | 1,401 0 0 |
| | | | Furniture for the Office and Library | — | 518 20 0 |
| | | | Electricity | — | 107 0 0 |
| | | | Food Payroll | — | 8,000 0 0 |
| | | | Dr. Cash | — | 8,448 7 0 |
| | | | Total | — | 11,894 11 0 |

Report of the Anthropological Secretary, Sri Balakrishna S. G. Ray, M. A., B. L., on his work during the year.

From May to the middle of September I visited different places in the Barak district and one or two in the Nagaon district where ancient Assam grave yards or building sites were reported to exist, and made some test excavations in a few of

the places and regular excavations at the Asur graveyard at Khuntoli and some excavations at a supposed Asur building site near Baragula. I also paid a day's visit in May and two days' visit in November to a Hindu settlement called Biharioli and two days' visit in June to another Hindu settlement at Ladey Samoli, both in the Ranchi District, to collect some information about certain religious customs of the Bihora. From 28th September to the 28th October I was out on tour in the Boral state to study the customs of the III Bhadpans. After that I suffered for about a month from malaria fever contracted in the jungles of Boral. From the 3rd to the 10th December I was in Orissa to study the pastoral tribe of Gaur who appear to stand in a peculiar relation to the III Bhadpans (who do not intermarry with any other tribal caste but may take Gaur women as wives without fear of intercommunion). As I was deputed by Government to attend the Indian Science Congress in January, 1912, and to visit the Madras Museum on the way, I availed myself of the opportunity to see a little of the Telus and other aboriginal tribes of the Nijig hills, and to study the matrilineal system of the Naps of the Malabar coast. In February I visited the ruins of a fort attributed to the ancient Kol Rajas at Bhaghatti, to compare them with the ruins attributed to the Asurs.

At the Khuntoli Asur graveyard I opened 56 graves, each grave containing from two to twelve or thirteen **Excavation** burials. These graves are of **as the Asur** different shapes and contain small pottery, **graveyard at** **Khuntoli.** some with spears. The following metal ornaments and other articles have been found in these graves and deposited in Peina Museum:—

| | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---|-----|
| (1) | Beaten and copper bracelets | — | — | 66 |
| (2) | Fragments of beaten and copper bracelets | — | — | 22 |
| (3) | Beaten anklets | — | — | 8 |
| (4) | Beaten and copper finger rings | — | — | 20 |
| (5) | " " " " " " " " | — | — | 8 |
| (6) | " " " " " " " " | — | — | 104 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|-----|
| (7) Beams with holes | — | — | — | 2 |
| (8) Unshaped copper coils | — | — | — | 2 |
| (9) Beams and ornaments | — | — | — | 4 |
| (10) Beams with large (18 inch) (17½) | — | — | — | 100 |
| (11) Beams with | — | — | — | 1 |
| (12) Iron beams with or without | — | — | — | 3 |
| (13) Iron rings | — | — | — | 20 |
| (14) Iron stone beads | — | — | — | 2 |
| (15) Fragments of iron beams plates | — | — | — | — |
| (16) Beams (shells) (beams like pieces when heated) | — | — | — | — |
| (17) Indistinguishable fragments of beams or copper | — | — | — | — |

From an ancient building site near Raigad in the Raich district (popularly attributed to the ancient Auro) a few old iron implements, a few stone beads, a number of earthenware dishes and some (possessing Ben Hagan) have been collected. Two stone coils have also been found there. (These I have with me still, as I expect to find more objects there and then take the whole collection to the Museum.)

A Kharas copper coin was found in an Auro building site in the Kharas district of the Raich district. (This was made over to the Hon'ble Vice-President.)

I also found two copper-plate grants to a temple in the Raich State, and with the help of the Feudatory Chief of Raich secured them for the Museum. They are now with Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Shastri in whom His Honour met them for purpose of decipherment. I have just secured another copper coin found dug up by a cultivator in the Raich district.

IV.—Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, held on the 23rd March 1919 at the Council Chamber of Government House, Patna.

His Honour Sir Edward Gubb, K.C.B., C.M.G., President, in Chair.

1. The Annual Report of the Council, printed copies of which were distributed among members, was taken as read.¹

2. The Vice-President invited special attention to the references in the Report to the Sukuntha Statues and to their importance in view of the revised reading of the inscriptions on them by Mr. Jayramal; and also to the observations made by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, Ethnological Secretary in the Kairi Baral sites.

3. His Honour the President then delivered his Presidential Address.²

4. The Hon'ble Mr. Walsh, Vice-President, on behalf of the Council proposed the election of office-bearers. He referred to the good work of the Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer. He regretted that the Hon'ble Mr. Olfman and Mr. Jackson were not able to be re-elected for the current year, as they would be absent from India on leave.

He also regretted that he was not able to stand for re-election, as he is leaving India.

The following Officers and Members of the Council were proposed for 1919 and were unanimously elected :—

President.—His Honour Sir E. A. Gubb, K.C.B., C.M.G.

Vice-President.—Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson.

General Secretary.—K. T. Jayaramal, Esq., B.A.

Joint-Secretary.—Dr. Hari Chaudhastri, M.A.

Treasurer.—Professor Jogindra Nath Samalidar, B.A.

¹ Printed at p. 127 post.

² Printed at p. 1 ante.

Departmental Secretariat.

History Section.—K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Professor J. N. Sengupta, M.A.

Archæology and Numismatics.—K. N. Dikshit, Esq., M.A.

Anthropology and Folk Lore.—Haji Bahadur S. C. Roy,
M.A., M.L.

Philology.—Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hari Prasad Shastri,
M.A., C.I.E.

Nawab Shams-ul-din Saif-ud-Daulah Inam.

Members of Section Committees.

History.—Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A.

S. Saha, Esq.

Archæology.—K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

K. N. Dikshit, Esq., M.A.

Anthropology.—His Honour Sir H. A. Galt, C.M.G., C.I.E.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hari Prasad Shastri,
M.A., C.I.E.

Philology.—Mahamahopadhyaya, Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, M.A.,
C.I.E.

Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hari Prasad Shastri,
M.A., C.I.E.

Members of the Council (other than the President, the General Secretary and the Treasurer.)

1. The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson—Vice-President.

2. Nawab Shams-ul-din Saif-ud-Daulah Inam.

3. His/His Sir Ali Inam, K.C.S.I.

4. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hari Prasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E.

5. Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, M.A., C.I.E.

6. The Hon'ble Mr. Jennings, C.I.E.

7. O. Furness, Esq.

8. S. Saha, Esq.

9. F. Kennedy, Esq.

10. Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A.

11. Rai Bahadur Sant Chandra Roy, M.A., &c.

12. K. N. Dikshit, Esq., M.A.

13. Dr. Hari Chandra Bhattacharya, M.A.

14. Babu Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhary.

5. The Vice-President then proposed on behalf of the Council that the following distinguished Orientalists be elected Honorary Members:—

M. Senart

M. Sylvain Lévi

M. Foucher.

The proposal was seconded by Mahanishopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prasad Bhattacharya who spoke in support of the proposal as follows:—

M. Senart made a name for himself by his edition, with critical notes and indices, of *Mahāvākyā Aradina* which is the only work extant of the once powerful sect of the Mahāyānīyās, one of the two sects into which the Buddhist community was split up at the Valabhi Council about one hundred years after Buddha's death. The particular school of the Mahāyānīyās which this work represents is the *Lohanīyā* Valabhi. It gives Buddha a superhuman character. The work is written in a language which is distinct from Pali, Prakrit and Sanskrit. It has been called *Gāthā śāstra* by Raja Rajendra Lal because it was first found in the *Gāthā* of Lalita Vistara. From M. Senart it has got the name of "mixed Sanskrit," a name which is favoured by old Sanskrit authors. In his now famous work entitled *Inscriptions de l'Inde* M. Senart gives a grammar of this language. The inscriptions were displayed in two volumes with notes and translations in French, each of which has been rendered into English by Sir George Grierson in the *Indian Antiquary*. M. Senart came out to India in 1888 and I saw him at Dr. Hoernle's place. But he had to abandon his projected tour in India owing to the illness of his wife.

Professor Sylvain Lévi is a French gentleman of oriental extraction. He made a name as a teacher of Sanskrit, Pali, and

other Indian subjects, when in 1897 appeared in J.A.S.R. my article entitled "Palm-leaf Manuscripts in the Duthar Library, Nepal," the Professor started at once for India, came to Calcutta, and then went to Nepal. During his short stay there he made himself very popular with the Buddhists and collected together many important and unique manuscripts, many of which he has published with French translations and notes. He was only 34 when he came here, and he is the youngest Orientalist I have seen. Some of his important contributions to our knowledge of ancient India are his great work on Nepal, his work on the Hindu Theatre, his edition and translation of the *Svetashaktas*, and his investigations into Chinese and Central Indian literature for facts of Indian history, Indian antiquity, etc.

M. Foucher is a pupil of Professor Sylva Lavi. He came out to India in 1896 just before the Congress of Orientalists at Paris. The object of his visit was to examine illustrations in old Palm-leaf MSS. of Nepal and specimens of Buddhist iconography and art. His great work on Buddhist iconography was the result of his visit. He was the heart and soul of the Paris Congress. While in the Far East he organised the Siam Congress to which some of the Sovereigns of Siam were invited. He is an expert on Indian Art. He published a great book two years ago, and is planning others on the same line.

I support the nominations of these great scholars to the Honorary membership, because I know from personal experience how their presence electrified our young men who devoted themselves to follow their example in searching for truths of history.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Professor J. N. Sankar on behalf of the Council proposed that the Hon'ble Mr. Walsh should also be elected an Honorary Member. In doing so, he observed that after the reference to the work of the Vice-President by His Honour in the Presidential address, it would be superfluous to speak anything on the subject. He would only add that Mr. Walsh always dispensed his personal contacts to serve the Society and its interests.

Professor J. N. Sankar seconded the proposal which was carried with acclamation.

Mr. Walsh thanked the Society for the unexpected honour which they had conferred on him, and said that his interest in the Society would always continue.

5. The Hon'ble Mr. Walsh then brought to the notice of the meeting the various interesting and valuable exhibits which were on the table in the hall. He referred to the copper axe-head inscribed as a copper-plate grant, presented to His Honour the President, an account of which was given by His Honour in Volume IV, part IV of the *Journal*; the collection of old manuscripts exhibited by Pandit Balgobind Mahatma amongst which was a manuscript of the *SrimadBhagavat*, dated corresponding to 1146 A.D.; the *Dakshin* copper-plate grant presented to the museum by Mr. J. N. Shukla; the copper axe-head recently obtained by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy; some copper-plate inscriptions which are being deciphered for the *Journal* by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit H. P. Shastri; and a collection of the ancient seals discovered by Dr. Spenser St. John, and described in the Report of the Archaeological Survey, Part II for 1912-13, which are now in the museum.

The exhibits were then inspected by the gentleman present.

6. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit H. P. Shastri, M.A., D.Litt., then proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the chair. In doing so he spoke as follows :—

It is now my pleasant duty to thank His Honour the President, for the interest he is taking in the welfare of this Society and in the history, antiquity, literature, and archaeology of India in the midst of his multifarious duties as the ruler of a large province in the course of formation. The first four years of the Society coincided with the four years of the devastating War which did not certainly afford much leisure to Sir Edward Galt. But his interest in the Society did not flag. It was steady, continuous, deep, and abiding. The impetus given by His Honour to the study of these fascinating subjects is likely to last much longer than the life of the present generation, and to have beneficial consequences. It is a fortunate circumstance that the historian of Assam was put at the head of two provinces,

the history of which is most interesting, and the capital of which may, with a bit of oriental hyperbole, be termed eternal cities. One of these cities is Pataliputra and the other is Tosali. The date of the foundation of Pataliputra is well known. Its position during the Maurya and the Gupta periods is well known. But there are periods in its continuous history which are absolutely black. Thanks to Sir Edmund some of these blanks have been filled up during the last four years of the existence of his Society. But still there are others which require study and investigation. The same is the case with Tosali. It existed before the conquest of Kalinga by the Magadha kings in the early part of the fifth century B.C. It regained independence, and again fell a prey to Magadha ambition, and again secured independence. From the eighth to the eleventh century four dynasties reigned there, namely, the Somvanshis, the Kumbhis, the Gangas, the Gajapatis. Last came the Telungas from whose lands land it was wrested by the Mahamegalhas. There are, however, gaps in its continuous history, and efforts should be made to fill them up. If His Honour so thinks he may appoint a number of scholars to prepare a note of what is known, so that people may concentrate their attention on what is not yet known. This will give a new impetus and is likely to stimulate patriotic study.

With these words I resumed my seat, thanking His Honour for all that he has done and for all that may be expected of him.

JOURNAL
(OF THE)
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. V.]

[PART II.

LEADING ARTICLES

I.—Literary History of the Pála Period.

By MAHARAJAGADHYAKSA HARAPRASAD SHASTRI, M.A., CIE.

The Pálas became the rulers of Bengal in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. and their rule lasted till the first quarter of the twelfth century. They were Buddhist by religion but their Buddhism was rather loose on them. They tolerated the professors of other religions, they respected Brahmanas, often joined in their sacrifices, utilised them in the services of the state and supported them by grants of land. Literary history of this period naturally falls under three heads, viz., Sanskrit Brahmanic Literature, Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, and Vernacular Buddhist Literature; they will be treated in this order. There was a Vernacular Brahmanic Literature also, but no books of that literature have yet been discovered.

Sanskrit Brahmanic Literature.

The majority of the Brahmanas of Bengal came from the west. It is said that they were invited by a king named Śaśitara. But history knows nothing about this king. The Kulastatras or kindred of the Brahmanas give indeed the names of a number

of kings ending in the word *Śīra*. They comprehended these kings into a dynasty and regard *Adishes* as their progenitor. Epigraphic records, so far obtained, speak of three kings in Western Bengal with their names ending in *Śīra*, and, curiously enough, these names are found in the *Trishakha* Ista. The age of the advent of the five Brahmanas is also a matter of controversy. The chronogram has two different readings:—*Yodastadga-Śīra* and *Yodastadga-Tīra*, meaning (344 or 355) of the Saka era, that is, 722 and 1032 of the Christian era. Old manuscripts favour 722 and one of the earliest writers on Brahmanic history distinctly says that the *Pālas* came to power in Bengal shortly after the advent of these Brahmanas. The number of generations which passed between their first advent in Bengal and the time of *Yadda Śēra* who granted them certain privileges also favour the same conclusion. Not that there were no Brahmanas when these came, for it is well known that the Gupta Emperors of Magadha and their successors made sporadic attempts to settle Brahmanas in Bengal. The advent of these Brahmanas in Bengal is not an isolated fact. The revival of *Yajñ* learning and *Yajñ* sacrifices under the influence of the Belwāri Kaṇḍiśa and his successors led to the settlement of Brahmanas in various parts of India, and it is believed that the settlement of Brahmanas in Bengal is also due to the *Upadesa* given by them.

The Brahmanas came here to perform *Yajñ* sacrifices—as they were then learned in the *Vedas*. They transmitted their knowledge of the *Vedas* to their posterity. But their mode of study differed widely from that of other provinces where they memorized the *Vedas* or at least that *Yajñ* which they pursued. But they cared very little for the meaning. In Bengal, however, the Brahmanas never memorized even one of the *Vedas*. They memorized only such of the *Mantras* as were used in their religious performances, but insisted on knowing their meaning and so they early felt the necessity of a system of interpretation of the *Vedas* and also of a commentary. They adopted the system of interpretation given not by *Kaṇḍiśa* but by his Guru *Trishakha*; and it is an

ruined that they studied Veda Nalla's work belonging to Panktham's School. They also made a commentary on the *mantras* used by them. It is not known when this commentary was written, but the author's name is Nagañ. He had a large body of followers and great commentaries written by his followers have come down to the present day. These commentaries refer to him as their authority. This is the earliest commentary on the *Vedas* yet known. Nagañ is at least three hundred years posterior to Nagañ. The descendants of the first author, who lived in Western Bengal, all professed the *Samaveda*, and performed their religious ceremonies according to the *Sūtras* of that *Veda*; and they only felt the necessity of a commentary of that *Sūtra*. Such a commentary was written by Nāṛkyaṇa, contemporary of Durgapā. This commentary entitled the liturgy of Śaṅkaradīn Bhakṣapā. Later on, Hiraṇya, a contemporary of Śaṅkar Varṇa, a king of the coast countries of Bengal and Orissa, wrote a number of works for the same purpose. Hiraṇya and Pāṇḍu, contemporaries of Lakṣmīnāṇa, entitled the liturgy of the professors of the White Yajurveda.

As a consequence, the Brahmins of Bengal could not scholastic with the *Veda* schools only. They would make a *Śaṅkī* of their own for the regulation of their domestic and social affairs and it is found in many works that there was a *Grāhya* School of *Śaṅkī*. Diligent search has hitherto been unsuccessful in finding out works of this school, though the names of authors, evidently of that school, are often found in modern works. There was one great writer, however, named Govindarāja, son of Mallava Bhāṭṭa, who was already known for his commentary on *Manusmṛiti*. His great work, a comprehensive compilation of domestic and social regulations, presumably for the Bengali Brahmins, has recently been discovered. The manuscript was copied in A.D. 1148. It is in the form of a commentary on Yajñavalkya's work. Jñātarāṇa, the author of *Dīpāṅkara*, the standard work of the Bengali School of Hindu Law as administered in the British Courts of India, lived in the eleventh century A.D. His idea of inheritance differs in some from that current in other parts of India. He is

strongly opposed to the idea of family property which the owners cannot alienate. He is all for personal property. *Laharianas*, according to him, does not mean right of property from the very birth, but it depends upon remaining alive at the time of the death of the predecessor in interest. Some scholars think that this preference of *Jatikavilasa* for personal property may be due to the Buddhist influence in the country for which he writes the book. *Jatikavilasa* wrote a work on the determination of *Kala* or the time proper for marriage and religious ceremonies. In this book are recorded many astronomical observations by himself and his predecessor. His work on Indian jurisprudence is a very clear and comprehensive work.

The Hindu vedical poetry during this period with exception. But like the poetry in other parts of India, it was mostly one-verse poetry, bundled into *Sajhas*, *Ajshas*, *Velahas*, etc. There are many anthologies of the period giving the names of composers by the poets and poetesses of the time. The last of the Bengali anthologies was written in the year 1203. But it would be a trial on Bengali poets to say that they wrote nothing but one-verse poetry. They wrote beautiful dramas, excellent lyrics and some of the best short poems. They tried their hand in history and panegyric also. Of course it is doubtful whether the author of the *Vatsarahita* was really a Bengali. The word *Nityajna* *Dehajitra* in the *Khalapur* grant does not refer to any human being, but to the great god *Nityajna*. But the *Candimantika* was written undoubtedly by a Bengali poet, *Arya Kuntivara*, the word *Arya* there meaning a married Buddhist priest. The character of Vivantika is drawn there with a consistency and thoroughness which would do honour to the greatest poets of the world. He is selection in realising his dream from *Raja Harishchandra* in order that the *Raja's* character for unselfish devotion to duty might be shown to the best. The poem *Purnasakta*, though an imitation of *Kalidasa's* exquisite work the *Meghaduta*, is written with great power. It describes Bengal as the garden of India and as a great rival of the celestial garden *Nandana*.

But the most exquisite work of this period is the immortal *Gita-geetika*. Later on, the vernacular lyrics would be treated of, showing how enthusiastically the ancient Bengalis cultivated music and song. And *Gita-geetika* is only one sublime manifestation of this enthusiasm. It describes the sports of Krishna and Radha at Vrindavana and the charming fallow-evening night of the beautiful Indian autumn with all that is delightful to the senses and fascinating to the imagination. The work is still sung in the temple of Jagannatha at Puri and sends the audience into raptures.

During the ascendancy of the Falsa, the Brahmins settlers of Bengal had to fight hard with the Philosophy of Buddhists. That philosophy had already made marvellous progress in metaphysical speculations resulting in an absolute monism, which for want of a better word was termed *Śūnyavāda*. But that *Śūnyavāda* again developed into *Advaitavāda* or Non-dual system. It was not only highly intellectual but exceedingly popular, for the Buddhists managed to give it a very attractive sensuous form. In order to demolish such a strong system, the Brahmins had recourse to religion, dialectic, to Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, viz., Logic and Physical Science. The earliest work written by a Bengali poet of this period on philosophy was a commentary on the Vaiśeṣika system. It was written in Śaka 912 or A.D. 991 at Bhuvant in the district of Hooghly, at that time a famous seat of Sanskrit learning. The works of Yamaṇpati Mitter and Udayana also belong to the same period. Both the authors had intimate knowledge of Buddhist Philosophy and made themselves thoroughly acquainted with the weak points of the rival system, and those they assailed with the weapons of logic and facts and with persistence and power. The consequence was that gradually the Buddhist monism went to the wall and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika remained master of the field. The copy-right of the arch of Brahmanic Philosophy was placed about the end of this period by Gargala Upadhyaya's admirable work, *Tattvachintāmaṇi*, divided into four chapters according to the four orthodox

of the Nyaya School and embracing all that was best in Nyaya and Vaisheshika system. The author is the pantheist given the object of his work to be the refutation of the Buddhist system. There fore centuries were therefore a continuous struggle between the Buddhist and the Brahmanist for ascendancy in philosophy in Bengal.

The panegyric enfolded in the stone tablet at the Ananta Vasudeva temple at Rameswara throws a good deal of light on the state of learning and state of society in Bengal at the end of the tenth century A.D. The panegyric was written by a young scholar named Vatsespati Misa, who is supposed to have blossomed in later life as the commentator of all the six systems of Hindu Philosophy. The *Ramesvara* by Saadhyakara Nank, name of the minister of peace and war of Bana Pala, King of Ganga, gives a history of the struggle between the Palas and Kairattas in Northern Bengal for about two generations during the middle of the eleventh century.

Sanskrit Buddhist Literature.

The Sanskrit literature of the Buddhism of this period deserves deep study, as that literature profoundly influenced the neighbouring countries of Tibet, Mongolia and Eastern Turkestan. Dharmapala, the second King of the Pala Dynasty, who established his ascendancy over the greater part of India, patronised a learned Hindu named Haribhadra and encouraged him to write a commentary on the *Ajasthastika Prajnaparamita*, entitled *Abhinamayukti vivakha*. To understand the importance of this commentary it would be necessary to recapitulate the history of the Mahayana systems of philosophy from the beginning. About the end of the second century A.D. Nagarjuna wrote the well-known work *Madhyamashatirtha* leading to *Śūnyavada* which may be translated as Nihilism. But it is not really Nihilism, it really meant the absorption of the human soul into the essence of Buddha. But it did not help what that essence was and as Nagarjuna was accused of preaching Nihilism. In order to popularise his system, he is said to have resorted to the rather rugged a

work in which Buddha preached Śākyavāda to his disciples in Sanskrit. This work is called Prajñāpāramitā, the supreme wisdom, and its extent is eight thousand slokas of thirty-two syllables each.

A century later, Maitreyasūtra wrote the Abhidharmaśālistra. Earlier which defined the essence of Buddha as intelligence (vijñāna) and he, in order to popularize his system, transformed the Supreme Wisdom in eight thousand slokas into one of twenty-five thousand. As two schools were formed, the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra, with numerous adherents of great intellectual power who fought with each other with great acrimony. The struggle lasted for centuries and polemical works were written on both sides in large numbers. In order to put a stop to this struggle Dharmapala encouraged Haribhadra to write a commentary on the Supreme Wisdom of eight thousand slokas, according to the principles laid down in Maitreyasūtra's Śālistra. The words Śākyavāda and Vijñāna-vāda—the war cry of the sect—seem to have died out from this time and another word came into currency without the sectarian sting. This is Advaya-vāda, or monism. It is a curious fact however that when Haribhadra was writing this commentary, Śālistra wrote the Śālistraśālistra or the Vedānta aphorisms which is known as Advaita-vāda or monism.

The absorption of the enlightened human soul into the essence of Buddha was later on symbolized as the jumping of the human soul into the embrace of Nārāyaṇa Devī, the Goddess Śuddhā. This symbolism later on was transformed into various numerous forms and made the Advaya-vāda of the Buddhists largely more attractive than the philosophic Advaita-vāda of Śālistra. This is one of the reasons why Śālistra's theories failed to take root in Bengal.

When the weapon used against the Buddhists by the Deharmas, their opponents, was logic, it is not probable that the Buddhists in their own world not understand the importance of it in controversy. They, too, cultivated logic with criticism and

works some of the finest works during this period. Hama-kura-Atsū's work on transcendental logic, in which no self-doubt can be had, may be instanced as a specimen of Buddhist logic of this period. The Buddhists seem to have taken up the original works on Nyāya of the Bhojanas. But they were discarded the existence of ontology and authority as useless in higher spheres of metaphysics and even in life. Bhojanas had great difficulty in maintaining these two sources of knowledge. At one time they even agreed to discard ontology as useless.

True to the instinct of monism, the Buddhists refused to believe that the parts and the whole are different. In this they were violently opposed by the realists—the Bhojanas, and the controversy that ensued is not only an intellectual treat but also an amusing reading as it is full of ridicule and innuendo! The Bhojanas believed in groups and species and in individuals, but the Buddhists would never do it, and the controversy that grew up produced numbers of manuals or treatises on both sides. It would have been very fortunate and very interesting, too, if the whole literature on this subject were preserved; we have but mere fragments. Of other important philosophical topics, the only work of considerable size that is known is a commentary on the Buddhist-creation. The text gives a brief summary of the religion and philosophy of the Mahayana School and the commentary in elucidating the doctrine preached in the text shows an amount of scholarship, breadth of view, knowledge of the world and extent of information which is really wonderful. These Buddhists based their idea of monism on the cyclical representation of the human mind, based upon superior knowledge, as a male deity and the source of Buddha, as a female deity. The later Buddhists developed several yamas, or schools, which we may call as mystic. They wrote their books also in a mystic language, which they called *Samaya* or twilight language. An explanation of these mystic doctrines would neither be edifying nor interesting to the general public, but it may be boldly asserted that these schools made the dry philosophy of Mahayana attractive and kept up the interest of the people in Buddhism. It can also be boldly asserted that in

propounding the mystic doctrines, learned men amongst the Buddhists (arishkows) not only learning and scholarship, but also a profound knowledge of human nature in the different strata of human society.

Of the priestly writers, who made Buddhism popular in the eleventh century, one name is too prominent to omit. He is Akkeythara Gupta, who hailed from Magadha and had great influence not only in the court of Rima Pala Deva but amongst his subjects too. The chief thing preached by these priestly writers is Dana or gifts of monasteries, gardens, stupa, manuscripts, etc., to the Buddhist Church. They also preached *dana*, benevolence not only to men and beasts but also to all sentient beings. One of them concludes his long treatise by saying that religion consists of only one word and that is *Dana*—*dana* that is Parsa-palana, that is "Serve others". The Buddhists were always very anxious that people should join their monasteries and renounce the world. But in those later days they were exceedingly anxious for rich people joining them. For when a man renounces the world, in Hindu law he is regarded as civilly dead and his heirs take his property, but, according to Buddhism, a man who renounces the world to serve all sentient beings should also bring the whole of his property and inheritance to the monastery for the same purpose.

When symbolism takes root in a community and develops one is not sure where it will end. Once admitting the symbolical union of the human mind with an *Buddhi* and the essence of Buddha, the Buddhist priests developed the same idea in a variety of spheres of life in a variety of ways and with a variety of methods. Thus they developed the ideas of Vajrasattva, Adi Buddha and Vajravictoria, and in fact numerous deities ended with their *saktis*. Gradually with the development of symbolism, the Buddhists became thoroughgoing worshippers of images, and thus images not of always a very decent kind. The deities of later Mahayana, Avalokitesvara, the personification of Karma, and Manjari, the personification of Prajñā, now go to the wall and the untold deities of strange and wild

shaped because more and more popular in the temples and holy places. It gave without saying that the priest had more influence with the ordinary people than with the cultured, and the ordinary people could more for their welfare in this world than in the next. They wanted charms, incantations, amulets, worship of benevolent infernals, perpetration of malignant deeds or wailing-off of the misdeeds of their ire. The priests acquired their influence on the people and strengthened that influence by the position of magicians and by writing mysterious treatises on such topics. One would be struck at the volume of this magician literature and one would grow deeper when we think that the original preachers of this religion denounced even the astrologers as unworthy of entering the brotherhood of monks.

Vernacular Buddhist Literature.

The vernacular literature of the Buddhists mainly treat of the cynical values spoken of before. They consist chiefly of songs, short plays and couplets, written in a simple language. The Siddhacharyas or vikāras who composed these songs were men of some ability and learning. They wrote in a style exceedingly casual and in a language as homely as possible. They addressed the masses, they sang them to lyre and other instruments of music. They preached the transient character of the world. They preached the futility of a strict and abstemious life. They preached the enjoyments of the sweets of the world. They preached absolute reliance on the Supreme Wisdom of the Gura. They believed in the doctrine of Hishenlikin or Supreme Delight of the Union. They ridiculed the priests of other religions and pickpocketed the doctrines of their opponents. They ridiculed even the Hraeytsists and Hishytsists.

To them the only way to supreme bliss is to enjoy the world after receiving an initiation from the Gura. The initiated is not affected by sin as the uninitiated. The initiated is a privileged being and his best privilege is to attain supreme bliss.

As I have said before, there was a Brahmanical Vernacular Literature previous to vernacular literature of the Buddhists. This

was the literature of Nāgārjuna, preached about the end of the eighth century by Mānandīpa, his chief disciple Matayendia and Matayendia's chief disciple Gopakpa. These do not seem to have been men highly educated, and they seemed to have been drawn from amongst fishermen and others. Their chief practice was Hathapoga or to fix the mind on one thing while the body lies in various grotesque postures. They worshipped Śiva and Śakti in union. They thought that the nine organs of senses, present at the time of union of the God and the Goddess, when He revealed the doctrine to His consort are symbolised by the nine Nādas who brought down the doctrine on earth. It has been said before that no work of the original Nāgas have yet been discovered, the existence of this vernacular literature is known only by a few quotations in the commentaries on Buddhist vernacular works. There is a large body of Sanskrit literature of the Nāgas dealing mainly with Hathapoga written during the ascendancy of the Pālas. The works of this sect as well as of the Śākyaśākyas are written in a sort of Sanskrit, which might be termed vulgar Sanskrit in the same way as the mass people in Christ speak vulgar English. For being ashamed of their bad Sanskrit, Buddhist writers ridicule the Bhāṣyas for their pretensions as for grammatical accuracy. They say if something good is to be said, tell it in a language that will be understood by all,—Care for the sense and not for the language.

There was a big monastery in Bengal, Jagaddīpa, as known in Buddhist literature as the celebrated monasteries of Nāgārjuna and Vāṣṭupāda. Its position has not yet been identified but it was close to the capital founded by Rama Pala, and the Ganges and Karatopt flowed past it. In one sense it was much more important than the well-known Vāṣṭupāda of Magadha. It was the chief resort of Tibetan monks coming to learn Sanskrit in India. The Bengali monks of this place knew to read and write Tibetan and this was the place where hundreds of Sanskrit books were translated into the Tibetan language, some by Bengalis,

some by Thibaut and some by collaboration. Two names stand prominent in the matter of translation, one Vibhuti Chandra and the other Dinanath—both of them collaborated with the Thibaut in translating Sanskrit works. Vibhuti Chandra was a Sanskrit writer too. His knowledge of the late-day Buddhist literature was extensive and he had treatises on subjects in which these Buddhists took interest. He had a good library of manuscripts. A manuscript, copied for him and belonging to his library, in Bengali character and on paper, is deposited in the Cambridge University Library. The Thibaut used to send well-known scholars to Bengal for the purpose of collecting manuscripts. Sitiramai Pandit is one of those scholars who came to Bengal and collected a good library. One of his manuscripts has recently come to Calcutta. Scholars, possessed of large number of manuscripts, had another important function to perform. They were asked to correct the translations made by others.

Preachers.

Dipakara Sijitana, or, as the Thibauts called him Atisa, was the son of the Raja of Vikramanapura, east of Megadha. He received his education in his native city from Naba Padita, and early in life he wrote a work entitled *Abhinavara-vibhasita* in collaboration with Lai, the founder of the Siddhanta sect. He went to the Eastern Parkanda to study Mahayana doctrine. Coming back to India, he became the chief priest of the Vikramaditta Vihara. In the year A.D. 1026, when he was 34 years of age, he was invited to Tibet to reform the existing Buddhist there. He went to western Tibet and laboured there unceasingly for fourteen years. He is regarded in Tibet as the great reformer of religion in that country. The villages hallowed by the dust of his feet are, even up to this day, regarded as places of pilgrimage.

Sikhyasi Bhiksu was one of the few Bhiksus who escaped the massacre of Buddhists by the early Mahomedan invasion of Bengal. He went to Tibet and from thence to Mongolia, where he converted Kublai Khan, the son of Chingiz Khan, to

his own doctrine, and so became the chief priest of Mongolia and the founder of Buddhism there.

About the beginning of the twelfth century, another Buddhist priest from Thumalipi went to Faga and in collaboration with four others reformed the Buddhist faith there. He went first to Ceylon and to the Makchikra there and introduced in Faga the doctrines and practices of the Makchikra:



II.—Studies in the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana.

By H. C. Chaublafer, M.A.

Date and Place of Origin.

Introductory.

The great value of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra for studying the social conditions of the Indian people in ancient times is gradually coming to be realised, but the almost worth of its contents has not yet been fully explored. It furnishes a beautiful picture of the Indian home, its interior and surroundings. It delineates the life and conduct of a devoted Indian wife, the mistress of the household and the mistress of her husband's person. It describes the daily life of a young man of fashion, his many-sided interests and pursuits, his courtships and passions, the sports and pastimes he revelled in, the parties and clubs he associated with. The warts and moles of gay Lotharios and merry widows, the shows and intrigues prevailing among high officials and princes and the evils perpetrated in their crowded harems, are described at great length and often with local details for the various provinces of India. The Kāmasūtra shows, moreover, that, as in the Athens of Pericles, the leturates skilled in the arts, the artists, the actors and the dancers, occupied a no very mean or insignificant position in society. The book thus throws light on Indian life from various sides and an analysis of this important work will, it may be hoped, be of immense value to students of Indian sociology. But first of all it is necessary to determine, as closely as may be, what particular period in the long history of the Indian people it depicts and represents, and for this investigation it will

be needed to ascertain Vātsyāyana's place in Indian literature and to examine the few historical facts that may be gleaned from his writings.

Vātsyāyana's Indebtedness to Earlier Sanskrit Literature.

Vātsyāyana has quoted freely from the works of previous authors not only in his own subject but also in other co-extensive subjects bearing on the social life of the people. When referring to his predecessors in the science of oratory, he has taken care to mention the authorities whom he cited and discussed, but in the other cases he has not cared to acknowledge his debt by mentioning the names. Some of them may however be indicated.

In his chapter¹ on the selection of a bride (वयस्यविवाहप्रकरणम्) the Kāśhīyāla has वयस्यं वयस्यं विवाहं वयस्यं वयस्यं विवाहं² ॥ ११ ॥ This is exactly the same as that given by Āpastamba in his *Gṛhyasūtra* I. 2. 10.³ The next two stanzas show only slight modifications, but making allowance for differences in reading they are exactly identical. Vātsyāyana has:—

वयस्यं वयस्यं वयस्यं वयस्यं विवाहं विवाहं विवाहं विवाहं
वयस्यं वयस्यं वयस्यं वयस्यं विवाहं विवाहं विवाहं विवाहं
वयस्यं वयस्यं वयस्यं वयस्यं विवाहं विवाहं विवाहं विवाहं
वयस्यं वयस्यं वयस्यं वयस्यं विवाहं विवाहं विवाहं विवाहं

¹ The quotations from the Kāśhīyāla have been made throughout from the *Benares edition*, edited by Pandit Sri. Dhanuraj Govind and published in the Kāśhīyāla Series. Another edition of the Sanskrit text had been published by Pandit Dhanuraj Govind but as it is not available in the market I have made use of the former. There is also a Bengali edition of the text and the consistency with the former is beyond reasonable doubt. The arrangement of the chapters and the numbering of the stanzas is not quite the same in the three editions and the readings vary considerably. The references are to the pages of the Benares edition.

² Benares edition, p. 185.

³ The *Āpastambīya Gṛhyasūtra* edited by Dr. M. Winternitz, p. 4.

⁴ Benares edition, pp. 185, 186.

Āpastamba reads—

एषां दृष्टां शीलाश्रयणां विपत्तौ विपत्तौ मृषां मनुष्यां भोजनविषां
शार्दां वासीं मित्रां सहायं वपेकादीं च सर्वेषु ॥ ११ ॥

वपेकाश्रयणां मदीयानां वपेकाश्रयणात् मदीयाः ॥ ११ ॥

एषां च उपलब्धश्रीश्रयणां वपेकां प्रतिपत्तिम् ॥ ११ ॥

The next *śloka* of *Vātsyāyana* again reads exactly the same as *Āpastamba's* *Gr̥hyasūtra*, III. 3. 8. *मृषां मनुष्यामुपेक्षां भोजनशुद्धा-
शक्तिर्वैलामाविधित्वेन च* ¹

The first *śloka* of the next chapter of the *Kārmārika* is again the same as in *Āpastamba's* *Gr̥hyasūtra*, III. 3. 8. The *Kārmārika* has—*मित्रादीन्विवाहमाश्रयणां मनुष्यान् च आश्रयणमवर्जिताम् ॥*

*Āpastamba reads—*मित्रादमुपेक्षाः प्रमादवचनं आश्रयणमवर्जितं च ²

About the sources of the *Śāstras* also, *Vātsyāyana* shows a wonderful agreement with *Āpastamba*, but this time with his *Dharmasūtra*. *Vātsyāyana* after giving a definition of *Dharma* says that it should be learnt from the *Vedas* and from the assembly of those who know the *Dharma*,³ just as he says that the *Kārmārikas* should be learnt from the books on the subject and the assembly of the *śāstras*.⁴ *Āpastamba* says much the same thing in his *Dharmasūtra*.⁵

In another chapter *Vātsyāyana* quotes a verse referring it simply to the *Śāstra* (सप्तविहः) —

वक्त्रः प्रसवने भोजः प्रसा नान्यपक्षे ह्यपि ।

सहस्रिः सप्तमि ह्वां क्षीमुर्धं प्रतिभेयम् ॥ ⁶

¹ *Winternitz*, *Op. Cit.* 82, p. 4.

² *Bose's* edition, p. 116, and *Winternitz*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 5.

³ *Bose's* edition, p. 181, and *Winternitz*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 11.

⁴ अं दृष्टीर्दृष्टमपराधं प्रतिपत्तिम् । *Bose's* edition, p. 12.

⁵ अं नान्यपक्षे भोजः प्रसा नान्यपक्षे ह्यपि । *Bose's* ed., p. 12.

⁶ *Āpastamba's* *Dharmasūtra* edited by Dr. G. Bühler, *cit.*, p. 1.

अथवा, सामवाचरिवाच्यं च आश्रयणात् । परीक्षयः ।

दुर्वासम् । विद्याम् ॥

⁷ *Bose's* edition, p. 105.

This verse is found in the *Dharmasūtras* of Vasishṭha¹⁷ and Baudhāyana¹⁸ with very slight and immaterial variations. With some further modifications it is found in the *Smṛitis* of Manu¹⁹ and Viṣṇu²⁰ also. Its occurrence in almost identical forms in so many works shows that it must have been borrowed from some common and ancient authority or *Dharma*. Again, in a verse in his chapter on marriage, Vātsyāyana shows an agreement in idea with Baudhāyana. Vātsyāyana says that an actual affection between a couple is the object of all forms of marriage, therefore the *Uśadhava* form which has its basis in love, is easier to celebrate, and is free from the tediousness of a long writing; is the best of all,²¹ and Baudhāyana refers to it as the *optima* of some authorities.²² This idea we also find in the *Mahābhārata*.²³ From the above it is clear that Vātsyāyana has embodied in his work at least five verses from the *Uśadhava* of Āpastamba though we cannot find

¹⁷ The *Vasishṭha Dharmasūtra*, edited by Dr. A. A. Fisher, ch. 25, v, p. 71.

¹⁸ The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, edited by L. Bhatishankara, Mysore, I, i, 26, p. 57. Baudhāyana reads:

अथ दूधवती यैवः सङ्गतिः पञ्चमावसे ।

विधवा रतिर्भवती वा सङ्गमवसे दूतिः ॥

¹⁹ *Manu's Dharmasūtra*, edited by Dr. J. Jolly, V, 110.

विधवाय दूतिः यौवनां सङ्गतिः पञ्चमावसे ।

दूधवती च दूतिर्भवति वा सङ्गमवसे दूतिः ॥

²⁰ *Viṣṇusmṛiti*, edited by Dr. J. Jolly, III, 49.

²¹ *Smṛiti* edited, p. 123.

अङ्गुली हि विवादायामङ्गुलः सर्वं यत् ।

अङ्गुली हि अङ्गुली सङ्गमवसे दूतिः ॥

दूधमावसेयुक्तं सङ्गतिः सङ्गमवसे ॥

अङ्गुलीयसङ्गमवसे सङ्गमवसे दूतिः सङ्गमवसे ॥

²² *Smṛiti*, Mysore edition, I, 21, 15, p. 120.

सङ्गमवसेयुक्तं दूधमवसे सङ्गमवसे दूतिः ॥

²³ *Mahābhārata*, Calcutta edition, 11, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1.

विवादाय हि रतिर्भवती सङ्गमवसे दूतिः ॥

quite certain with regard to his debt to Vātsyāyana. These stories were originally assigned to the period from 400 to 200 B.C. Vātsyāyana has also included in his book certain passages from a work whose date is more definitely known, viz. from the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya¹⁷ written about 300 B.C., and he has followed the method of Kautilya throughout the *Kamasūtra*. This led to the almost identification of Kautilya with Vātsyāyana and a host of other authors in some of the books or books.¹⁸ There are some references to secular literature also in Vātsyāyana's book. He says that when a woman shows an inclination to listen to the proposals of a lover, she should be propitiated by reciting to her such stories as those of Ahalyā, Avimbra, and Sakuntalā.¹⁹ The story of Ahalyā given in the *Bhāṭya* and is alluded to by Mānugosha in the *Buddhacarita*, canto IV, verse 75.²⁰ Avimbra's story forms the subject-matter of one of the dramas of Bhasa whom Mr. K. T. Jayaram has placed about the middle of the first century B.C.²¹ We cannot learn, however, that Vātsyāyana

¹⁷ See the English translation of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (pp. II, 33) where Mr. B. Shama Shastri has brought together all the parallel passages in the *Arthashastra* and the *Kamasūtra*.

¹⁸ See the *Malaviya Series* (Allahabad), No. 118, p. 274, where Mr. Subhendra Vasu Vidyotsava quotes the following verse from the *Arthashastra* (Chaitanya):—

वाग्वाच्यो मन्त्रवाक्यः कुलितवाक्योऽप्यथ ।

वाच्यः पञ्चमवाच्यो विष्णुपुराणोऽप्यथ ॥

See also *A Note on the supposed Identity of Vātsyāyana and Kautilya* by Mr. B. Shama Shastri, M.A., in the *Journal of the Khyber Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 225-232. Mr. Shastri has, however, accepted without question the identity of the authors of the *Kamasūtra* and the *Arthashastra*. On this question see *Vātsyāyana, author of the Arthashastra* by Kāśhīnāthāchārya Śrī Candra Vidyotsava, Ind. Ant., 1925, April, p. 55.

¹⁹ वाग्वाच्यो वाग्वाच्यमन्त्रवाक्यः—वाक्कुलितवाक्यमपि नैविकर्तव्यं च पञ्चमवाच्यमपि । Sameva edition, p. 271.

²⁰ वाग्वाच्यं वाग्वाच्यं देवोऽपि विष्णुपुराणः ।

श्रीलक्ष्मणः पुनः पञ्चमवाच्यं च पञ्चमवाच्यं । *Indo-Iranian*, 17, 74.

²¹ A. A. S. S., 1928, p. 225.

derived it from the latter work, because Hiten's treatment of it seems to indicate that it was a well-known story like that of Ushyasa; and, besides, the commentator, Jayanagala,²⁰ gives some particulars not now wanting in the drama.

The story of Sakuntala is referred to by Vatsyayana in another place also. In his chapter on the courtship of a maiden, he says that the women should point out to the girl courted the name of other maidens like Sakuntala who showed in the same circumstances as herself, obtained husbands of their own free choice and were happy by such union.²¹ This refers to the story of the love between Sakuntalā and Dushanta as we know it from the great drama of Kālidāsa, but Vatsyayana was certainly not indebted to him for it; it is given very fully in the *Mahābhārata*.²² *Aśvaghoṣa*, the Buddhist poet also narrates how Vividisha, Sakuntalā's father, was led away by an Asura, whom however he calls Christak instead of Mombh.²³ He was evidently acquainted with the story of Sakuntalā. The *Āgastya Jātaka* certainly recalled part of the story of Dushanta and Sakuntalā.²⁴ The legend however was known in still more ancient times, viz., the period of the composition of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* portion of the

²⁰ The commentator is named Jayanagala in the Roman edition and I have followed it. Palla Vajrapāṇi, as well as the Bengali of his name the commentator Takṣaka and calls the commentator Jayanagala.

²¹ साक्षात्वा च विद्यामयातीयाः यथाऽप्राप्यतादाः

आहता मर्शे पुत्र्यचंद्रिका मोदन्ते वा साक्षात्वा विवर्धये

Roman edition, p. 176.

²² *Āgastya*, ch. 10 ff.

²³ विद्यामयी मर्शमि विद्यामयी मर्शमया ।

सुहृद्विद्यामयी सुहृद्विद्यामयी सुहृद्विद्यामयी । *Buddhist* 17, 25.

²⁴ *Buddhist Jātaka*, Vol. I, Pt. 1. This has been published with by Signor M. E. Pavani in the *Giornale della Lettera Italiana*, Torino, volume *Vindictary*, p. 227. See also note by K. H. Chandra in his English translation of the First Volume of the *Jātaka*, p. 26.

**Vātsyāyana's Reference to Earlier Works on the
Kāmasūtra.**

Vātsyāyana in speaking of the origin of the Kāmasūtra, says in the beginning of his book that at first Prajapati for the preservation of his progeny composed a large encyclopædia in a hundred thousand chapters dealing with the three subjects of human life, viz. Dharma, Artha and Kāma; that the first two of these subjects were next taken up by Manu and Vrikshpati respectively and Baudh, the attendant of Bṛhaspati, took up the third which he dealt with in a thousand chapters. This last work was condensed into two hundred chapters by Svataṭa the son of Uśhāta. The work of Svataṭa was further abridged into a hundred and fifty chapters and divided into seven sections by Bṛhaspati, a native of the Pakula country. Next Dattaka at the request of the courtiers of Pataliputra wrote a separate treatise dealing with the Yājñika section of Bṛhaspati. His example was followed by six other writers—Chandrayana, Śravanakṛishṇa, Ghṛṣṇakṛishṇa, Gṛṣṇakṛishṇa, and Kṛishṇakṛishṇa, each of whom took up a section of Bṛhaspati and wrote a manuscript on it. As the science treated in this fragmentary fashion by numerous writers was about to be mingled and spoiled and as the work of Bṛhaspati, being large in bulk, was difficult to study, Vātsyāyana proposes to give an epitome of the whole subject in a single work of moderate dimensions.⁴¹ Towards the end of the Kāmasūtra again Vātsyāyana says that having learned the meaning of the verses of Bṛhaspati (from his teachers, as one would in the case of a named text or *Āgama*) and having pondered over them in his mind he composed the Kāmasūtra in the right method.⁴² He then admits that the great work of Bṛhaspati formed the groundwork of his own book, as is also quite evident from the frequent references that he makes

⁴¹ *vide* Chapter I of the Kāmasūtra, pp. 4-5, *Samana* edition.

⁴² वाङ्मयार्थं सूत्रार्थं च विवक्ष्यते ।

वाचस्पत्ययनव्याख्ये वाङ्मयं विवक्ष्यते । *Samana* edition, p. 311.

in this every part of the *Kṛishṇa*. One out of his seven sections, the *Śāntapargana*, covering about a fourth part of the whole text, is entirely taken from Bāṇareya as he says at the end of that section.¹² There can, therefore, be no doubt that Vātsyāyana had before him the great work of Bāṇareya Pañcāla. The commentator Jayantīyāla also quotes several verses stating the opinions of the followers of Bāṇareya,¹³ and he means, therefore, to have access to some treatise specially belonging to Bāṇareya's school.¹⁴

It may be noted that Vātsyāyana speaks of having mastered Bāṇareya's book as an *Āgama*, a work of holy scriptures, indicating that it was considerably ancient. A Bāṇareya who is called *Pāṇḍita* by Uvāta, the commentator, is mentioned in the *Bhikṣuśāstra* as the author of the *Kṛishṇa-pāṇḍita* of the *Higveda* and Professor Weber¹⁵ holds that this Bāṇareya Pañcāla, and the Pañcāla people through him, took a leading part in fixing and arranging the text of the *Higveda*. This connection of the Pañcāla people with the *Higveda* receives a confirmation from what Vātsyāyana tells us in connection with the sixty-four varieties of *śānta* or *śānta*. He says that they belonged to the Pañcāla country¹⁶ and were collectively called

¹² *सन्ति हि चतुर्विंशतिः पादपर्वण्यः सुदीर्घाश्च*. Devanir edition, p. 188. Further, at pp. 125, 126, 127, 128 and 129 the school of Bāṇareya has been referred to.

¹³ *इत्युक्तं सुदीर्घाः—*

पुत्रिणा विमलपतिः पदः सुमहामिहा ॥

अर्थात् सुमहामिहा सुमहामिहा सुदीर्घा इति ॥ Devanir edition, p. 178.

Devanir, in *Devanir* right, *Devanir*—Bāṇareya's *Devanir*—at pp. 125, 126.

¹⁴ [Bāṇareya's work ought to be corrected at *Devanir*. It was corrected at *Devanir* as late as the composition of *Devanir* which quotes it.—E. P. J.]

¹⁵ *History of Indian Literature*, translated by J. Muir and T. Devanir, Popular edition, pp. 12 and 14.

¹⁶ *सन्ति हि चतुर्विंशतिः पादपर्वण्यः*, Devanir edition, p. 188.

Chataśāsthi¹¹—"The strip-dowry"—from analogy with the *Śiganda*. He avers that the *Śikhs* collected in ten *masāḥas* are called the *Chataśāsthi* (being divided) into eight *Asāsthas* of eight chapters each; and the same principle holds in the case of the *Samparajaya* too (as they are divided into eight from eight varieties); and lastly, because they are both connected with the *Paśukā* country, therefore the *Balvrickia*, the followers of the *Śiganda*, have not of aspect given this appellation of *Chataśāsthi* to them.¹² If *Dikṣavarya*, the writer of the work on the *Kāmasāstra*, is the same as the great author of the *Kāmasūtra*, then he has to be placed in a very early age indeed. But it is doubtful whether the science of erotica could have been systematised so early; though it must be admitted that erotica and eugenics, the sciences that the *Kāmasāstra* embraces in its scope, had received particular attention from the *Brahmins* at the time of composition of the hymns of the *Ātharvaveda*, many of which deal with phylloxera and charms to secure love and drive away jealousy, with the means for choosing good and healthy children and other allied matters.

The *Paśukā* country where *Balhvarya* flourished appears to have been the part of India where the science of erotica was quickly cultivated. We have seen how great was the debt of *Vātsyāna* to *Dikṣavarya*. *Paśukā* specially with regard to the section dealing with *Samparajaya*, the subject-matter proper of the *Kāmasāstra*. Some of the most objectionable comments in the *Āśvamedha* varṇika seem to have originated in the *Paśukā* country.¹³ The *Paśukā* people were evidently credited in ancient

¹¹ 'चतुर्विंशति' चतुर्विंशतिशतवर्षे चतुर्विंशत्युपदेशात् ३ १, *Beames edition*, p. 22.

¹² 'अथैव दम्पतीनां च श्रीहठयोगविद्यायि उपदेशैर्बलवान् वचनात्मकत्वात् वाचस्पतयेवा दृष्टव्यं' 'अथा' पुराणिनिशब्दः ३ ३ १

अथानामयथा विवर्णनैवाहमयथाचतुर्विंशतिशतवर्षाः ३ ५

Beames edition, pp. 22, 24.

¹³ See *Beames*, op. cit., pp. 114-5.

since with extraordinary power in connection with matters relating to the sexes extending even to the change of the sexual sex as we see in the case of Śikhyāḍa the son of the Pañḍita king, Drupada.⁴⁰ Puṣyaputra, as we see it in the case of Drupadī Pañḍitī, may be regarded as once an ancient institution of the Pāñḍita country and the Pañḍita brothers belonging as they did to the allied tribe of the Kurus, as we see from the common Vāṇa phrase *Kura-Pañḍita*, were certainly familiar with it and could have no difficulty in seeing to it. In this connection a Sūtra of Vaiśyampāyana is very significant. He says that according to the followers of Bṛhhasparya, who belonged to Pāñḍita as we have seen, a woman may not be suspected when she is found to have intimacy with five lovers⁴¹ (in addition to her husband, explains Jāyamaṅgala⁴²), showing that five was considered as the limit beyond which it was not deemed for a woman to go, and if she did so, she could be approached like a fallen woman. Jāyamaṅgala explains that is the case of Drupadī: this limit was not passed especially as the five were all her husbands.⁴³ We first see that it is not necessary to go to Tibet for explaining this peculiar case of polyandry. Of the predecessors of Bṛhhasparya mentioned by Vaiśyampāyana the earlier ones bear mythical names,⁴⁴ but Śvetāśvara the son of Uddaka

⁴⁰ *Mahābhārata*, Udyoga Parva, Chapter 100-104.

⁴¹ *हृदयबहुवर्गवा वासन्त्या वाचिबुधोति वासुदेवः ।* *Smṛiti* edition, p. 11.

⁴² *आविशतिदेवेन वधः न च हृदयः परिर्वे न वधः वा शैवेयी ।*
वासन्त्यावाचोदेव वधः । न च न वधालेन वधोति वराहः । *Ibid.*

⁴³ *शैवेयी तु वचिबुधालेन वासन्त्यावधेयमात्रा, वधालेन वचिबुधालेन वैविधालेन वधः ।* *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ The authority of Puṣyaputra is much in accordance (general) except dealing with *Śrama*, *Artha* and *Śānti* is also reached for by the *Mahābhārata*, Udyoga Parva, Chapter 10.

Of the other writers, Ganesha has been quoted by Mallinatha in his gloss on the *Kamasmūtra*, VII, 95, and on the *Āgastya-sūtra*, XIX, 22, 23.

Rajasekhara in his *Kāyasthāna* (Ghoshal's *Oriental Series*, p. 1) refers to Svarajasekhara as the author of a treatise on a branch of poetics, viz. *Ālīkārya* and speaks of Kachandra as having dealt with the *Āpāṇāśāstra* section. The latter is evidently the same as Vatsyayana's Kachandra, the author of a monograph on the *Āpāṇāśāstra* portion of the *Samhitā* and most probably one and the same work has been referred to by the two authors, there being nothing extraordinary in the fact that the sections dealing with the secrets and mysteries (*guṇāśāstra*) of both poetics and medicine should coincide. Kuntilya in the *Arthasastra* (*Arthashastra* 5, 8) has quoted *Ālīkā Chiriyā* and *Śāstamālā*, who, Professor Jacobi holds, are probably the same persons as the Chiriyā and Śāstamālā of Vatsyayana; they would, therefore, have lived prior to the fourth century B.C. and Datta and Bhatnaya who preceded them could be thrown back to a much earlier date. Datta, of course, could not have lived earlier than the fifth century A.C. when *Paṭaliputra* was the being capital of Magadha. Gopikāya is mentioned by *Paṭaliputra* (on *Paṭaliputra* I, 4, 5) as a famous physician and Professor Jacobi is inclined to believe that he is the same person as the Gopikāya of Vatsyayana. But in his case, as also in that of Gomatīya by which name *Paṭaliputra* himself is known, the identification is rather doubtful.*

References to Kamasūtra in Later Literature.

We shall take into account only those references to *Kamasūtra* that will enable us to arrive at a determination of the date of Vatsyayana. In canto XIX of the *Raghuvaṇśa*, in describing the inordinate lustre of the voluptuary *Agastya*, Valmiki has often followed the description in the *Kamasūtra*, using even its technical expressions, e.g. the word *śaṅkha* in verse 16 which is used there in the very same

* For Professor Jacobi's opinions on *Śāstamālā*, *Kuntilya*, *Paṭaliputra* and *Gomatīya*, see *Monist*, 1911, pp. 328-335.

same as that given by Vātsyāyana in his chapter on *Pratyaśauddhāna*. In verse 31, however, there is a more definite and verbal agreement. Vātsyāyana in his chapter on the means of knowing a lover who is growing cold (*Virahā-pratīkṣā*) gives as one of the indications of such stage निमग्नमयविद्युत्तमप्यपि¹³. Kālidāsa in describing Agriyāra's love under similar circumstances uses the very same language निमग्नमयविद्युत्तमप्यपि. पश्यन्तं तमप्यपि विद्युत्. Another very striking agreement has been pointed out by Mallikartha and cited upon by modern scholars. Describing the marriage of Aja and Indrani, Kālidāsa says that when the two touched each other's hands the hair on the bridegroom's forehead stood on end and the mother laid her fingers wet with perspiration.¹⁴ Here Mallikartha quotes Vātsyāyana who speaks of exactly the same thing happening under the same circumstances.¹⁵ In the *Kanvaśāṅkṣa*, VII. 77, however, Kālidāsa has reversed this order, saying that it was Hanu, the bridegroom, who perspired and the hair stood on end on the bride's hand.¹⁶ But the language is almost the same and we think Kālidāsa's memory did not serve him quite right when he wrote the *Kanvaśāṅkṣa* passage and that he improved himself, as Professor Jacobi holds, in the *Udayasūtra*.¹⁷ The violation in the one case only proves well enough that Kālidāsa had a knowledge of Vātsyāyana's work and made use of it. Arguing from a similar agreement in another passage of Kālidāsa,

¹³ This is the reading given by Mallikartha. The Benares edition reads निमग्नमयविद्युत्तमप्यपि, etc., p. 323.

¹⁴ पश्यन्तं तमप्यपि विद्युत्तमप्यपि निमग्नमयविद्युत्तमप्यपि.

¹⁵ "कथा तु प्रसन्नमया विद्युत्तमप्यपि निमग्नमयविद्युत्तमप्यपि ।
पश्यन्तं तमप्यपि विद्युत्तमप्यपि निमग्नमयविद्युत्तमप्यपि ।" This passage quoted by Mallikartha is slightly different from the reading in the printed edition where we have निमग्नमयविद्युत्तमप्यपि निमग्नमयविद्युत्तमप्यपि । Benares edition, p. 306.

¹⁶ रोमोद्विग्नः कान्तुः कान्तुः कान्तुः निमग्नमयविद्युत्तमप्यपि ।

¹⁷ Dr. Epes Kilduff, p. 355. In this connection, see E. Schmidt, *Udayasūtra* and *Udayasūtra*, 1903, pp. 4, 5.

Dr. Peterson has come to the definite conclusion that Vātsyāyana is quoted there by the poet. His reason is the following verse (in *Ant IV*) which is considered to be one of the best in his *Śukrāvalī*.

सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं विवर्धयितुं नृपतपोः
 अर्जुनसुखं विवर्धयितुं नृपतपोः ॥ १ ॥
 सुखं नृपतपोः विवर्धयितुं नृपतपोः
 सुखं नृपतपोः विवर्धयितुं नृपतपोः ॥ २ ॥

Dr. Peterson then goes on to say : "The first, third and fourth precepts here are taken verbatim from our sūtras ; the second occurs elsewhere in our book ; the third we have already had. Scholars must judge ; but it seems to me to be almost certain that Kālidāsa is quoting Vātsyāyana, a fact, if it be a fact, which invests our author with a great antiquity."¹⁰ It will be observed from an examination of the corresponding sūtras of Vātsyāyana¹¹ that in the first two lines of the verse quoted above, Kālidāsa has translated the ideas of Vātsyāyana but in the third line he has followed our author verbatim. On the authority of this agreement evidently Mahābhārataśāstra Hara Prasad Shastri has also stated in this *Journal* that Kālidāsa's "knowledge of the *Karmakāṇḍa* was very deep indeed."¹²

¹⁰ Kālidāsa's *Śukrāvalī*, the English translation, edited by Richard Pischel, p. 88.

¹¹ *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London*, 1902, p. 405; see also J. A. S. S., Vol. XXIII, pp. 303, 313.

¹² Dr. Peterson here evidently refers to the following sūtras of Vātsyāyana on the notion of a wife: सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं विवर्धयितुं नृपतपोः, ॥ १ ॥, अर्जुनसुखं विवर्धयितुं नृपतपोः ॥ २ ॥. *Source edition*, p. 330.

Vātsyāyana devotes the whole of Chapter III of the *Śukrāvalī* to the notion of the sexual conduct of women (p. 334 ff.). Corresponding to the second line of the verse, Vātsyāyana has सुखं सुखं सुखं सुखं विवर्धयितुं नृपतपोः ॥ १ ॥. *Source edition*, p. 337.

¹³ J. A. S. S., Vol. II, part II, p. 302.

There is, moreover, a sort of satire in Vaidyapada's chapter on duplicitous-like which reminds the reader at once of the first act of KALIDASA's *Subhantika* as will be seen from the translation now given: "When a girl sees that she is sought after by a desirable lover, conversation should be set up through a sympathetic (female) friend (*sakhi*) who has the confidence of both; then she should smile looking downwards; when the *sakhi* suggests serious matters, she should take her to task and dispute with her; the *sakhi*, however, should say: "This was said by her," even when she has said none as; then when the *sakhi* is set aside and she is admitted to speak for herself, she should keep silent; when, however, this is insisted upon, she should utter rather brokenly "I never say any such thing" and speak in half-finished sentences; sometimes she should, with a smile, cast sidelong glances at the lover," etc. From what we have said above there can be no doubt that the Kanarin was known to KALIDASA and that he had made verbal quotations from the work. Now KALIDASA could not have lived later than the middle of the 5th century A.C., because he places the Hūpas on the banks of the Pāṭakā, the Wāṭak or the Dīras in Śāṭakā,¹⁷ before they had been pushed towards the westward towards the Indian frontier.¹⁸ In all likelihood KALIDASA lived during the reigning period of

¹⁷ See *Samantasiddhi*, p. 221.

¹⁸ The passage of KALIDASA referred to here are verses 61 and 62, *Subhantika*, Canto IV, beginning—विदित्वापुनराप्य दृष्ट्वास्मिन् (61), in the pages of this Journal (volume II, page 607, and 6115). *Subhantika* (विदित्वापुनराप्य दृष्ट्वास्मिन्) has enough to show KALIDASA that the middle of the 5th century A.C. depending on the wrong reading of Mallikartha who reads *Śāṭakā* instead of *Pāṭakā* in the line quoted above. With all due deference to the great work of Dr. D. D. Sen, I would venture to differ from him here. There cannot be any doubt that *Pāṭakā* is the correct reading here and not *Śāṭakā*. Vaidyapada of Kanarin who lived about the same time as far as Mallikartha made *Pāṭakā*, and the unquestioned genuineness and reliability of Vaidyapada's as compared with that of Mallikartha has been fully established in the case of the *Maghastika* where all those verses that had been accepted by Mallikartha as genuine but had been rejected as spurious by modern critics (the Fourth line—*Chandra Vidyutaga*, *Githavastha* and *Śravan* are found to be spurious from the text of *Vaidika*). The genuineness of *Pāṭakā*'s has been established

Vātsyāyana being his *pitṛa* or family name as pointed out by the commentator Jayamangala and as is corroborated by some of the lexicons.⁴⁴ Two branches of the Vātsyāyana to which our author belongs are mentioned by Kāśikāyana in his *Samastra*.⁴⁵ Nishānābhīpādhyāya Hara Prasad Shastri holds that Śaṅkarācārya must have flourished in the beginning of the fifth century about the same time as Chāṇakya Vātsamāliya.⁴⁶ That from the evidence offered by Kāśikāya and Śaṅkarācārya we can feel definitely certain that the *Samastra* was written before 400 A.C. Some editions of the *Polichastāra* have two passages in which Vātsyāyana is mentioned by name.⁴⁷ However, in the *Tantrikhyāyika* which is considered to be the earliest revision of the *Polichastāra*, the name of Vātsyāyana does not come, but in enumerating the usual subjects of study Kāśikāya first grammar, and then the *Dharmas*, *Arthas* and *Kama Śāstras* in general.⁴⁸ The *Tantrikhyāyika* has been supposed to have been written about 300 A.C.⁴⁹ The mention of the *Kimśatetra* in it shows, at least, that the science of astrology had, in the third century A.C., obtained an equal footing with the sister sciences of *Dharmas* and *Arthas* as branches of learning that princes were required to acquire. This position it had not

occupied in the Great valley, and—just before the very end known to Vātsyāyana and was considered a part of life so late as the sixth century A.C. when Viśvanātha wrote his *Vijñāna Bhāṣā*.

⁴⁴ *Polichastāra*, translated by Dr. Louis E. Ousp, p. 98.

⁴⁵ वात्स्यायन इति शम्भोदरिनिमित्तं वसन्तः । मन्वन्त इति च
बौधायनी । *Source edition*, p. 171; see also *ibid.*, p. 1.

⁴⁶ *Āśvadhyaśāstra* Hara, *Śāśikāya* edition XII, 10, 4-5, p. 212.

⁴⁷ *J. A. S. B.*, 2005, p. 604.

⁴⁸ *Polichastāra*, edited by Dr. F. Kielhorn, p. 2. वात्स्यायनादि वात्स्याय-
नादीनि एव p. 98 वात्स्यायनीकानि विवेच्य, see Śaṅkarācārya, op. cit., p. 2.

⁴⁹ एतौ धर्मार्थकामकाशादि विवेचि—The *Polichastāra*, edited by Dr. J. Kielhorn, *Harvard G. S.*, vol. 24, p. 1.

⁵⁰ See *Polichastāra*, also Śaṅkarācārya and also *Polichastāra* vol. 2, Kielhorn, 1916, p. 6; see also *Polichastāra* Lamm's introduction to the *Polichastāra*, *Harvard G. S.*, vol. 10, p. 2.

attained in 300 B.C., whereas we see from the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, though Kama had been recognised as one of the objects of human interest (*Prinaya*), it had not as yet a *śāstra* *sādhya* as a science worth study, because it had not yet a place in Kautilya's list where we find Dharma, Artha, Dharma, Artha, and *Ākhyata* (narrative) but not the *Kāmasāstra*.¹⁹ In view of the fact therefore that it was Vātsyāyana who made popular the science which was almost extinct (*śāstra-nāstika*) in his time, the presumption is that the author of the *Tantrikāyika* had his *Kāmasāstra* in mind when he wrote the passage above referred to.

We thus see that from the literary data given above the earlier link to the composition of the *Kāmasāstra* may be assigned on the basis of Vātsyāyana's quotations from the *Uṣṇya* and *Dharma Śāstra* and the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, and that the latter *Ākhyata* be fixed at c. 300 B.C., based on the dates of Kaṭhina and Śakāmbhī's and, further, that there are strong reasons to believe that it was known in the third century A.D. From the historical data that the *Kāmasāstra* affords we can come to a more definite determination of Vātsyāyana's date.

Historical Data about the Date of Vātsyāyana.

The well-known passage²⁰ referring to the Andhra monarch Kuntala Śakabha (not pointed out by Sir B. G. Bhattacharya,²¹

¹⁹ *पुण्यमिति वचनमस्मादिति चोक्तं यमसाधनार्थं शास्त्रं चास्ति वचनम्* : Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, cited by R. S. Sankar Prasad, p. 26. It is significant in this connection that the latter writer knows only some of the sections of the *Kāmasāstra* such as *Śāntiśloka*, *Prakṛatishloka*, *Vākyā*, etc., but not the *Śānti* as a whole (p. 126, *Lehmann's edition*).

²⁰ *कालो दुष्कः क्षालयति; क्षालयती नद्यतिर्वा मधवतीम्* [मया] *Thacker edition*, p. 147.

²¹ *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 22. I beg leave to submit that Kautilya has here not used "a pile of stones" as translated by Sir B. G. Bhattacharya, but it is a technical term to denote a kind of stone used by a man with one or both of his hands at a woman's feet, at the parting of the hair (Shikha). Vātsyāyana says that some women use it upon seeing the people of the South (*Dakṣiṇyādika*) and he comments that it has sometimes proved fatal. The case of Kuntala Śakabha is an example in point. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-8.

finds the important date. According to the Dynastic list of the Achaemenids, Kuntala Sati or Sattikhara is the thirteenth in descent from Sushala the founder of the family. Sati Malla Sattikhara, the third monarch in this list, has been identified by Mr. K. P. Jajawal with the Sattikhara mentioned in the Hadda-gupta inscription of Kharvash and it has been shown by him that an expedition was undertaken by Kharvash in 171 B.C. against this Sattikhara.¹⁸ Kuntala is separated from him by 108 years according to the Persian enumeration¹⁹ which is held to be substantially correct. Kuntala therefore reigned about the very beginning of the Christian era. This is then the upper limit of the composition of the Khamstra which was therefore written between the first and the fifth centuries after Christ. We may now attempt to come to a closer approximation.

Vileptiyas mentions the Adibev and the Andhras residing side by side at the same time in South-West India. He speaks of an *Likha Kottaya*, "a king of Kotta in Oupuri, who was killed by a eunuch employed by his brother. Then again, in his chapter on the result of women confiding in men, Vileptiyas describes the abuses pointed in the struggle of the Adibis kings" among others. Now, King Itanuvata, son of the Adibis Sivavatta, mentioned as a ruling sovereign in one of the North inscriptions and is thought to have reigned in the third century A.D. Bodde, Mahabharata Bhavadatta is considered as very reasonable grounds to have been

¹⁰ 大正色紙集, Vol. III, pp. 444, 446.

* Fungius, *Derivation of the Call sign*, pp. 34-40.

¹⁴ 'आग्नी' द्वि योऽस्याहं परमवयसः आह्वयुः सती रक्षोऽप्यहम्, *Deussen edition*, p. 107. *Vikrādyāna mahātma* & *Śikhiṇī* *Śiṣṭasāra* (1902) edition, 1902, 10/11/12/13/14/15/16/17/18/19/20/21/22/23/24/25/26/27/28/29/30/31/32/33/34/35/36/37/38/39/40/41/42/43/44/45/46/47/48/49/50/51/52/53/54/55/56/57/58/59/60/61/62/63/64/65/66/67/68/69/70/71/72/73/74/75/76/77/78/79/80/81/82/83/84/85/86/87/88/89/90/91/92/93/94/95/96/97/98/99/100/101/102/103/104/105/106/107/108/109/110/111/112/113/114/115/116/117/118/119/120/121/122/123/124/125/126/127/128/129/130/131/132/133/134/135/136/137/138/139/140/141/142/143/144/145/146/147/148/149/150/151/152/153/154/155/156/157/158/159/160/161/162/163/164/165/166/167/168/169/170/171/172/173/174/175/176/177/178/179/180/181/182/183/184/185/186/187/188/189/190/191/192/193/194/195/196/197/198/199/200/201/202/203/204/205/206/207/208/209/210/211/212/213/214/215/216/217/218/219/220/221/222/223/224/225/226/227/228/229/230/231/232/233/234/235/236/237/238/239/240/241/242/243/244/245/246/247/248/249/250/251/252/253/254/255/256/257/258/259/260/261/262/263/264/265/266/267/268/269/270/271/272/273/274/275/276/277/278/279/280/281/282/283/284/285/286/287/288/289/290/291/292/293/294/295/296/297/298/299/300/301/302/303/304/305/306/307/308/309/310/311/312/313/314/315/316/317/318/319/320/321/322/323/324/325/326/327/328/329/330/331/332/333/334/335/336/337/338/339/340/341/342/343/344/345/346/347/348/349/350/351/352/353/354/355/356/357/358/359/360/361/362/363/364/365/366/367/368/369/370/371/372/373/374/375/376/377/378/379/380/381/382/383/384/385/386/387/388/389/390/391/392/393/394/395/396/397/398/399/400/401/402/403/404/405/406/407/408/409/410/411/412/413/414/415/416/417/418/419/420/421/422/423/424/425/426/427/428/429/430/431/432/433/434/435/436/437/438/439/440/441/442/443/444/445/446/447/448/449/450/451/452/453/454/455/456/457/458/459/460/461/462/463/464/465/466/467/468/469/470/471/472/473/474/475/476/477/478/479/480/481/482/483/484/485/486/487/488/489/490/491/492/493/494/495/496/497/498/499/500/501/502/503/504/505/506/507/508/509/510/511/512/513/514/515/516/517/518/519/520/521/522/523/524/525/526/527/528/529/530/531/532/533/534/535/536/537/538/539/540/541/542/543/544/545/546/547/548/549/550/551/552/553/554/555/556/557/558/559/560/561/562/563/564/565/566/567/568/569/570/571/572/573/574/575/576/577/578/579/580/581/582/583/584/585/586/587/588/589/590/591/592/593/594/595/596/597/598/599/600/601/602/603/604/605/606/607/608/609/610/611/612/613/614/615/616/617/618/619/620/621/622/623/624/625/626/627/628/629/630/631/632/633/634/635/636/637/638/639/640/641/642/643/644/645/646/647/648/649/650/651/652/653/654/655/656/657/658/659/660/661/662/663/664/665/666/667/668/669/670/671/672/673/674/675/676/677/678/679/680/681/682/683/684/685/686/687/688/689/690/691/692/693/694/695/696/697/698/699/700/701/702/703/704/705/706/707/708/709/710/711/712/713/714/715/716/717/718/719/720/721/722/723/724/725/726/727/728/729/730/731/732/733/734/735/736/737/738/739/740/741/742/743/744/745/746/747/748/749/750/751/752/753/754/755/756/757/758/759/760/761/762/763/764/765/766/767/768/769/770/771/772/773/774/775/776/777/778/779/780/781/782/783/784/785/786/787/788/789/790/791/792/793/794/795/796/797/798/799/800/801/802/803/804/805/806/807/808/809/810/811/812/813/814/815/816/817/818/819/820/821/822/823/824/825/826/827/828/829/830/831/832/833/834/835/836/837/838/839/840/841/842/843/844/845/846/847/848/849/850/851/852/853/854/855/856/857/858/859/860/861/862/863/864/865/866/867/868/869/870/871/872/873/874/875/876/877/878/879/880/881/882/883/884/885/886/887/888/889/890/891/892/893/894/895/896/897/898/899/900/901/902/903/904/905/906/907/908/909/910/911/912/913/914/915/916/917/918/919/920/921/922/923/924/925/926/927/928/929/930/931/932/933/934/935/936/937/938/939/940/941/942/943/944/945/946/947/948/949/950/951/952/953/954/955/956/957/958/959/960/961/962/963/964/965/966/967/968/969/970/971/972/973/974/975/976/977/978/979/980/981/982/983/984/985/986/987/988/989/990/991/992/993/994/995/996/997/998/999/1000/1001/1002/1003/1004/1005/1006/1007/1008/1009/1010/1011/1012/1013/1014/1015/1016/1017/1018/101

११. सावित्रम् अक्षयिन्मः पुराणिभिर्विद्यम्^{११} सायकणवाभीरकाभाजः

Revised edition, in 2014.

* Archaeological Survey of Western India, IV, page 122. See also Professor D. E. Sircar's review in the *Indian Journal of History*, Vol. XXI, p. 486.

an *Ābhira*, and his coins show that he reigned some time between circa 200 and 279 A.C.¹² About a century later, in the early years of the fourth century A.C., circa 300 A.C., the *Ābhira* were met by *Samudragupta*.¹³ The period when the *Ābhira* most flourished, therefore, was the third century A.C.,¹⁴ on epigraphic and numismatic grounds. The *Āndhra* rulers are also referred to by *Vātsyayana* but certainly as mere local kings. In his chapter on *Īśvarakīrtita*, or "The Lord of Rulers," *Vātsyayana* describes various forms of abuses practised by kings, and it is significant that all the rulers here mentioned are referred to by the names of the people they ruled over and belong to South-Western India, viz. the kings of the *Apantakha*, the *Valadakhia*, the *Saurashtra*, the *Vāṅgahakha* and the *Āndhra*.¹⁵ The *Āndhra* monarchs here referred to evidently ruled over the *Āndhra* people proper, and the social customs and practices of the *Āndhra* people are described in various other parts of the book also.¹⁶ There is no reference in the *Kamavṛta* to the position of the *Āndhra* as sovereigns covering certain areas. The time therefore described by *Vātsyayana* is that when the line of the great *Āndhra* emperors had come to an end and the country was split up into a number of small kingdoms, among which the most considerable were those ruled over by the *Āndhrakīrtita*, or dynasties springing from the officers of the imperial *Āndhra*. Among these the *Portugis* mention the *Ābhira*, the *Gurukhāṇa*, the *Sakas* and also some *Āndhra*,¹⁷ who evidently ruled over a limited

¹² The *Western Satrapes* by F. B. Spink: Indog. J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 117. See also *Catalogue of the Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty* by E. J. Rapson, p. small E.

¹³ J. V. Puri, *Coins Inscriptions*, p. 8.

¹⁴ [Mention of *Ābhira* in *Īśvarakīrtita* section—E. J. 2.]

¹⁵ *Āndhra-sūtra*, pp. 227-228.

¹⁶ *Āndhra-sūtra*, pp. 165, 184, 207, etc.

¹⁷ *Portugis*, *Dynasties of the East*, Ag. p. 45, the *Ābhira*, *Vijaya* and *Āndhra* *Portugis* and—समुद्रगुप्तः न विद्वान् राज्ञीं विहाय अश्वमेधया युक्तः ।

अग्निपञ्चाग्नौ बलिहन्ति—द्वयमोदकया युवाः ।

अथ मर्दिनयामि द्वापराभिरुद्धः ।

century at the time referred to. The time when Vātsyayana flourished is therefore the period when these later Andhra Kings and the Andhra rebel simultaneously were different parts of Western India, that is, subsequent to circa 200 A.C., when the line of the great Andhras disappeared and before the beginning of the fourth century A.C., when the Gupta of whom there is no mention in the Kanāsira, were again uniting Northern India under a common sway. From this the conclusion is inevitable that the Kanāsira was composed about the middle of the third century A.C.

The Place of Composition of the Kanāsira.

It has been held by some that Vātsyayana wrote his Kanāsira at the city of Pāṭaliputra, or modern Patna; but there is hardly any justification for this belief in the book itself. It depends upon the explanation offered by the commentator Jayamaṅgala of the word *Nāgaratīkṣā*¹⁹ in one passage of Vātsyayana by *Pāṭaliputrāṭīkā* and of *Nāgaratīkṣā*²⁰ in a second passage by *Pāṭaliputrāṭīkā*. Jayamaṅgala has not stated on what authority this explanation of his is based. His identification of *Nagara* with *Pāṭaliputra* is not worthy of much consideration because his knowledge of the geography of Eastern India was anything but accurate; e.g. he explains the *Gaṇḍā* as a kind of Eastern people living in *Edmōrōpa*²¹ and that *Kolīnga* is to the south of this *Gaṇḍā*;²² he says further that *Vataga* lies to the east of the *Lohitga* or *Brahmaputra* and *Aṅga* to the east of the *Mahāsaṇḍī*.²³ We can therefore have no hesitation in rejecting his identification as a mere haphazard guess. Besides, there is evidence offered by the book itself which

¹⁹ लघुविषय एव लक्ष्मि उवाचमेव लक्ष्मिः । *Devanī edition*, p. 177.

²⁰ न तु लघुविषयविषयमात्रं लक्ष्मिः । *Devanī edition*, p. 181.

²¹ लोहाः सामान्यतया लोहाः । *Devanī edition*, p. 181.

²² लोहाः सामान्यतया लोहाः । *Devanī edition*, p. 181.

²³ लोहाः सामान्यतया लोहाः । *Devanī edition*, p. 181.

even once speak of Nagalla, and of the entire country from Nagalla to Rajputana he has very little to say. Once only he speaks of the Malliyakala and once each of the Samantara and the people of Saketa and Akishatra, the capital of northern Patala.¹⁰ This meagre mention of the countries of the central and eastern portions of Northern India and the detailed description of the customs of Western India make it absolutely clear that Varāṇsya had personal knowledge of the western portions and that his information about the eastern regions was probably derived from the works of his predecessors like that of Bhatta of Pataliputra. That Varāṇsya belonged to Western India may also be guessed from the fact that he makes a large number of quotations from Āpastamba's *Gṛhyasūtra* as we have shown before, and it is known that the Vedic school of the Āpastambins flourished in Western India especially in the land of the *Andhras*.¹¹

The question now presents itself as to what may be the meaning of the words *Nāgankya* and *Nāgankaly* in the two passages referred to above. Jayanagala is certainly right in holding that they are proper names referring to a particular place and do not mean the woods or name of a city in general as will be evident from the context in which they occur. In neither of the cases is there any contrast between the town and the village. Both the words are used in connection with other proper names, the former in the order *Andhrak*, *Māhātājirāk*, *Nāgankya*, *Dvāḍrak*, *Vasavakya*, etc., and the latter in the order *Ākishātrāk*, *Bikrāk*, *Nāgankaly*. In the second case it is found that the names are those of well-known towns, Akishatra, the capital of the North Patala, and Bikrā or Aywilyā, and the conclusion becomes irresistible that *Nāgā* is also the name of a particular town, and as we have seen that Varāṇsya is more familiar with Western India than with the other parts of it, we are led to expect *Nāgā*

¹⁰ It also refers to a *Kāśyapa*. *Samantakāṇḍ*, p. 237.

¹¹ *Bühler, Āpastamba's Dharmasūtra, Introduction*, p. 1041f.

belonging to this class; that the word *Nagara* in this Gāṇa is older than the *Kāśikā* and is a proper name, appears from what the *Kāśikā* says in connection with another utter of Pāṇini (IV. 2, 128); it states there that *Nagara* is read in the *Kaṭṭiyādi* group as the designation of a particular city as it occurs in company with other such names there.¹⁸ From a city called *Nagara* also the *Nigari* alphabet may have derived its name. The existence of a city called *Nagara*¹⁹ therefore cannot be questioned. There is, however, no justification for holding that the *Nagara* we have referred to was the city where Vātsyāyana composed his work, it being only one of the many places that he has mentioned in illustrating his utter; the utmost that we can say is that from the uncompromising, straightforward manner in which he has exposed the evils perpetrated by kings, officials and priests, he must have belonged to a *Gaṇarājya* or a democratic government like the city of the *Hilāras* described above. This is also apparent from the importance he attaches to the assembly of citizens (*Nagarika-samaveśya*) attended to by him.

¹⁸ कश्मिरिणो तु ब्रह्मसूत्रेण ब्राह्मणस्य ब्रह्मसूत्रं पठति तस्मिन् ब्राह्मणेन कश्मिरिणि कश्मिराचार्येण (Śālikān Pīṭh, IV. 2. 128). The last part of this quotation would have referred to the correct form of derivation as *Śālikān* is a form of this particular *Nagara*, but Vātsyāyana has apparently not followed Śālikā here, perhaps in deference to popular opinion. The *Kāśikā* in connection with the utter of Śālikā has left down that the form *Śālikā* is derived from *śālikā* as signifying those of expert knowledge (बुद्धब्रह्मसूत्रवेत्तवर्गः), otherwise, it will be *Śālikā* and the example given to illustrate this point is कश्मिरिणि (कश्मिरः). This shows that the *Nigari* Brahmasūtra were known to the *Kāśikā*.

¹⁹ There is a district or kingdom called *Nagara* mentioned in the *Śālikā* inscription of Jyotiṣaṅga (Thiel: *Epica Inscriptions*, p. 218), but it is clear that it has no connection with our city.

III.—A Note on the Statues of Śaishunāḥa Emperors in the Calcutta Museum.

By R. D. Banerji, M. A.

The statues which were discovered in Patna, first of all about a century ago, and then in the front garden of the Asiatic Society of Bengal fifty years back, have been discovered for a third time in the well-known Diardest gallery of the Calcutta Museum.* It must be admitted that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Darrisorech-hoe, has really discovered these two statues, which are the oldest statues in India. There is not any doubt about the fact that these two pieces of Indian sculpture belong to the oldest known period of Indian Hindu Art. The question of their identification had puzzled artists and antiquarians for more than half a century. There may be difference of opinion about the different parts of Mr. Jayaswal's theory but there cannot be two opinions about the findings *śāś* and *Vaśa Nāḥa* and therefore Mr. Jayaswal's identification of these two pieces of sculpture as statues as against images and as statues of two Śaishunāḥa Emperors, Śaśa-Udayin and Vaśa-Nāḥa, rests on very solid grounds. Consequently it has to be admitted that in these two specimens of Indian sculpture, Mr. Jayaswal has really discovered the oldest known Indian statues and has correctly identified them with two Emperors of the Śaishunāḥa dynasty of Northern India.

Before the identification of these two specimens the statue of the Kushān Emperor of Kāpiśa I. was the oldest known statue in India. Even if we reject other evidence about the date of these two specimens the script of the short inscriptions on their backs would be sufficient to prove that the statue of Kāpiśa is decidedly later in date than the Patna ones.

In 1913 the late Dr. Theodor Bloch, *Ph.D.*, of the Calcutta Museum, made an attempt to decipher the inscriptions on these two statues. But they baffled his attempt. The word *Nandi* could be deciphered by him with portions of the other words. He, however, did not publish the result of his researches as he was not sure of his interpretation. It was at that time that the paleography of the records was carefully examined. I did this work under Dr. Bloch's supervision but the result of my investigations, too, were not published at that time at his request.

In 1913 Dr. D. H. Spooner, then Superintendent of the Eastern Circle, consulted me about the date of these two sculptures. He was of opinion that they were specimens of Mauryan Art and thought so because of the high polish on them. When I pointed out to him the peculiarities of what I then considered a later script used in the short records on the monuments, he told me that most probably the inscriptions were later in date than the sculptures. I did not agree with him at that time but it seems to me now that probably Dr. Spooner was correct in assigning a later date to the inscriptions than the sculptures on which the records are inscribed, if the inscriptions turn out to be post-Mauryan.

As to the reading of the inscriptions I agree entirely with Mr. Jayram in his reading of the inscription on the statue of Varte-Nandi. There is only one defect in it. In this record the second syllable of the first word is *da* and not *pa*. The meaning is not affected in the least, as the word is both cases remains to be the same (*deva*). I examined the original very carefully once again in Calcutta and I find that the top bar of the square *da* is partly distinct and in part faintly traceable on the stone. In 1906 Dr. Bloch and I read wrongly the first word as *padma* (*Skt. Padma*), because we failed to discern the vertical upper line of the *da* which is faintly discernible on the stone.

I am afraid I cannot agree entirely with Mr. Jayasval in his reading of the inscription on the statue of Ajā for the following reasons :—

(1) The syllable read by him as *līla* is *līlaya* and *līli* and *lī* is dissyllabic are not even possible. The first syllable of *līlaya* may be *līla* because it has some resemblance to the Mauryan and later Mauryan *līla* but the absence of the right upper vertical which is characteristic of this monument is missing. Even in the Bhattipada records the upper vertical is present though it is on the left instead of right. On the other hand there is a short curved hook attached to the left upper corner which cannot be explained.

(2) The syllable read by Mr. Jayasval as *līli* is the last word of this record appears to not to be *lī* but *lī* but the upper vertical line on the top in the first register *lī*. This vertical is to be found in the later Mauryan inscription from Mathura¹ but it disappears in the inscription of Sāhā².

(3) The syllable read by Mr. Jayasval as *lī* in the same word appears to be *lī* of the first century B.C. or A.D. The *lī* stroke, which is the precursor of the serif, is visible on the original. The form of the syllable as well as the form of other letters in the same inscription indicate that it should not be read as *lī*. The oldest known form of the palatal sibilant is to be found in the record, probably pre-Mauryan, inscribed in cave of the caves at Rangark in Sarguja State.³ This form very nearly resembles the later form of *lī* in *lī*. Had the last syllable of the word read by Mr. Jayasval as *lī* been really *lī* then the resemblance between the Joginara form of the palatal *lī* and this one would have been easily noticeable.

The forms of the majority of letters in both of the inscriptions show that the records should be regarded as later in date. I shall take them in order and show their resemblances to forms in other inscriptions of well-dated date. The

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 305, No. 1.

² Ibid., p. 190, No. 2.

³ Arch. Annot., 1902-3, p. 128, pl. 21111 a.

second letter of the first word on the statue of Aja is read by Mr. Jaganval as *ga*. It is correct but the form of the letter is late. The Mauryan *ga* has an acute angle at its top whereas the top of this letter is round. With this compare *ga* in *Phayagastis* in an inscription¹ which must have been inscribed at the same time as the second of the year 12 of the reign of Sôdasa.

(3) The vowel *ā* in *Asa* very closely resembles in form the same vowel in the Sarnath inscription of the 5th century A.D. or A.C. Cf. *ā* in *Alavachanura*.²

३३. In the same word the form of *as* in the second syllable is certainly much later. The Mauryan form is quite different. The form in the Pāṇini inscription resembles that in a Mathura inscription of the year 52 of the Kapsara, cf. *śho in śhośaśya* in l. 8.¹

(3) The form of *aka* in Chel is also later. The Achaean form consists of a circle bisected by a vertical straight line which projects above the upper periphery of the circle whereas here we have a vertical straight with two elliptical curves attached to its lower extremity, one on each side. The Achaean form persisted for a long time, cf. *vaḥḥaḥḥa*.¹ The form in the Palmyra inscription resembles the Karyana form, cf. *Chaire* in the Karyana Buddhist inscription from Saruath.²

Examined palaeographically the inscription on the statue of Varus-Narada also point to the same conclusion. The following facts indicate that this inscription also should not be regarded earlier than the first century A.D. —

- (c) The triangle instead of a round figure or circle as the base of Δ is Δ itself.
- (d) An isosceles triangle as u is electric.
- (e) The curvature in the base line of u is Δ itself; cf. also the form of u in Kikkai.

¹⁰ Reg. Inst., Vol. II, p. 409, 38a W.

¹ Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 171, translation, p. 101, 2.

*1964, Vol. II, no. 194, No. XVIII.

1984, p. 208, No. 1.

2004, Vol. 7, pp. 1-12.

- (d) Two right angles instead of a semi-circle in the back of *da*.

A careful scrutiny of the original inscribed surfaces enables me to assert that the records were inscribed on the statues after the finishing of the sculptor's work.

We do not know any other examples of pre-Murrayan art and consequently we cannot make comparison. It appears to me, however, that the statues were finished and exhibited in a gallery of the sort described in the *Practical Alphabet*. Long after, when people had begun to forget who the Saliquathas were, somebody connected with the Art gallery had the names inscribed on the monuments in an inconspicuous place.

NOTE ON THE A OVE.

1. The letter which I read as *ah* is not explained by Mr. Banerji and cannot be explained on the theory of a late script. The letter has to remain unidentified, as in Mr. Banerji's note, on the late theory, and consequently the whole word (*dhage*) unread.

2. The peculiar composition of *ga* is not noticed. It is composed of two parts. Thus it is not correct to say that the *Akha ga* is always *Angalia*, as *Saligau* is Tinker's Chart.

3. *Ahe* has a quadrilateral base, not triangular, which again is impossible to be explained on the late script theory.

4. If *ah* is read instead of *ay dhia* (or *dhia*), the result is a senseless word; *ahia-ah* gives no meaning. Thus, two different forms of *ay* are to be read in the inscriptions, one with the top-bar and the other without it, which is inadmissible. On the late script theory the letter which I read as *ah* cannot be read at all. I agree that the Banerji inscription (*Jagimaa*) is pre-Akha, not pre-Murrayan. But to call it "the oldest known" is to beg the very question. The *Kah* and *Graw* *da's* *ay* answer the *Saliquatha* letter. It is radically different from the later *da's*, being a three-stroke letter.

The Kadua and Western letters preserve the tradition of older forms and very probably a different style than that adopted officially under Akha.

5. Mr. Dacori leans to the conservative view, but he fails to read all the letters as his hypothesis and to give any sensible meaning to his new readings whenever he differs from me. Until and unless all the letters can be identified and explained on the hypothesis of a late script, I am not prepared to accept that hypothesis.

My arguments on the evolution of the letters based on the stroke-effort have not been considered by Mr. Dacori. I think that it is axiomatic that a three-stroke letter must be older in origin than a one-stroke or two-stroke representative thereof.

I am, however, very glad to see that Mr. Dacori agrees with me in the reading of the proper names and in the general result.

K. P. J.



IV.—Marathi Copper-plate of Puri.

By E. N. DUNN, M. A.

The plate is a round on metal (dimensions 9" x 4½") of the usual agreement given by a pilgrim to a religious print at places of pilgrimage by which the latter is to be recognised as the श्री श्री गुरुदेव by any one of the pilgrim's family who may visit the place (subject to the turning up of a similar promise of an earlier date).

The language is Marathi and the script Modi, which is even now current in the Marathi country.

Amrutesh Bhatnagar of the Peshwa family hereby recognised Gauranga Prasad resident at Jagannath-puri or Puri, as the Tirthpadikya for his family, with the request of one Jagannath Hachara, an agent of the Tirthpadikya who saw the Peshwa in his camp.

It reads thus :—

श्री
गुरुदेव
श्री गुरुदेव

१ । श्री । १ । गुरुदेव श्री गुरुदेव
२ । श्री गुरुदेव श्री गुरुदेव
३ । श्री गुरुदेव श्री गुरुदेव

¹ = श्री गुरुदेव abbreviated form of address for learned Brahmins.

² = श्री गुरुदेव This epithet marks the class of the address proper.

³ The adaptation of the Peshwa Bhatnagar. He even actually succeeded in the name of the Peshwa (except for a spell during the troubles of 1800), as a son was born to Bhatnagar after the adoption,—the son was Raj Rao II, the last Peshwa. Amrutesh refers to a grant offered by the British and his family descendants are still to be found at Marol, in Chikankar in South District (N.P.).

⁴ = श्री गुरुदेव. The Marathi continued to use the Mohammedan calendar, though in a strange fashion.

- ૩ : કાળા તૈવન ચાલતુ જગદાચાર્ય દ્વિતીય સુભક્ત્ય કુ-
- ૪ : શ્યામ જોતલ કાલો પોત કાલકુર ને તીર્થેજગદાચાર્ય
- ૫ : શાશિમી કુતુર પોતે કુતુબી મેલત વિરંતી
- ૬ : પેલો જાગરણ પોતેજગદાચાર્ય તીર્થે જગદાચાર્ય
- ૭ : જગદાચાર્ય પોતુર તિરે પોતે જગદાચાર્ય
- ૮ : કુતી જાગરે પોતે પેલોત કુતુબી
- ૯ : તીર્થે જગદાચાર્ય જાગરેજગદાચાર્ય
- ૧૦ : જગદાચાર્ય જાગરેજગદાચાર્ય
- ૧૧ : જગદાચાર્ય જાગરેજગદાચાર્ય
- ૧૨ : જગદાચાર્ય જાગરેજગદાચાર્ય



To Gurnang-Pur, resident of the sacred
seat (Kahetia) of Purushottam Jagannatha.

Amlaka Baglamatha, with compliments, informs that at the request of Jagannatha Harbans, your agent, who requested His grace in camp for the conferring of the dignity of his Theistic-priesthood, he is pleased to confer on you in writing the same. Hence if any of our family visit this sacred place they will endeavor to patronize you. This charter should be considered well and wish if any one else is able to produce a document [conferring the same priesthood] by any of our forefathers. In day of Bhavai : Let this be known.

[The end of the writing.]

V.—Translation of Maharajah Kalyan
Singh's *Khulāsat-ut-Tāwarikh*.*

(I.)

By Khās Bahādur Sarfaraz Husain Khān.

ACCUSED OF THE MURDER OF HUSSAIN FROM THE ORDER OF
JAFAR KHAN TO BRIT HANDEL.

SOME ADDITIONS BY MAHARAJ JANG, SECRETARY OF HUSSAIN, AND
OF SHARAFUDDAULAH BAHADUR, GRANDSON OF MAHARAJ JANG.

Jafar Khan.

Jafar Khan was a court noble. In the time of Muhammad Arangzeb he was appointed to the office of Dewan of the Government Estate in Bengal. He was a good administrator and worked with caution and sagacity. The Vice-royalty of Bengal devolved on the person of the royal blood, till at last prince Azimush-Shan, the son of Bahadur Shah, was appointed Subedar of Bengal. Jafar Khan at once continued as Dewan of Bengal. After the death of Mulla Akbar Muhammad Arangzeb, Azimush-Shan hurried to the assistance of his father Bahadur Shah in his struggle with Asaf Shah. After gaining victory in this battle, Azimush-Shan chose to remain with his father, and got Jafar Khan appointed to the Subedari of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as well as to the Dewanship of Bengal. After this, Jafar Khan, whose real name was Muzibul Quli Khan, laid the foundation of the city of Murshidabad in his name. Sarfaraz Khan was the son of Shuja-ud-Daulah and the son-in-law of Jafar Khan. But the relations between husband and wife were strained and Jafar Khan's daughter separated from her husband, and along with her son Sarfaraz Khan Akbarud-Daulah lived with her father. Jafar Khan brought up his grandson, and planned to have him appointed his successor in office.

*The MS. of this work was placed in my hands by Syed Khawass Bakhsh, now deceased, of Patna City.

insinuate as in his lifetime he had asked the reigning sovereign for the grant of the *saad* and other necessary orders sanctioning his grandson's succession in the Viceroyalty. But it so happened that he fell ill and died.

Shajjadulla's.

Shajjadulla, the son-in-law of Jafar Khan, resided in the province of Orissa, but was really an inhabitant of Baskapur in the Deoma. He belonged to the "Afhas", which is a class of Turks of Khawasa. During the stay of Aurangzeb in the Deoma, he married the daughter of Jafar Khan, the then Deema of the province of Bengal, and accompanied him. With the political rise of Jafar Khan, Shajjadulla also rose, so much so that during the Viceroyalty of Jafar Khan, Shajjadulla became Scholar of Orissa or a Deputy of Jafar Khan. The mother of Ali Yous Khan Mahabat Jang belonged to the tribe of "Afhas" and was related to Shajjadulla. Mahabat Jang, together with his father and his brother Haji Ahmad, was in the service of the Emperor Aurangzeb. After the death of Aurangzeb, Ali Yous Khan was reduced to straitened circumstances and lived a retired life. In the beginning of the reign of Mohammed Shah, Mirza Mohammad, the father of Mahabat Jang, presented himself before Shajjadulla and got into his service. Shajjadulla treated him well. Having heard this, Mahabat Jang proceeded from Shahjahanabad to Orissa in a most wretched condition and made his appearance before Shajjadulla and his father. Shajjadulla kept him also in his service. Mirza Mohammad Ali Mahabat Jang was a talented man. He soon ingratiated himself into the favour of Shajjadulla and rose to a high position in his service. He then sent for his brother Haji Ahmad with his family and relatives. He remitted to them a decent amount for their travelling expenses, and they all travelled safe from Shahjahanabad to Orissa. Haji Ahmad also got into the service of Shajjadulla. The two brothers were men of great worth and their services to Shajjadulla contributed much to the stability

of his government. By virtue of his courage and judgment Mirza Mohammad Ali Malakut Jung rose to a much higher position than his father, brother and other nobles of Shajshah's court. Shajshah's recommendation led to the Emperor for a suitable post and the title of Mohammad Ali Yekki Khan. But Jafar Khan was displeased with Shajshah's, and in view of his ill-health he was anxious that Akbaruddin Sarfraz Khan should succeed him in office. It was therefore that he asked His Majesty through his representatives to appoint Sarfraz Khan who was then the Dewan of Bengal to act as the Viceroy of Bengal. Hearing this Shajshah's counsel Mohammad Ali Yekki Khan and Haji Ahmad. With their advice he made a representation to the King, asking His Majesty to be pleased to confer upon him the Viceroyalty of Bengal and Orissa. He submitted this representation with a magnificent present. He then arranged for two daks, one from Orissa to Shahjahanabad for a reply from the King and the other from Orissa to Murshidabad with a view to get timely information of the health of Jafar Khan, who was suffering from a fatal disease. Ostensibly he dismissed some of his military officers and sent them to Murshidabad to remain in different places and await his arrival. He made extensive arrangements for boats, as the roads were then almost impassable on account of the rainy season, and anxiously waited for an opportunity till at last he received the intelligence of the despatch of the royal assent, and of the approaching death of Jafar Khan, who it was said could not live for more than five or six days. In Orissa he left Mohammad Taqi, his son by his second wife, to act for him as his deputy, and himself proceeded to Murshidabad with Mohammad Ali Yekki Khan and other nobles. He travelled partly by boat and partly by land. But on his way he heard the news of Jafar Khan's death, while the royal assent conferring upon him the Viceroyalty of Bengal and Orissa also reached him. He arrived the place where he received this auspicious news Malakut Mansab. From there he hurried to Murshidabad, and held court in Chihil Seta, the

hall of public audience made by Jafar Khan. He sat in a right royal manner with his conspurcians and ordered the Dewan to read the royal decrees. He ordered rejoicings to be made, and took presents from the residents of the place. His son, Sarkar Khan Allaudhalla was then two miles distant from the scene of action. Sarkar Khan reached his man as soon as he heard the sounds of rejoicing and was informed of the facts. Waked a discreet heart all said that knowwch as his father was in possession of the royal decrees and of the state treasury, the only course open to him was to submit. Sarkar Khan then rode, and went to his father and, after offering his congratulations, made a present to him. Shajuddalla seated his son on his lap, and conferred him in his post of Dewan of the Khalsa Sharifa (Government lands) of Bengal. He moreover bestowed favours on his son, and treated him as affectionately and with so much distinction that both he and his mother forgot the death of Jafar Khan and felt resigned to their lot.

It is true that no one loves anybody as much as he does his son. After finishing his domestic business and consulting the family and relatives of Jafar Khan he busied himself in the management of state affairs and attempted to act independently. In some matters he also consulted Muhammad Ali Verdi Khan and Haji Ahmad Khan. He took the revenue and settlement departments in his hands, and worked with the assistance of Dal Alau Chaud, an old, clever, and experienced revenue officer (Dewan). He appointed Jagat Seth Fatah Chaud, who was a millionaire and the most famous banker of his time, as a cashier of the state and companies. He made himself the head of the judicial department and personally disposed of civil cases. Once in a week he heard the pleas and administered even-handed justice. It was therefore that the public was very grateful to him. He summoned before him many of the Zamindars and Tahsilchans of Bengal who were all along in prison since the time of Jafar Khan; gave a public hearing to them, and released them on the security of Jagat Seth Fatah Chaud and their taking

oaths of allegiance. He not only released them from confinement but also conferred *khilat* upon them according to their respective positions in society. Such acts of magnanimity and philanthropy made him exceedingly popular. This reign was very powerful. He appointed his son-in-law Mirza Ali Quli Khan Bahadur Bostan Jang the administrator of Jahangirnagar, Dacca. He appointed Syed Ahmad Khan, son of Haji Ahmad, the Faujdar of Rangpur. Zain-ul-din Ahmad Khan, the youngest son of Haji Ahmad and son-in-law of Mahabat Jang, was appointed the Faujdar of Rajshahi and Nazim-ul-Mahmud Khan, the nephew and eldest son-in-law of Mahabat Jang, the Bahadur of the army. Muhammad Ali Khan Mahabat Jang, Haji Ahmad, Alam Chand and Jagat Seth Patil Chand had a hand in all administrative and revenue matters and did their work properly. It was at this time that Fakhruddin was transferred by the order of the Emperor from the Scholarship of Bihar. Shuja-ud-daula took this opportunity of asking the Emperor for a reward in his own name appointing him the Subedar of Bihar. He then appointed his son Akbaruddin Sarfaraz Khan to act as his deputy. But Zohra-un-nisa, the daughter of Jafar Khan and wife of Shuja-ud-daula, was unwilling to separate her son from her and consequently asked her husband to appoint Mahomed Ali Verdi Khan Mahabat Jang to act as the Subedar of Bihar as a deputy of her son Sarfaraz Khan. The said Khan was then summoned at the entrance to the female department. Zohra-un-nisa then had an elephant, a palanquin with an embroidered covering and jewels given to, and a magnificent *khilat* conferred upon, Ali Verdi Khan by her son Sarfaraz Khan. At her instance Ali Verdi Khan became the recipient of these very things at the hands of Shuja-ud-daula as well. Shuja-ud-daula also gave the Khan the office of Panj Hazari, the title of Mahabat Jang Bahadur and the privilege of keeping the flag (*alam*) and the bow (*Nabha*). Thus it was that Mahabat Jang left for Bihar in state. With the permission of Shuja-ud-daula, Mahabat Jang took his two sons-in-law with him, and having

Mahabat Jang reached Azimabad (Patna). He successfully administered the province of Behar and after one year returned to Mahabat. He waited on Shajjad-Mahar, was received by him warmly, and then returned to his province. Mahabat Jang's short administration of Behar was a great success. He subdued the unruly Zamindars and rewarded those who were loyal and subservient. He filled the posts with able and competent men, and provided himself with all that is necessary for a man in his position. He managed to keep himself in the good books of Shajjad-Mahar, till at last the latter died at the time of the entry of Nadir Shah in Shahjahanabad.

Allauddin Sarfaraz Khan.

Allauddin Sarfaraz Khan, the son of Shajjad-Mahar and the grandson of Jafar Khan, succeeded to the ward of Viceroyalty of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa after his father's death and busied himself in the management of the affairs of the province according to his own lights. Though he did not interfere with Rai Alam Chaud, with Hajj Ahmad or with Jagat Seth Patah Choud, yet Mir Miriam, Hajj Latif Ali Khan and Mardan Ali Khan who were his old friends and who owed Hajj Ahmad a grudge, always spoke ill of him. They represented the enmity and opposition that really existed between Hajj Ahmad and themselves and poisoned the mind of Allauddin against Hajj Ahmad to such an extent that Allauddin at last took from him the seal of Dewani which had been with him from Shajjad-Mahar's time and made it over to Mir Miriam. Feeling greatly insulted, Hajj Ahmad wrote to his brother all that had happened to him. Mahabat Jang saw the change and confusion that had taken place in the affairs of the Indian Empire. After Shajjad-Mahar's death he saw that the time was most opportune for fastening the treacherous designs that he had entertained. He therefore secretly applied through Mohammed Isak Yar Khan, who was at that time a great favourite of Mohammed Shah Bahadur and was an old friend of Mahabat Jang, to obtain the Viceroyalty of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in his own

came from the time of the death of Shajjadkhan and he also promised to pay one crore of rupees as *Fardani* and to send all the wealth and money of Shajjadkhan's house. His request was granted by the King and he sent the *Shah* of Viceroyalty to him. He now began to entertain the idea of selling Bengal and of killing the son of his own master. Apart from this, the complaints of his brother Haji Ahmad who had been writing to him all that was transpiring at Murshidabad and the information given him by traitorous persons like Jagat Seth Panch Chandra and other nobles of Murshidabad who had joined him were the chief cause of his enmity with Barfuz Khan. Mahabat Jang began to muster an army and to collect weapons of war as the pretext of marching against the misdeeds of Shajpur, till one year and one month of the rule of Alauddin had elapsed. With a view to fight with Barfuz Khan he marched out of the city of Azimabad and encamped near the bank of Waris Khan. He summoned all the young and old Hindus and Mahomedans before him. When all had assembled he gave the *Qazis* in the hands of the Mahomedans and Ganga valley in the hands of the Hindus and asked them to make notice of allegiance. He said:—"I am going to fight with my enemy. I wish to have a solemn declaration from each trustworthy and old friend as yourselves for my satisfaction. If you wish to remain my friends and help me you should solemnly declare it on oath that you would not refuse to follow me even if I plunge into fire or water, that you would remain members of my enemies and friends of my friends and that you will be ever ready to help me." The officers of the army, who together with the soldiers were the sincere friends and real well-wishers of Mahabat Jang, gladly accepted the conditions and took very strict oaths on the *Qazis* and Ganga water. Unanimously and as if with one voice, they exclaimed loudly that they were ready to accept his friendship and to show their bravery. The new employees followed suit and entered into a solemn agreement and became ready to accept the friendship of Mahabat Jang. Having obtained assent on this point he disclosed the real fact to them.

He related to them how Surharat Khan had been disguising his brother and himself and then informed them of his intentions. As they had already entered into the solemn compact they had no alternative but that of believing his statements and helping him. The Surharat died in the evening. The next morning, having left his son-in-law Zulmaddin Khan as his wife's in Potra, he marched towards Muzhishahad. The arrangements regarding the way were so strict that no letter reached Muzhishahad at that time and no traveller could outdistance him. When he reached the Pass of Khatkhat, to pass through which would have been very difficult in case of the opposition of its keepers, he left his army in the valley and sent Mustafa Khan Afghani with two hundred horses and footmen together with the *Parwana* and *Dustak* which bore the seal of Surharat Khan and which had been sent on this, to call a certain Jemadar to Muzhishahad. He represented the *Parwana* to be a passport for his army and ordered Mustafa Khan to enter the Pass after showing it to its keepers, who were about a hundred or two hundred footmen and Bedonkharas, and send the drums of his army after reaching that place. Mustafa Khan acted upon the order. When he arrived near the Pass, the keepers, on usual, ordered him to stop. Mustafa Khan sent the *Dustak* and the *Parwana* through a follower of his. The *Mahantdi* (chief) of the Pass ordered the Pass to be opened after seeing the *Parwana* and *Dustak* and allowed the men to enter. Having entered it, Mustafa Khan gave the appointed signal and sounded the drums loudly. On hearing this, the vanguard of Mahabat Jang's army advanced in a body from the valley with much splendour. The keepers were confused and were about to move when Mustafa Khan cried with a loud voice, "Take care: halts on each and you will receive due punishment; all of you will be killed on the spot." Confused and perplexed all remained where they were and the men of Mustafa Khan opened the gate of the Pass. The vanguard of Mahabat Jang entered the Pass and the same day Jagat Seth Futeh Chaud got Mahabat Jang's letter. Jagat Seth on calculating the days from the time Mahabat Jang

began his journey undisturbed that he must have entered Teli-gah that day and would reach Muzkildah in five or six days time. He himself submitted the petition which was intended to be presented to Surfana Khan and informed him of the state of affairs. The petition ran thus: "The disgrace of my brother Haji Ahmad has now reached its climax. I have, therefore, come down to this place to see that my [fair name] prestige is protected. I hope that you will allow Haji Ahmad with all his relations and dependents to depart." The grant as well as the common folk were much surprised at the news. Surfana Khan called together the nobles of the army and all his well-wishers. He also called Haji Ahmad and admonished him. Haji Ahmad began to talk very politely and mildly as called the occasion and promised that he would at once ask Mahabat Jung to return if he obtained leave to go to him. Some were not disposed to grant him leave as they thought the statement of Haji Ahmad to be deceptive; others were disposed to believe in it. But Ghulam Ghana Khan, who was a respectable friend of Surfana Khan and was a brave man, submitted that Haji Ahmad be sent along with his family and his dependents to Mahabat Jung and that if he did not fulfil his promise he would be punished for his treachery and so. Surfana Khan approved of his suggestion and sent Haji Ahmad along with his family and dependents to Mahabat Jung. Haji Ahmad after his arrival repeatedly sent representatives to Surfana Khan and submitted that Mahabat Jung still owed allegiance to Surfana Khan, and that Surfana Khan should not therefore think of punishing him but that he should come out of the city; after having audience and representing certain facts to him Mahabat Jung would return. Surfana Khan believed in the representation of Haji Ahmad and went out of the city. On the 23 Muharran 1124 Hijra, Akshabkha Surfana Khan came out of Muzkildah with his men and encamped there. After three or four marches he reached Kohatara. From there he reached masnah Karmak which is on the bank of the Bhagabadi and encamped there. On this side Mahabat Jung

also came near and defeated again within the same night. The next morning, riding on an elephant, he divided his army into three parts, and posted Rang Lal, who was a good soldier, to face Ghulam Ghana Khan, and himself crossed the Baginabdi with two divisions, one of which he sent to the rear of Saifur Khan and with the other faced his front. Both sides opened fire. Ghulam Ghana Khan showed such conspicuous bravery and fought so intrepidly that Rang Lal was killed with a large body of his men and the rest took to flight. But suddenly the army of Mahabat Jang attacked the rear of Saifur Khan and caused such confusion with Mahabat Jang and his men attacked Saifur Khan's front. In this double fight some famous generals of Saifur Khan were killed with a very large following and in the thick of the combat a bullet struck Saifur Khan and killed him on the spot. The army of Saifur Khan was also defeated. The driver of Saifur Khan's elephant, seeing his master dead, took the elephant out of the battle-field and advanced towards Murshidabad. When Ghulam Ghana Khan's eyes fell on his master's elephant, he thought his master was taking to flight owing to his cowardice, and he therefore sent a horseman to bring the elephant before him. When the horseman came alongside the elephant, the driver said that his master was killed and that it was his corpse that he was taking back. The horseman returned and informed Ghulam Ghana Khan of the matter. On hearing the news the bright world looked dark to this brave, conscientious and faithful general. With his men he sprung on the army of Mahabat Jang like a lion and proved his manliness and bravery, till at last he was himself killed together with his two sons and his friends and went to the everlasting Heaven. In the same way other generals of Saifur Khan fought with Mahabat Jang's army, and Mahabat Jang gained victory over the son of his master, possessed himself of his tents, furniture, etc., and sent his brother Hajj Ahmad towards Murshidabad. Hajj Ahmad with the rapidity of wind and lightning reached Murshidabad and proclaimed the rule of Mahabat Jang by beat of drum. He recruited the confeder-

sion and brought all the office and treasury of Sarfaraz Khan in his possession. At the sad news of the death of Sarfaraz Khan, the cries and wailings of his family were heard. In this short narrative it would be difficult to dwell on the straits to which Alauddaula's family were reduced in consequence of this lamentable circumstance.

ACCOUNT OF NAWAB MANIMAT JANG HANUMAN.

Nawab Mahabat Jang, whose real name was Mohammad Ali Verdi Khan, was in the beginning one of the office holders of the King's Court. How and through what influence he came to Bengal from Hindustan has already been related in the description of Shajoodaula's rule. It is not necessary to re-narrate it here. In short, two days after the death of Sarfaraz Khan, Mahabat Jang, in the middle of the month of Rabi-ul-Hijri entered Murshidabad with great pomp and splendour and with much magnificence and grandeur set on the march of the Viceroyalty of Bengal, Behar and Orissa and ordered public rejoicings. The nobility of the city were granted audience and presented His Excellency with various tributes. Mahabat Jang obtained all the wealth and treasure that had been amassed by Jafar Khan, Shajoodaula and Sarfaraz Khan, which were worth more than a hundred crores. He sent one crore in cash and some other valuables worth about a crore, which he had gained on confiscating the house of Sarfaraz Khan, to Mohammad Shah. The King conferred upon him the title of Hissar-ul-Daula and gave him the command of Haff Hamari and the privilege of keeping *Muti* and *Murabit*. He gave the permanent (fakhdari) governorship of Behar to his younger son-in-law Taimuridin Ahmad Khan whom he had left at Arrah as his Deputy, and asked for him the title of *Thakur-ul-Daula*. Bahadur Mahabat Jang, and a Fakir, *Thakur*, the command of Haff Hamari (keeping 7,000 men) and the privilege of keeping *Muti*, *Murabit* and *Nasbat* and *Asm*. For his elder son-in-law, Nawab Mohammad Khan, he asked the office of Haff Hamari (7,000 men) and for the title of *Thakur-ul-Daula*. Bahadur Mahabat Jang and conferred upon him these titles and privileges together with the office of *Sahib-i-Masdar*.

and the Director of (Khulas Khairat) Khos Mahal of Bengal. To his third nephew, Syed Ahmad Khan he gave the above privileges and the title of Mohammediyah Bahadur Bahadur Jang and gave him the Deputy Governorship of Orissa after taking it from Muzib Quli Khan, the son-in-law of Sirajuddaula. He also bestowed the office of Khan of his army who were concerned in shedding the blood of their innocent master Baradar Khan with other titles and offices. Bai Alam Chaud, the Dewan of Sirajuddaula, was appointed to the office of Dewanship and was given the title of Bai Nayan, while Raja Janaki Ram, the old Dewan of Mahabat Jang, was given the Dewanship of the other departments.

He marched against Muzib Quli Khan, the son-in-law of Sirajuddaula, the Deputy Governor of Orissa, and obtained victory over him in a battle. Muzib Quli Khan together with his wife and children and all the wealth and treasures he had, embarked on board a ship and going towards the Deoma, ended his life peacefully and in good circumstances under the protection of the Nizam-ul-mulk.

After this Mahabat Jang got possession of the whole of Behar, Bengal and Orissa and devoted his energies to the faunal and political administration of the country and worked with great firmness and ability. He also collected all the things necessary for a Governor and a noble for himself as well as for his nephews. He adopted Sirajuddaula, the son of his younger daughter Anisa Begum, as his son, and gave him a princely education. He wished solemnly that Providence in his merciful way may confer the Vice-royalty of Bengal and Orissa on his grandson. This is what he wished. But as a punishment for his act of killing the daughter's son of Jahar Khan, his daughter's son was killed by Mir Mohammad Jahar Khan. An account of this affair will, God willing, be given elsewhere.

He discharged the duties of his high office honourably and he ruled for sixteen years from 1102 Hija with great firmness and vigour. For about ten years during this period he had to remain engaged in fighting with Raghuji Maharaja and with

some of his treacherous employees such as Mustafa Khan, Shamsher Khan and Barber Khan by whose hands his son-in-law FaisulMis Khan had been killed. He always showed bravery and intelligence in battle and was for the most part successful and victorious. At last on account of ill-age he made peace with Baghaji and made over to him the province of Orissa in lieu of Chashti. He thus saved himself from the Mahadits and his subjects from their ravages and loot. For six years after the peace, he spent his life in perfecting the country and the property of his subjects and lived with ease and comfort and with a peaceful mind. He was very kind to his faithful subordinates and always bestowed favours upon them. It would require another book by itself if I were to write about all the events and adventures of Mahabat Jung, and moreover it would be out of place in this small volume, and I therefore satisfy myself with this much and trust to posterity for the completion of this work. But I relate some of the events of the Nawab's rule with the view of making these events of Mir Mahamud Jehr Khan's life more clear.

Nawab Mahabat Jung (Nasir), Governor of Bengal, was a very wise man. He had a keen insight into administrative and financial problems and proved himself a capable Governor. He had thorough acquaintance with military affairs, and was a brave warrior of his time. He made full inquiry before he took any judicial action of facts. He paid not the slightest attention to the idle talk of sycophants. Truly speaking he seemed to have been born in this Bengal. Internal peace reigned throughout his Amalgams. All along he discharged the enormous duties of his exalted position with much credit, and by the force of his character raised himself in the estimation of not only his friends but also of his enemies.

It is said that he had a step-daughter, Shah Khamra, by a slave girl, whom he had given in marriage to Mir Mahamud Jehr Khan by giving him the post of Bahadur of No army (governor of his forces) on a salary of Rs. 2,000 a month. But being a shrewd observer of human nature, he was

very suspicious of Mir Mohammod Jafar Khan, and incessantly watched his movements and kept an eye over all his acts. He neither honoured him too much nor degraded him. He always took a middle course. From Shah Khuram there were born a son, Muzam afiz Salig Ali Khan, and a daughter named Fatima Begum who was married to Mir Mohammod Kasim Khan. Towards the close of Nawab Mahabat Jung's rule, Nawab Mir Mohammod Jafar Khan kept two women named Huzni Begum and Sahoo Begum of the Kauchia caste. He loved them most passionately, but through fear of Mahabat Jung kept the matter secret, till Nawab Mahabat Jung suffered from a fatal disease and made over the Viceroyalty to his grandson Sirajuddaula then a mere youth, advising him specially not to fight with the English, and at last died. Nawab Sirajuddaula, after the death of his grandfather, succeeded the vacant of the Viceroyalty of Bengal—the Hauser-lika Postnam. He reaped the consequences of his indolence and dissipation, his treachery, covetousness and weakness. He paid no attention to the advice given him by his grandfather and became the cause of his own downfall and death.

Sirajuddaula sent his men to Rajnagar to arrest Kishan Bulah, son of Raj Bulah, the Dewan of the late Mahabat Jung. Kishan Bulah fled to Calcutta where high English officers such as Mr. Duple and others took him under protection. This provoked the ire of Sirajuddaula, and he asked the representatives of the English who were present in his court to send Kishan Bulah to him at once together with his belongings if they really wanted their own safety for otherwise they would have to reap the consequences of this indiscretion and undue interference. In short, matters became more and more complicated. The English replied that they could not make over the person of the man who had sought protection under the Company's flag but that they were ready to make good the defalcations made by him (Kishan Bulah). Sirajuddaula at last marched against the English on the 11th Baisakh 1199 A.H. and captured the factory at Calcutta which

at the time contained only a few men under Mr. Denko. The wrecking English (believed to be) a ship and Calcutta came into the possession of Sirajuddaula. He posted a large force to the Mahlon Police-station with the object of arresting the advance of the English if they came and himself went to Murshidabad. When the ship conveying the English from Calcutta reached Madras, they were invited by Mr. Clive, then a commander of the English forces, sent to help Nizam Mohammed Ali Khan, Nizam of Armo. Clive also sent a despatch to England giving a graphic account of the recent doings of Sirajuddaula. But after further consultation he embarked on board a ship with the new under his command, and without waiting for orders from England, sailed for Calcutta. Having anchored as was he sent friendly letters through spies to Nawab Jafar Ali Khan, Jagat Seth, Mahesh Choud, Mahesh Choud's brother, Maharsa Suraj Choud, Fakhrul Tajib and others, whom names the author does not remember at this time. The spies delivered the letters to the addressees. The cruelty of Sirajuddaula was such that Nawab Mir Mahomed Jafar Khan and the other great men of the city did not consider their lives and properties secure, and they therefore looked upon the letters reached from Clive as a God-sent blessing and entertained a secret love for the East India Company. To Mr. Clive's letters they simply sent this couplet in reply :—*"The pupils of our eyes are thy sent : Be kind and come because this house is thine."*

At last after some further correspondence everything was settled between the parties and the solemn compact was signed, giving to Mir Mahomed Jafar Khan the permanent Subedarship of the Province. From this place Clive marched towards Calcutta till at last he reached near the Mahlon Police-station. By a night attack he defeated Sirajuddaula's men who were posted on the spot. On entering Calcutta with his party he occupied the deserted bungalows. A detailed account of the affair would be rather too lengthy for this work. To be short, from Calcutta to Murshidabad there were fought a good battle before Siraj-

ulhaka, Singajidkha's son and the English. But in almost every one of these the English were victorious and Singajidkha was defeated, till at last he fled towards the north. But as or near Hajackal he fell into the hands of Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan and was made prisoner. Nawab Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan felt no regret for the past favours shown to him by Singajidkha, and mercifully put him to death together with his brother Mirza Mohall.

Nawab Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan now met Major Clive and the other English officers at Calcutta. Nawab Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan signed a treaty giving 6 acres of the entire revenue of the province to the English, and with the consent of the English assumed the nominal sovereignty.

This incident enhanced the power and prestige of the East India Company. The author does not remember the exact date of the convention, but it took place perhaps in 1765 A.D.

As it is the intention of the author to give a more detailed account of the reign of Meer Muhammad Khan, he does not like to dwell at great length on other notable matters. But for the sake of continuity he will first mention a few facts of Nawab Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan's reign, after which he will narrate the events of Muhammad Asaf's life, in which will also be introduced some accounts of Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan.

To the best of the author's recollection all the vast treasures that had been amassed by Jafar Khan, Murshid Quli Khan and Sarfaraz Khan and considerably increased by Ali Vardi Khan fell at once into the hands of Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan when he was placed on the throne by Major Clive and the other English officials after the death of Singajidkha. The English had no idea of the vastness of this hoarded wealth of which the new viceroy became the possessor. Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan promised to pay to the English only three crores of rupees, the amount that had been looted from their factory at Calcutta, and brought the whole of Bengal and Bihar in his possession and control. Mirza Mir Muhammad Sadig Ali Khan was the son of Nawab Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan from his ulahi

with Shah Khann. This young man was by nature unscrupulous and intriguing and had a great hold on his father. He was appointed the deputy of the Viceroy during his father's lifetime. He meddled unannouncedly with the administration and financial affairs of the country and had some numerous enemies, specially some women of Nawab Malabar Jung's family, married without any fault. But Enkas revenge fell upon him for his evil act, an account of which is given below :—

General consternation prevailed in Behar owing to the arrival of Shah Alau in its vicinity. Kangas Khan, a loyal standard of Behar, together with some respectable Khans of Patna, viz. Nawab Hidayat Ali Khan and others went over to the King's army, and there was a great dislocation of both public and private business. Much loss of life and property was caused in consequence of this disturbance. Hearing all this Badliq Ali Khan came from Munkilabad to Patna, and with the help of the English army defeated the King's force near in Behar and then came Patna and thence returned to Munkilabad.

As the events of the vicereignty of Meer Mohammed Jafar Khan and Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan, such as, e.g., the return of Meeran from Munkilabad to Patna for the purpose of fighting with Khadim Hossain Khan, the Audi of Persia, the death of Meeran on the way by a lightning stroke, Mir Mohammed Jafar Khan's arrival at Patna for the purpose of confounding the hosts, etc., of Raja Bant Narain, Raja Bant Narain's peace with Colonel Clive Sahib Jung, the interview of Maharaja Shitab Rai Bahadur with Colonel Clive Sahib Jung through Mr. Anupali, the under officer of the Ammahul Factory, the alliance entered into by Colonel Clive and some other Nagah officials with Mahasaja Shitab Rai Bahadur, the wars of Shah Alau, the accession of the King on the throne through Mahasaja Shitab Rai Bahadur and the treaty between the Company and the king through Mahasaja Shitab Rai Bahadur, an account of which cannot be fully narrated even in two volumes, the author leaves them for the present and relates only such events as relate to Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan.

The author remembers that Khadim Hussain Khan, Mir Mohammed Jafar Khan's schoolmate at Patna, possessed riches amassed by previous government and misappropriated the revenues of the Parganas. He had accumulated some eight thousand men (horse as well as foot) and through the fear of Nawab Sadik Ali Khan broke with Meer Jafar Khan, hated Purneah, and in the hope of gaining the goodwill of the king came to Hajipur. Captain Knox and Maharaja Sitab Rai Bahadur with their men crossed the river Ganges, gave battle to Khadim Hussain Khan and defeated him completely. Captain Knox says that Maharaja Sitab Rai Bahadur displayed such courage and bravery during the fight, which were highly commended and appreciated by the English.

After his defeat Khadim Hussain Khan went towards Champaran. A few days after, Meeran with British troops under the command of Colonel Clive marched to Patna and thence towards Champaran. Meeran was struck by lightning on the way and died. Colonel Clive drove Khadim Hussain Khan out of the country and with the baggage of Meeran returned to Patna and thence to Muzshilabad. After a few days Colonel Clive went to Calcutta, made Mr. Drake a senior officer of the Calcutta factory (perhaps temporary) and himself sailed to England. From Madras he sent Mr. Henry Vansittart Channellada Bahadur, the senior officer of Madras, to Calcutta. Mr. Vansittart was a capable officer and was eminently fitted for the honorable post to which he was newly appointed. Mr. Anjait, the senior officer at Patna, was transferred to Calcutta and joining member of the Council and Mr. Apte became the senior officer at Patna.

Meer Jafar Khan felt very sad and distressed in consequence of the death of his son and could not therefore attend to his business, which as a matter of course caused much disorder, and led to the rise of Meer Mohammed Qasim.

VI.—A General Account of the Pāhrin or Hill Bhūiyās of Banāi.

By Sir Behadur Shere Qandora Nos. M.A.

I.—HISTORY.

Of the various aboriginal tribes inhabiting the tributary states of Orissā, the Pāhrī (Pāhārī or Hill Bhūiyās of the Bōdā and Kōnārjhar states are, with the exception of the Juangs of Kōnārjhar, ethnologically most interesting. I took advantage of the last Pōpō mission to make a preliminary study of the Hill Bhūiyās of the Bōdā state and the result of my enquiries is summarized in this and following chapters.

The state of Bōdā lies between $21^{\circ} 28'$ and $22^{\circ} 8'$ North Latitude and $84^{\circ} 25'$ East Longitude and is bounded on the North by the Singbā Pargana of the Singhbā District and the Nāgā Pargana of the Feudatory States of Oṅgpur, the Feudatory States of Bāngī and Pāṭāṭ, on the West, too, by the Bānā State, and on the East by the Feudatory State of Kōnārjhar. The river Bāhāgī which is formed by the union, at village Pāpōh in the Oṅgpur State, of the Oṅgā Nāgā river the Bāhā and the Bāhā Kōṭ enters the Bōdā State near village Bāhā and traverses the state from north to south dividing it into halves. It is mainly the open tracts of land between either bank of the river and the Hill ranges that rise a few miles beyond on the east and west of the river which is suitable for regular wet cultivation of rice, and it is in these tracts that the Hinduized Bhūiyās, the Gauds and other Hinduized tribes and a few Hindu castes live. The Hinduized Bhūiyās of the Plains call themselves Kṣapāṭ (occasionally Bhūiyās or Pāhārī Bōdā (Pāhārī Bōdā) Bhūiyās, and from the

castles of the state, imitate many Hindu customs, and look down upon the Hill Bhiliya or Pahiya, as they are called, as savages. The Hill Bhiliya in their turn do not look on the hands of the Hindustani Bhiliya whom they call "Taltri Bhiliya" or "Bhiliya of the lowlands".

The Pakri or Hill Bhiliya occupy the jungle-covered hilly regions extending east and north-east from along the south side after the Brahmanj is crossed at Bontigeh, the capital of the state, up to the outermost limits of the state and passing beyond the Boni state into the state of Keonjhar. Of this large tract only a small portion to the north-east around village Kojri forms a fairly well watered valley, and the Bhiliya of this tract known as Kojri Pargana practice regular wet cultivation of rice and call themselves "Kach Bili" Bhiliya although there can be no doubt that they were originally Pahiya or Hill Bhiliya like the Bhiliya of Pakri Pargana, and they still form marriage alliances with the latter and follow practically the same customs and usages. The more well-to-do amongst these Bhiliya of the Kojri Pargana now seek the aid of Brahman priests at their marriages and claim relationship with the Pakri Bhiliya. A few settlements of Pakri Bhiliya are also met with in the Kojri Pargana to the south-east of Pakri Pargana. In this paper I shall deal mainly with the genuine Pakri Bhiliya of the Hills of Boni and refer only incidentally to the customs of the other Bhiliya of the state to show how the latter have diverged from the primitive customs still obtaining among the Pahiya.

The land of the Pakri Bhiliya rises several hundred feet above the central valley of the Brahmanj and consists of a series of most inaccessible hill ranges covered with tangled forests in which the tiger, the panther, the hyena and the wild dog prey about for their animal prey and, if possible, for some stray human victim; where the wild elephant, the bison, the wild pig (*Sus Indicus*) and the bear roam about in search of food and occasionally cause great damage to the scanty maize

and other crops and vegetable grown on the hill slopes by the Fikri Bhotiya. The *salpi* (*Portia pitua*), the *semlar* (*Nasa aristata*), the *shilal* or spotted deer (*Cervus maculata*), the musk deer (*Moschus moschiferus*) and the four-horned antelope (*Peromyscus quadriviridis*) are pretty common in these heavy jungles, and constitute occasional game for the Hill Bhotiya, who, however, live chiefly on vegetable diet.

During my stay in these parts I heard frequent complaints of wild elephants and wild pigs damaging the crops and vegetables of my Fikri friends, and in my journey through these jungle-covered hill ranges, footprints and fresh excrement of wild elephants were pointed out to me as indicating the recent presence of these animals; and one of my party succeeded in bagging a huge wild pig which required four strong men to carry the carcass. Wild fruit of various kinds are abundant in these jungles. The *Sal* (*Shorea robusta*) predominates in these forests, and among other important trees are the *Dias* (*Dalbergia sissoo*), *Amra* (*Terminalia foetida*), *Kasne* (*Schleichera triapa*), and *Pisal* (*Pterocarpus marrophioides*). Jungle fruits, edible roots and wild herbs of a few varieties found in their native jungles are utilized by the Hill Bhotiya to supplement their scanty stock of food, and certain herbs and roots of their jungles are used by them for medicinal purposes.

The base of the Fikri Bhotiya is at a much higher elevation than the plains of Rohtak and is consequently much cooler and pleasanter. The hills rise to an elevation of from 1,000 to over 2,500 feet above sea level. Owing however to the presence of heavy tangled forests, the climate is at certain seasons unhealthy and malarious, although the indigenous population resist malarial much better than outsiders. Spleen among children is not uncommon and most people are liable to attacks of fever, especially after the rains.

II.—A Páki Settlement.

The settlements of the Páki or Páki Páki people are in the valleys between successive hill ranges, generally close to one of the numerous dry boulder-covered hill-streams that trickle down the valleys. **Houses and their Contents.**

Each settlement covers a large tract of forest land within the limits of which the village site is shifted from time to time. They leave one site when all the trees on it have been cut down and the *Maia* and *Maia* lands exhausted, and remove to another site within the area. They again return to the old site when new trees have grown up to some height. In some villages this shifting of sites is done once every ten years. Each village consists of from about a dozen to about 60 houses, and each house consists of from one to four huts. The huts are generally rectangular in shape with two-sloping roofs. The walls are made of logs of wood placed vertically on the ground and plastered over with mud from inside; and the roofs are thatched. In the middle of the settlement is a clearing and sometimes hut called the *Maia Giar*, which is the territory for badminton and also serves as an occasional great house. Arranged round the inner walls of this hut are the *Maia*, or badminton, played upon by the youngsters in their leisure. Some of these *Maia* are supported against the wall, while others are suspended with string from deer horns affixed to the walls. In front of the *Maia Giar* is a spacious yard which is called the *Maia* or meeting ground where dances are held in the evenings and where the tribal *Maia* when occasion arises. On one side of this yard is a round wooden post from 3½ to 4½ feet high affixed to the ground which is called the *Maia Kikaki* (Amphibious post) or the "Gala-Bri-kiki" or post representing the territory of the village. When a new village site is selected, this post is first stuck up in its centre with ornaments which will be described in a subsequent chapter; and the prosperity or otherwise of the village is bound up with this post. If it is blown down by the wind or is otherwise spoiled, the village site must be forthwith changed or otherwise the misfortune

will overlook the settlement. By the side of the *Hagfa Oker* is generally another smaller hut which serves as the seat or temple of the mother-goddess *Tai-kwang*. Close to the *Hagfa Oker* are the houses of the village headmen—the *Nash*, or mayor, and the *Dihari*, or municipal headman. All around are the huts of the other families of the settlement. Narrow lanes and by-paths run between rows of houses. Outside the older settlements are a number of jack-frank trees and close to the settlements are hills on whose slopes the villagers have their main cultivation. On the comparatively more level ground between the hill slopes and the group of huts the villagers grow some vegetables such as pumpkins, beans, and yams.

The following description of the house of a headman of a Pihai settlement will give an idea of the material condition of a comparatively well-to-do Pihai family. The house of the *Dihari* of village *Ki-sien* consists of five huts. The main hut, which runs from north to south, is divided into two compartments by a partition of woven palm-leafwork, by side, having an opening at one corner. The entrance to this hut is through a wooden door opening on a veranda in the eastern wall. The northern compartment is used as a combined kitchen and sleeping room, the hearth being in front of the door and close to the western wall. The southern compartment is used as the *Hsiao* or "inner" chamber where the ancestor-spirits are believed to have their seat and where offerings are made to them. No outsider is admitted into this room, and valued possessions of the family, in the shape of money, clothes, jewels and stores of maize, rice and other grains, are stored there. Coins and clothes are kept in a bamboo box. The richest family rarely owns more than three or four brass stoves, but the generally have more whatsoever. They eat from leaf plates and drink from leaf cups or pumpkin gourd; cooking vessels are all of earthenware. Pith-bud mats form their only bed. In a large settlement of nearly forty houses only two string beds could be found. The main hut, which is to the north of the front and also faces east, is called

the *Mukha-pira* in which I found a few earthen vessels for the brewing of rice beer, two bamboo umbrellas with handles and one umbrella made of palm leaves and having no handle, two brooms, some clay (*Balisa* *mandira*) floor, some ropes, a few empty bamboo baskets, a small pot or stove-top receptacle containing rice for supplying rations or provisions to public officers visiting the village which the headman collects from contribution by the villagers, one winnowing basket, three pumpkin guards, one palm-leaf mat, one earthen jar of *ghar* (distilled liquor) also raised for the use of public officers, one *khath* or weighing beam with a small bamboo basket suspended with strings at one end of the wooden beam on which notches have been cut to indicate a *man* (two pounds) and fractions of a *man*. There were also in this room one rope along (*ghar pira*) for discharging stones at small birds that eat up grain put out to dry in the sun, one *dhira* or *stave* for cutting undergrowth in the jungle, one axe (*khath* or *dingi*), one *phragdama* (spear), one bow and few arrows, and one large made of a gourd for sending away elephants in the jungle. This hut besides a door made of planks of wood joined together and covered with a cloth. In this hut are sometimes accommodated relatives of the family, such as a married daughter and her husband, when they come on a visit. The kitchen of the village also sleep in it when the *Mukha-pira* is occupied by guests. In front of these huts are two other huts, one used as a cattle-shed and the other as fruit pen and *gharhi pira* where rice is husked with a mortar and pestle. The cattle-shed has a door made of logs of wood placed side by side over the earthen floor. These two huts have doors made of split bamboo. The average Paksi Bhita has no separate *gharhi pira*, and only a few Paksi own cattle and require a cattle-shed, only one, two or three cows in a big settlement own cattle and plough, and the others who require the occasional use of a plough borrow it from some neighbour. A hole for husking grain with the wooden pestle is usually made in the floor of the compartment used as the kitchen. The average Paksi has no separate storeroom and the *dhira* or *man* receptacle

wood also serves as the stove or heater room. Decorations to the houses or dwellings on the wall are practically unknown, but the walls are sometimes coated over with a kind of yellowish earth with which the Pukri's smoky clothes are also dyed.

III.—Physical Features and Mental Characterization.

Men and women are well-proportioned, of medium height, and rather light build. The hair is black and plentiful on the head, but generally scanty on the rest of the body, though men with good heads and whiskers are occasionally seen. The hair is ordinarily straight but sometimes it has a tendency to curl, and I met one or two men with distinctly curly or rather woolly hair. The mouth and teeth are well formed and the eyes are straight and of medium size, sometimes small. Their heads are dolichocephalic, their noses are broad, but not so broad nor so depressed at the root as among most other aboriginal tribes of Chiric Nigger and Ojibwa. The skin of the Pukri Eñtziya also shows a much lighter brown tint than that of the average Brazilian and Negro-speaking aborigines. This is a trait which at once strikes the observer. The women are even hairier than the men. But the Pukri are mostly negritized, the protruding cheeks and jowls giving a certain squariness to the face. The lips are generally rather thick. Both sexes are very agile and are hardy, fatigue well and travel great distances. The weekly market held every Saturday at village Khatigwa on the westernmost extremity of the Pukri country where the Hiti Eñtziya exchange grains and vegetables for salt, tobacco and cloth with the lowlanders is attended by women as well as men from the end of Pukri Pargana, a distance of twenty miles. And I have seen several Pukri Eñtziya bearing heavy loads on carrying poles along across their shoulders walk at a fair pace across the jungles and hills of the Kairi and Pukri parganas a whole day with only a couple of *kupri* mat on the way.

The Pibei Biliya is cheerful, lighthearted, and even gay. Mental Character- is the presence of acquaintances, although shy-
acterization. and timid before strangers. At my first visit to the Kibigwa house a number of Pibei¹ women and some young men fled at sight of the stranger, and it was with difficulty that a few could be induced to allow me to photograph them. On a closer acquaintance with them I found them frank, friendly and hospitable. Although they are respectful to people in authority and to those they consider worthy of respect, they are not servile, and an air of equality comes natural to them in their intercourse even with the highest authorities they know. They assume an air of superiority to the Kola—as they call the Wapda, Omani and other immigrants from Chibi Nigger and elsewhere. Those "Kola" who have settled in the Pibei villages with the permission of the headmen have to carry burdens and render certain other services at their bidding. The Pibei Biliya are an industrious people. Both men bathed daily and they keep their houses clean and tidy. In intelligence they compare favorably with most other Mili tribes. The Diferi or point of one of the Pibei villages I visited impressed me as exceptionally intelligent. On certain points about which a Pibei Biliya decided to withhold information from me, he remained firm even when in a state of frankness, though he was otherwise extremely voluble and talkative. Like aboriginal tribes not spoiled by contact with a superior civilization, the Pibei Biliya are on the whole simple, truthful, and honest but selfish, stubborn, and easily offended. They value chastity in the married of both sexes. A male or a female, married or unmarried, going wrong with a person of a different tribe is regarded as a heinous social offender and is punished with excommunication. The men are addicted to drink but women abstain from it.

IV.—Dress and Ornamentation.

The dress of the Pibei Biliya is of the simplest. At home most men wear only a very short loin cloth around the waist, and the poorer men wear only

Dress.

a strip of perizawl cloth kept in its place by a string round the waist. Boys and girls up to the age of twelve or thirteen almost invariably wear such perizawl cloths which the girls change for a longer cloth only when strangers visit the village or when they dance in the evenings. Young men at their dances and festivals wear long hls cloths with one end hanging down below the knee. Except the poorest, each man has two full-sized cloths, one worn round the waist and another as an upper garment. These however are used only on special occasions and during visits to other places. The cloths of men and women are all dyed a light yellow with a kind of yellowish earth which is abundant in the country.

An adult Pahji female wears a cloth about twelve or fifteen long which is worn as a corollated skirt and chawl. Poorer women have each only one such cloth, which is used while going out, whereas a smaller waist cloth is worn in the house. Women have generally a separate bathing place a little apart from that of the men. As most women have only one cloth, they take it off before entering the water.

Girls and young women wear a number of (black brass) bracelets (hvi) on both arms, brass rings (wih) on the fingers, a larger number on the left hand than on the right, a number of two rings (ghhiv), one brass anklet (ghhiv) on each leg, one or two wristlets (hvi) on each wrist, and one or more bead necklaces (wih) made of brass or lac (ghhiv), or both. Most young men wear bead necklaces. No tattooing of the body and disfigurement is practised. The headmen of villages are no head-men and are not distinguished by any particular insignia of office. But the Pahji Geph-Nick of village Kaha, the headman appointed by the Raja for the whole of the Kaira Pargana consisting of twenty-nine villages, has been presented by the Raja of Sami with a costly silk dress consisting of pajama, shawl, turban, belt, sword and shield, and the Pahji Makh-Nick or headman appointed by the Raja for the whole Pahji Pargana has also been presented with a robe of honour by him. These men are not the recognized social or

religious headmen for their respective purposes but they still wield great influence as the intermediary between the people and the Raja.

V.—Daily Life.

The daily life of the men is largely devoted to the production of food by the *dhada* and the *dhali* systems of cultivation. The *dhali* process of clearing land is as follows: A portion of a hill slope is selected for clearance and all the trees on it are cut down and arranged in rows and a large number of bushes and shrubs are also cut down and placed round the trees. These are left for some time to dry and then they are set fire to. When the trees are all reduced to ashes the land is dug up and made ready for the cultivation of upland (johi) rice.

The *dhada* process of preparing lands for cultivation is as follows: A plot of hill slope is selected for the purpose and all bushes and shrubs growing on the site are cut down and placed in heaps at the foot of each tree on the selected plot, and left to dry for a week or so. If in the meanwhile other bushes or shrubs have sprouted they are also cleared, and fire is set to all these heaps of bushes and shrubs so as to burn all the branches and twigs of the trees. The ashes are now spread all over the plot, and the *dhada* is ready for cultivation. Generally on one portion of a *dhada*, upland rice is sown, and on another such crops as makh (maize), wargal (*Eleusine coracana*) and *dhaga* are grown, and on the sides at the foot of the standing trunks of trees, vegetable crops such as *amra* (mango) and *dhali* are planted so that the crops may go up the trees.

Wet cultivation of paddy is rare in the Pilibi paraganah which is full of hills and jungles. In a few villages at the foot of the hills a little wet cultivation of low-land paddy, known as *ju dhada*, is now practised.

From the month of Magh (January) to Baisakh (April), men are engaged in the preparation of *dhali* and *dhaga* fields. Between Pili-guz (March) and Baisakh (May) both men and

women carry cattle-dung manure to their fields. It is not permissible to cut down trees or cleanse the fields until the new young blossoms have come out and the High-jetes festival in January as well as the *Jo-nac* ceremony, which follows shortly afterwards, have been performed, and paddy cannot be sown unless the *Tiritil-waji* ceremony has been celebrated in *Haishih* (April). These ceremonies will be described in a subsequent chapter. Women are not allowed to cut trees or plough the fields, but they may break clods of earth in the fields; this is generally done with axes-headed. In these months also the men cut down from the jungle trees which are taken to their fields and burnt for ash-manure; and men and women particularly women dig for edible roots, yams and tubers. As soon as there is a shower of rain the men plough their fields; and then again when the weather is dry they bring to the fields wood for burning into manure or apply cattle-dung manure to the fields. In the months of *Chait* and *Baisakh* (March-May) men also go out to hunt deer, wild pigs or other animals. Between March and May, when the streams are almost dry, boys and men catch fish with their hands. Boys and girls give each help to their parents as they can in household and field work. They also draw water and look after the cattle. Between the months of *Magh* and *Baisakh* the work of repairing and building of houses is also undertaken. In *Baisakh* and *Jaisith* (April—June) the fields are sown by the men with paddy, the uplands being sown after the lowlands, if any. In *Asadh* (July) transplantation is made in the *til* lands, if any, men and women both taking part in the operations, but the subsequent reploughing and harrowing of the fields are the business of the men alone. In *Sathian* and *Hind* (August-September) both men and women weed the rice fields. In *Shado* (August) *grya* or upland rice is harvested and *chil* (muscovado), *malai* (sugar) and a few other grains and vegetables are sown on the uplands; and wet lands, if any, are embanked to store water in them. In *Arwin* (September-October) both men and women harvest the *grya* (upland) rice, and in *Kashik* (October) the *til*

[lowland] rice, if any. In Aghin (November) the harvested lowland rice is threshed and winnowed. Such is the yearly routine. The period between the sowing of the crops and the harvesting is one of great anxiety and sleepless vigilance. Most of the male population of a village have to be in their fields at night to protect the crops from the menage of wild elephants, bears and other animals. A kind of rude scaffolding is perched on some tree in the field to serve as the resting-place of the watchmen, and logs of wood are kept burning at the foot of the tree where the men by turns warm themselves. In the day-time women too may be seen helping the men to protect the ripening rice from birds and beasts. On a day in October when I arrived at noon at a Palyi settlement of about forty families, I found the whole adult male population and many of the women then engaged in their fields.

This arduous round of duties is, however, relieved now and then by joyous festivals which mark the termination of one stage of labour and the beginning of another, such as the Magh-jiti festival in January when old fire in all the houses is extinguished and new fire is ceremonially kindled by friction of two pieces of wood by the *Silari* with axes covered over with saffron sahn, all the villagers kindle their own new fire from this sacred fire and rice is boiled in milk over it and offered to the ancestor spirits. It is only after this ceremony that the forest trees may be felled. The An-nak festival of the new mango blossoms is celebrated in February, after which alone the fields may be sown; the Tirthi-maji festival in April on which day sowing operations have to be commenced with a ceremonial sowing; the *Adipi Piji* in July when sacrifices are offered to the tutelary deities (*Patim-dit*, etc.) for rains and good crops, and the *Bhik Piji* at the same time after which alone transplantation of lowland rice may be undertaken; the Otachi Pantli festival in August when the Palyi celebrates his temporary respite from agricultural labours by making a feast of rice-dish cakes and other delicacies and giving absolute rest for two days to the cattle of the village, washing their horns, bonneting their forehead and horns with

steamers oil and pounded termite and giving them raw rice as well as fried rice (*khich*) to eat and burning earthen lamps at night in the cattle-sheds; the *Bêr* and *Nai-didi* festivals in September when with appropriate ceremonies the first sheaves of upland rice are reaped by each cultivator from his field and new rice sown after offering the same to the gods; and finally in some villages the *Karwa-ghat* festival in October or November and the *Pous*, *ghat* festival in December, both pure festivals of rejoicing and merriment, the former after the harvesting but before the thrashing of the rice crops and the latter after the rice has been harvested, threshed and garnered. These fairs and festivals will be described in detail in a subsequent chapter.

During months free from field labours men make great drinking vessels, bamboo rattles and bows, wooden pipes, rattans and the thrashing apparatus called *ghat*; and in the winter and spring their girls wear crowns of wild date palms (*Palis spinosus*). The girls of a village go in a body to the jungles and collect date-palm leaves and, oil leaves, and gather yams for food and dry leaves for fuel. Women make cups and plates of the oil leaves. From Magh (January) to Baisakh (April), bachelors and widows often visit other villages for dancing. When at home they dance at the *dhalla* ground after the evening meal. Bachelors sleep together in the *Magh-ghat* room in the months of Bhadra, Asvin and Karkâ (middle of August to middle of November) when they usually guard their *dhalla* education.

The following is the programme of a day's work that was gone through by a Pâhî family during my visit to their village in October. The family consisted of Chandan Pâhî, his wife and a younger brother. As they had harvested their *ghat* paddy and had no wet cultivation they were not required to guard their fields. At cockcrow the two brothers got up, washed their faces, lighted a oil-lamp cigarette (*palit*) in the fire that is always kept burning in the house so long as there is anyone in it. Then Chandan and his brother took a plough and went to the thrashing floor where they thrashed *ghat* rice. Chandan's wife, who had a baby in her arms, got up shortly after her husband,

washed her face and went with a winnowing basket to the threshing floor, and husked the threshed rice. The men tied up the rice in a bundle [*bet*] which the woman carried home on her head. Chandra's wife then prepared the mid-day meal which consisted of boiled rice and *boittya*, or pumpkin sliced and boiled in water. After all had had their midday bath the men first took their meals and then the women. Chandra and his wife then went to the jungle, the former to collect food-stuff and the latter to dig for yams, of which different varieties are used for food, and to gather such fruits as *jungle-figs* (*dmasa*), *peasa*, *jaalaa*, etc. On their return home, the women boiled *asa* and *aty-leaves* for the evening meal. After taking their meals they went to sleep,—the husband apart from the wife, as custom forbids a *Fahai Mōiya* to sleep with his wife so long as she continues to suckle her baby.



VII.—Ho Riddle.

(Continued from page 328, volume II.)

By GEORGE MACE SUTHER, B. A.

22. Aed̃ l̃oi l̃oed̃ ẽd̃ẽ d̃ẽp̃l̃ĩnĩ.

Of fair complexion a girl black as earthen pot dished on
her head.

Aed̃ uol̃oñ d̃il̃it̃et̃ m̃ir̃ [k̃ẽj̃ẽñ?].

If you know what it is say.

[Translation.]

A girl of fair complexion dished a black earthen pot on her
head. If you know, say what it is.

Answer.—Ẽm̃ * [a wedding nut].

23. J̃l̃am̃ d̃ẽp̃s̃ l̃ĩm̃ d̃ĩ d̃ĩk̃

Grandmother's back up [you] dished up you

Aed̃ uol̃oñ d̃il̃it̃et̃ m̃ir̃ [k̃ẽj̃ẽñ?].

If you know what it is say.

[Translation.]

You cannot dish up [you] grandmother's back. If you
know, say what it is.

Answer.—G̃ĩñd̃ [a nut].

24. Nam̃ t̃l̃ĩĩñ ẽ l̃am̃ ũl̃ d̃ĩk̃

Grandmother combed pot-head not [you] dished on

Aed̃ uol̃oñ d̃il̃it̃et̃ m̃ir̃ [k̃ẽj̃ẽñ?].

If you know what it is say.

[Translation.]

You cannot dander pot-head combed [by] grandmother. If
you know, tell me what it is.

Answer.—Ẽõ²-ẽl̃¹ [nut of the head].

* The name is still in No. 18 printed in the last issue of the "Journal of the Ethnological Society" is *Kejje-nut*. Both *Kejje-nut* and *Kejje* are used by the Kae to mean a wedding nut.

23. Jitaḥ bhagavān bhaṅgāḥ kṛtāḥ ei dātā
 Underneath locked a lock not [you] open can
 dātā rules dātāḥ nitya [bhaṅgāḥ],
 If you know what it is say.

[Translation.]

You cannot open a lock locked [by] grandfather. If you know, say what it is.

Answer.—[Bhāṅgāḥ] [Frak¹ of the *śara* tree].

[It can never be broken by the hand except with the help of a piece of stone or an iron bar.]

27. Tṛṣṭi bhāṅgāḥ pāṇiḥ
 Dwarf a Bhāṅgāḥ with the sword thrust on.

[Translation.]

A dwarf Bhāṅgāḥ with the sword thrust on.

Answer.—Tṛṣṭi [a spinning wheel].

28. Tṛṣṭi te chakrāḥ
 from with will tempt
 bhāṅgāḥ kṛtāḥ ei

of sword sharp will make you roads.

[Translation.]

It will tempt you with its hooks but will make you roads with its thorns.

Answer.—Tṛṣṭi [pāṇi] [Finger, hand].

29. Hṛd dātā ei bhāṅgāḥ
 Twenty thirty men with pāṇi are grinding
 Māṅgāḥ bhāṅgāḥ
 only one is stirring and moving

[Translation.]

Twenty or thirty men are grinding pāṇi and only one man is stirring and moving it.

Answer.—Dātā dātā [to] [to] (Tooth and tongue).

* A similar word "bhāṅgā" is spoken by the people of Dindigul and Madurai in the Chola-Nagpur District. The point of difference between the two words is the position of the letter "a" which occurs in one case after "p" and in another before "p".

† The two words "pāṇi" are the corrupt forms of the two words "pāṇi", the plural form of "pāṇi" meaning a hand.

| | | | |
|-----|---|------------|---------------------------|
| 20. | <u>Fuuk</u> | <u>muu</u> | <u>ôôô</u> |
| | <u>White</u> <u>white</u> <u>ground</u> <u>on</u> | | |
| | <u>Tee</u> | <u>ôôô</u> | <u>luna</u> |
| | <u>hands</u> <u>with</u> | | <u>are</u> <u>moving</u> |
| | <u>A's</u> | <u>ôôô</u> | <u>ia</u> |
| | <u>mouth</u> <u>with</u> | | <u>are</u> <u>rasping</u> |

[Translation.]

They are moving it with their hands on a white ground and are rasping it with their mouths.

Answer.—*Fuufi Sôôôôô fôôôô ôôô ôôô ôôô ôôôôô.*
[They rub on white paper and rasp the bottom with their lips.]

| |
|--|
| 22. <u>Kakoo</u> <u>uuhô</u> <u>uuhô</u> <u>uuhô</u> |
| hollow of a tree in parrots are chirping. |

[Translation.]

Parrots are chirping within the hollow of a tree.

Answer.—*Sôôôô ôôôôô ôôôôô ôôô ôôôôô ôôôôô.*
[*uuhô* is sounding within a hollow rather gut, at the time of being fed].

| | | | |
|-----|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| 22. | Mai | gôôôô | Uuhô |
| | we | on wooden seat | father-in-law |
| | Kôôôô | | ôôôôô |
| | daughter-in-law | | are sitting |
| | Kôôô | lôôôô | |
| | do not | touch | each other |

[Translation.]

On a wooden seat, a father-in-law and his daughter-in-law are sitting together but the one does not touch the other.

Answer.—*ôôôôôôô* [Two forms [on the head of an anten]].
[When the father-in-law is within a room, the daughter-in-law would not enter it; and if the clothes of the father-in-law are kept within a room, the daughter-in-law may enter it but would not touch them and vice versa. The idea of the one touching the person of the other is foreign to the idea of *Sôôôôôôô*.]

| |
|--|
| 23. <u>Nôôô</u> <u>ôôô</u> <u>lôôô</u> <u>ôôô</u> <u>ôôôôôôô</u> |
| On that hill two lizards are licking. |

[Translation.]

On yonder hill, two lizards are licking each other.

Answer.—*Nāh* [a winnowing fan].

[*Heey* He who possesses paddy-fields, has got a piece of wood beside them. This wood they heap dry and tidy to serve the purpose of a thrashing floor. After the paddy is cut from the field, it is brought to the thrashing ground where it is thrashed and the straw is beaten out. The thrashing men, two two on two sides take two winnows in their hands and fan off the particles of dust, straw and such other useless things that are mixed up with the corn. The two winnowing fans, then, look like two kites kicking and fighting each other.]

24. *Mido Ho pañji goñi th*
One man white bill up to
eds tail
being taken up
th tail smelt
will go farther of himself

[Translation.]

There is a man who, on being taken up in the white bill, will climb further onwards of himself.

Answer.—*Th do de māññi pññi pññi de dññi*
 (The man is fool and the white bill is the number of teeth).

25. *Engt th kññi kññi*
Mother bunch-brood
kññi kññi
children straight

[Translation.]

The mother is bunch-brood, but the children are straight.

Answer.—*Th' dññi' (hññi' and anññi')*.

26. *Engt th thgo kññi kññi*
Mother stands still
kññi kññi
children little little
thgo thgo
when wind blows

[Translation.]

The mother stands still. Her children are little. When wind blows they dance.

Answer.—*Nad Awa* (peepal tree) [*Ficus religiosa*].

[The mother is the trunk of (the peepal) tree, the children are the leaves.]

| | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 37. | <u>Māh</u> | <u>critical</u> | <u>larkish</u> | <u>apish</u> |
| | One | scorn | two scores | three scores |
| | <u>Hōhō</u> | <u>lōh dōh</u> | | |
| | children | one takes into her arms | | |

[Translation.]

There is a woman who can take into her arms two to three scores of her children at a time.

Answer.—**Pōhā dōh* (The juk tree) [*Antiaris integrifolia*].

| | | | |
|-----|------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 38. | <u>Bōm</u> | <u>small</u> | <u>jer jer</u> |
| | Oil | a small northern nut | smooth |

[Translation.]

A smooth and small northern nut for oil.

Answer.—*Dīvāh* (name of an oil).

| | | | | |
|-----|------------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|
| 39. | <u>Mist</u> | <u>with</u> | <u>or</u> | <u>jet</u> |
| | One | one | by | will fructify |
| | <u>Mist</u> | <u>with-on</u> | | |
| | at the same time | will ripen | | |

[Translation.]

One by one will the fruits appear and they will ripen at the same time.

Answer.—*Chōhō* (northern vessels).

[In a pottery, northern vessels are formed one by one. But they are put into the fire at the same time to be baked and hardened.]

| | | | |
|-----|----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 40. | <u>Hōhō dō</u> | <u>these</u> | <u>hiphāhōh</u> |
| | Mother | stands | will |
| | <u>Hōhōhō</u> | <u>with</u> | <u>speech</u> |
| | Children | very | quarrelsome |

* The *Orpa* word is: it is *parva*, and the *Hōhōhō* word is *parva*, cf. *Colod* De la's Descriptive Etymology of Bengali, p. 171. * It is also probable that many (Hō) were also sent into the family that composed them, and this may account for the greater harshness of the line as compared with other *Hōhō*, and for this being in use as a name of common vessels of Bengali origin.

Answer.—*Mahai* (an antelope).

| | | | |
|-----|----------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| 41. | <i>Mahai</i> | <i>hombong</i> | <i>tsi</i> |
| | One | a stick with a curved end | a thick stick |
| | <i>Dekaiet</i> | <i>hombi</i> | |
| | into the ramp | fixed | |
| | <i>Mahai</i> | <i>hai</i> | <i>tsai</i> |
| | one one | not | given up |

[Translation.]

There is evidence with a curved stick fixed to its ramp. It never puts the stick aside.

Answer.—*Sai* (dog).

[The antelope is the dog and the stick is its tail.]

| | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 42. | <i>A-ia</i> | <i>Udai</i> | <i>gimoi</i> |
| | Your mother's sister | that is your aunt | |
| | <i>ajagatata</i> | <i>hai</i> | <i>chidai</i> |
| | is suffering from | not | at all |

[Translation.]

Your mother's sister, that is to say, your aunt, is suffering from ho. She cannot sit down.

Answer.—*Chai* (piece of bamboo bent with).

[This piece is made of bamboo, and is in form like a hollow scroll, when turned upside downwards, with a straight line and a pointed base.]

| | | | |
|-----|------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 43. | <i>Gaps geyi</i> | <i>tsimbiki</i> | <i>giti</i> |
| | in every river | hook round | carries |

[Translation.]

There is a creature which carries curved scrolls from river to river.

Answer.—*Zidai* (a duck).

[Curved scrolls mean the duck's forked legs.]

| | | | |
|-----|------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 44. | <i>Hata shi</i> | <i>tsathant</i> | <i>sewa</i> |
| | From the village | identify | goes |
| | <i>Havet</i> | <i>tschidai</i> | |
| | In the front | makes great noise | |

[Translation.]

It goes slowly from the village; but on reaching the front it makes great noise.

Answer.—Midi (as are).

| | | | | |
|-----|----------|--------|------|---------|
| 41. | Beruhl | mining | dir | mining? |
| | Hil is k | big | tree | big |
| | Diru | mining | | |
| | tree | big | | |

[Translation.]

Is the hill big or the tree big? The tree is big.

Answer.—Midi (as are).

[The MH is the are made of tree which comes out of one forest is kila. The tree is the wooden handle of the axe.]

| | | | | |
|-----|-------|-------|----------|-------|
| 42. | Fundi | dir | straight | is |
| | White | stone | straight | stone |

[Translation.]

A number of white stones are standing straight through.

Answer.—Midi (as are).

[Cocked the when swallowed stone straight into the stomach.]

| | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------------|--------|
| 43. | Gajhal | ick | added |
| | The dead tree | the living one | denote |

[Translation.]

The dead denotes the living.

Answer.—Kawid (A basket trip to catch fish with).

| | | |
|-----|------------------|-----------------|
| 44. | Masabé | achard |
| | A rich man's | house is |
| | Hiti-lu | broken |
| | Elephant's house | are lying along |

[Translation.]

An elephant's house are lying in a rich man's house.

Answer.—Ber kipi (A long thick rope made of straw).

| | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|
| 45. | Midi | with 2 | specimens | are |
| | A creature | in the morning | with four legs | walks |
| | Tak singi de | haidi-jis | are | |
| | At noon | with two legs | walks | |
| | Asitixit de | spokixit | are | |
| | In the evening | with three legs | walks | |

[Translation.]

A comely walks with four legs in the morning, with two legs at noon and with three legs in the evening.

Answer.—He [a man].

[A man in his childhood goes on all fours; when grown up, he walks with two legs; when he becomes old, he takes the help of a stick which serves the purpose of a third leg.]



VIII.—The Mango Tree in the Marriage-Ritual of the Aborigines of Chota Nagpur and Santalia.

By SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

If we examine the marriage-rituals of the aborigines of Chota Nagpur and Santalia, we come across a very curious feature thereof, namely, the more or less important part played by the mango tree therein. Among the Mundas, the Bishnis and the Khonds, all of whom are now in a primitive state of culture and live on the Chota Nagpur plateau, the bridegroom has, before the actual marriage with the human wife takes place, to go through the ceremony of a wedding with a mango tree. Then again, among the Mundas and the Bishnis of Chota Nagpur and the Santals who live in the Santal Parganas, the twigs or leaves of the mango tree are used largely in the performance of various rites auxiliary to the main ceremony of the marriage.

Let us, first of all, deal with the marriage-ritual of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur. When the Munda marriage procession leaves the bridegroom's village, it stops at the first mango tree (all) on the way. Round the trunk of this tree, the bridegroom puts a mark of rice-flour dissolved in water and ties up a thread. The bridegroom's mother then sits down thundering with the bridegroom on her knees. She then asks certain questions of her son, which being answered, the latter puts into his own mouth a mango-twig and molasses. After chewing the mango-twig a little, he gives the shavings to his mother who swallows the whole mass and blows her *hop*.¹ Similarly on the occasion of the performance of the bride's '*Uli-Salli*' ceremony, the bride with a number of her female relatives next proceeds to the

¹ *The Mundas and Their Country*. By Sarat Chandra Mitra, p. 445. Calcutta: The City Book Company, 1912.

palangin, visited by the bridegroom, is a neighbouring mango tree. After her arrival there, the bride puts a mark on the tree with moistened rice-flour and ties up a thread around its trunk. This tree is then made a witness (*siddi*) to the marriage.¹

Then again, when the Mitak bridegroom arrives at the mortuary of the bride's house, a number of female relatives come out to meet him, each carrying a brass lamp filled with water and a pestle. Each of these women first sprinkles water on the bridegroom with a mango-twig and then brandishes the pestle, jestingly saying: "If you prove covetous, if you prove a thief, you will be thus beaten with a pestle!"² This custom of sprinkling the bridegroom with water by means of mango-twigs is alluded to in a Mitak folk-song wherein a Mitak youth, bidding defiance to all social restrictions, says—

"For a bride I shall seek where affection will lead,
My widow clime the sole guide that I have.
No sprinkling of water with mango-twigs I'll need,
No mark of remission over my head!"³

This practice of performing the *Isabotia* with mango-twigs is also resorted to in other ceremonial occasions, as will appear from the undesignated incident in the Mitak legend of Lothian, Harma and Isakura Dura. It is stated therein that the Astes led the Tōt Kura towards their farmstead to offer him up as a sacrifice to appease King Dōgō. The Tōt Kura had previously given the following instructions about the correct way of performing this sacrifice. Two virgins, who should fast for three days and nights, should work the furnace with bellows newly made of white goat-skin, and furnished with new bellows-handles and with a new bellows-cumula. These bellows should be worked continuously and without any stoppage all the days and all the nights long. After the expiry of the proscribed three days, they should sprinkle water on the furnace with mango-twigs, and thereby put out the fire. And the soil water used for

¹ *The Mitak and Their Customs*, By Sant Charles Dey, p. 447.

² *Ib.* *id.*, p. 448.

³ *Ib.* *id.*, p. 447.

quitting over the fire should be brought in new earthen pitchers placed over hand-cushions made of cotton-thread.¹

[I have not yet been able to ascertain whether the custom of perkweng the *Uti-Silbi* is in vogue among the Oidans of Clota Naggan. Perhaps, future research into the marriage-customs of this interesting people will throw light on this point.]

The ceremony of the *Uti-Silbi* is also performed among the Hihids who are one of the most savage of the jungle-peoples of Clota Naggan. This quaint rite is performed among them almost in the same way as amongst the *Mindils* of the same province, as will appear from the following account thereof. On his way to the bride's village, the Hihid bridegroom, who is carried in the arms of his elder sister's husband and is accompanied by his mother and other women-folk of his tribe or settlement, is, first of all, taken to a mango tree. The women take with them a *buli* or jug of water, two leaf-platters and several leaf-cups, each of which contains *enlusan*, *vin-flan*, *vinallan* and some unbleached thread. After reaching the foot of the tree, the bridegroom makes, with the little finger of his right hand, a *vinallan*-mark on the trunk thereof. While his little finger is still in contact with the tree, a woman of the party winds a strand of the unbleached thread five times round the trunk of the mango tree just below the *vinallan*-mark. Then some one of the party strikes the branches of the tree with a stick or club and fatches down some leaves or twigs thereof. Then a few of these twigs or stalks of the mangrove-tree are handed over to the bridegroom who chews them a little and makes over the chewed mass to his mother. She, in her turn, mixes the chewed mass of twigs or leaf-stalks with *enlusan* and swallows the same. This ceremony is repeated five times [note that five is a sacred number] and known as the bridegroom's *Uti-Silbi* ceremony.²

When the bridegroom arrives in procession before the hut of the bride's father, three or five [note that three and five are

¹ *The Mindanao Year-Book*, by Sirat Chandra Reg., p. 86 (Appendix II).

² *A.R.E.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 38.

several women] likewise come out to welcome him. This is known as the *Arakii-Parokki*, or the ceremony of welcoming the bridegroom. These women carry a new basket containing powdered tansieo and three or five torches made out of sage steeped in oil and twisted round the stalks or twigs of mangrove-trees. Taking her stand before the bridegroom, each one of these women, one after the other, holds one of the lighted torches in her left hand, and, with her right hand, smears a little of the tansieo-paste onto his temples. Then he, in his turn, because the temples of these women with the tansieo-paste with his right hand. Thus the torches are cast off by the women.¹ After the bridegroom has been introduced to the female relatives of his bride by the *Arakii-Parokki* ceremony, two girls come out with two pithers of water brought from some neighboring stream, tank or spring with the performance of some rites, and, dipping a few small *mospichis* in these pithers, sprinkle the cold water all over the body of the bridegroom. In his own turn, the bridegroom dips one or two *mospichis* in a bowl of water brought to him by one of his own party.²

Thus comes the bride's *Uki-Siki* ceremony. On this occasion, the bride's mother, accompanied by the bride and several other women, goes to a mangrove tree, the bride being carried in the arms of one of these latter women. It is a *siyogae* one of this ceremony that this tree should not be in the direction of the bridegroom's *tsugi* or *mospichis*. If a mangrove tree fulfilling this condition be not found, a *mospichis* is planted in the ground in the prescribed direction. Under this mangrove tree or branch, the bride, her mother and other female companions perform the same ceremonies as have been performed by the bridegroom, his mother and other companions at his own *Uki-Siki*.³

The twig or leaf of the mangrove tree also plays an important part in other ceremonies connected with the wedding-ritual of the Bûshô.

¹ *JEDDA*, Vol. IV, pp. 79, 80.

² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Take, for instance, the rites performed on the occasion of the bridegroom's *Adoble* ceremony which generally takes place on the morning of the day which is fixed for the marriage and on which day the bridegroom's party is to go to the bride's village. On the occasion of this ceremony, the bridegroom's sister's husband constructs a miniature tank and plants a young plantain tree on its eastern bank. On its western margin, a slab of stone is placed over three bundles of thatching-gum. On this stone slab, the bridegroom and his mother take their seats with their faces turned towards the east. Thereafter two girls dip *twigs of the mango tree, which have been brought by the husband of the bridegroom's elder sister, in two pitchers containing ceremonial water which has been previously brought by some other women from a neighbouring spring or stream. With these twigs, the two girls sprinkle water from the two pitchers over the bridegroom who thereafter bathes in the water of one of these two pitchers, and his mother does so in that contained in the other. Thereafter his mother, placing above him a fan [with certain ceremonial articles in it] on her head, sits down at the door of her hut just inside the dovecot. While the bridegroom, who has, in the meantime, taken his meal, sits down confronting his mother on the opposite side of the dovecot. The husband of the bridegroom's elder sister then *twists into the shape of a pipe the stalk of the mango-leave with which water has been previously sprinkled on the bridegroom, and weaves three air perils, and perilous being made of three twisted mango-leaves. Two of these air perils are worn by the bridegroom, two by his father, and the remaining two by his mother, one being worn as an arm and the other as a leg by each of them*¹.*

Similar garlands of mango-leaves appear also to be worn by the bride. For it would appear that, on the occasion of the performance of the ceremony known as the "*Enhecho de Elado*", which takes place at the bride's place and in the course of which ceremony the bridegroom touches the bride with his own "*aisi*" or blood-stained rug and the bride touches him with

¹ J.R.O.B.B., Vol. IV., pp. 75, 76.

here, the bridegroom and bride exchange their garlands of mango-leaves.¹

On the return of the bridegroom with the bride to his own home, one of his womenfolk shuts his eyes with her hands. Then he lies, in this blindfold state, he takes off from his arm the aforementioned garland of three twisted mango-leaves and tucks it with his hands in the waist of the aforesaid miniature tunic. Then another woman blindfolds the bride with her hands; and, thus blindfolded, the latter has to search for the buried garland of mango-leaves with her hands and fish out the same from the tunic.²

A quaint ceremony is, however, performed among the Kweichow of the Hsichay, wherein the leaves of the mango-tree figure largely. Before the bridegroom and the bride enter the bed, a fowl is sacrificed, and its blood is sprinkled on them. Then the bridegroom's mother drives with rice-beer steeped in water a shaft of reed figures from the courtyard right up to the door of this bed, and places a mango-leaf on each of these reed figures. First of all, the bridegroom, in going up to the door of this bed, has to place his feetstep on each of these mango-figures. Thereafter he is followed by the bride in a similar way.³

Then, on the occasion of the *Changshih-Changshih* Ceremony which is performed on the morning of the day next to that on which the bridegroom with the bride returns to his own place, both of them change their turmeric-dyed clothes. Thereafter the bride places on her head a basket containing about twenty pellets of clay and takes up in her hand a *tsa* filled with water and covered up with a leaf-cup holding some molasses. With these she wends her way to her father's *tsia* or *an* as usual. Taking up in his hands a bow and an arrow and a *tsa* full of *suape*, the bridegroom goes after his bride, always remaining at a little distance from her.

As soon as the bride arrives at the boundary of her husband's *an* or *tsia*, she puts down upon the ground her basket and *tsa*

¹ *J.R.O.E.S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 81, 82.

² *Idem*, p. 87.

³ *Idem*, p. 88.

of water and commences to run in the direction of her father's settlement. Thereupon the bridegroom places his bow and arrow near the basket put down by his wife, and permits her till he wishes her. Creaking hold of her hand, *he starts her on her feet with the mango-twig which he holds in his hands* and takes her back to the place where she had left her basket and where the womenfolk of his own household had, in the meantime, gathered.¹ [Thereafter other ceremonies are performed with which we are not concerned.]

Lastly, the mango-twig figure conspicuously is that quaint and curious ritual, namely, the ceremony which marks the beginning of the taboo between a Bribô and the elder sisters and cousins of the wife. After the elder sisters and cousins of the bride have performed the *Glamsa* or Symbolical "Kissing" Ceremony of which the details need not be given here, each of them, by turn, asks the bridegroom: "What is your name?" After conversing to them his own name, he inquires of them their respective names. In reply to his questions, each of them tells him her own name, and thereafter, *slipping a leafy mango-twig in a bowl of water, sprinkles therewith a little of this water on the bridegroom. He, in his own turn, dips a mango-twig in water contained in a brass plate which is placed before him, and sprinkles therewith a little water over her.* As each of these elder sisters and cousins of the bride fulfils this ceremonial sprinkling of water, she pulls the bridegroom by the arm, strikes his back thrice with her closed fist, and tells him: "From to-day regard me as your *Jepi-ete*; listen well with your ears; do not utter my name again with your lips." After making this remark, she places her present on the plate before the bridegroom and goes away. Hereafter he and his *Jepi-ete* must not utter each other's name, nor talk to each other, nor sit together on the same mat, nor come near each other.²

We shall now deal with the *Bimarij* or the *Bimarij-Kôb* who have hostile and linguistic affinities with the *Mitakô*, the

¹ *FEONÔS*, Vol. IV., pp. 83, 85.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 86.

Elia and the Sontala and whose home is in the Mhabbita District of Orona Naggari. On examining the marriage-ritual of this people, we find that, among them also, the quaint ceremony of *Jo-Bhili* (or the Marriage with the Mango Twig), which is almost identical with the *Chi-Siki* of the Minkas and the Bishos, is prevalent. It is performed as follows:—

Before going to the bride's place, the Bhumij bridegroom and his mother have to go to a mango tree and sit thereunder. Then this tree is soaked with streaks of rice-flour steeped in water and with vermillion. Then the bridegroom breaks a twig from this tree, twashes it with his lips, and then hands it over to his mother. She, in her turn, chews part of it and then throws it away. [Among the Ninkas and the Bishos, however, the twig is chewed with molasses by the bridegroom; and the whole of the chewed mass is then handed over to his mother who gulps it down.]

After the foregoing rite has been performed, the following dialogue takes place between the Bhumij bridegroom and his mother:—

Mother.—Where are you going to with so much debt?

Bridegroom.—I am going to fetch a female slave for you, mother.

The Bhumij bride, in her turn also, has to perform the same ceremony of the *Jo-Bhili*. As soon as the bridegroom's party arrives at her place, the bride, accompanied by her mother and some female relatives, goes to a neighbouring mango tree and streaks it with rice-flour dissolved in water and with vermillion. They then sit under this tree. Then the bride twashes a mango-twig with her lips and hands it over to her mother. The latter chews it with her teeth and then throws it away. After this has been done, they return home to perform the actual marriage-ceremony.¹

[The mango-twig is also used in the funeral ceremony of the Bhumij. After the corpse of a deceased Bhumij has been placed

¹ J. A. O. R. S. for September 1884, pp. 117, f.

upon a pile of wood, the deceased's eldest son procures a twig of the mango or guile tree, and puts it strapped up in a piece of new cloth previously soaked in glu or clarified butter. This twig is then lighted and applied thrice [mark that three is a sacred number] to the deceased's mouth. After this rite has been performed, the eldest son returns home direct, leaving his relatives and friends to set fire to the funeral pyre.¹

Then we come to the Santals who have their home in Santalia. On an examination of the marriage-ritual of this aboriginal people, we come across the fact that neither the ceremony of the *Uk-shik-mer* that of the *Jo-Bitak* forms a part and parcel thereof. But we find another interesting feature thereof, namely, the fact that the leaves of the mango tree are used in connection with the celebration of the Santal's marriage-ceremony and in the performance of a rite subsidiary to the main wedding-ritual. Take, for instance, the *shaded* or the marriage-bench of the Santals. This bench, which is erected in the courtyard of the house of both the Santal bridegroom and bride, is decorated with festoons of the leaves of the mango tree. In the same way, the entrances to their houses from the streets are also rigged out with garlands made of mango-leaves. Then again, strings of dried leaves of the mango tree have been tied up and are also stretched overhead across the streets in three places [mark that three is a sacred number].² Lastly, when the Santal bride takes her seat in a new large and flat basket, is lifted up by certain women, taken out into the street where the Santal bridegroom, sitting astride on the shoulder of his brother-in-law or uncle, awaits her coming, and is raised, while still seated in the basket, to the level of the bridegroom, lest of them sprinkle each other three times with water by means of a twig of the mango tree.³

On a careful study of the foregoing descriptions of the so-called "Marriage with the Mango Tree," we are struck with two

¹ J.B.O.B. for September 1916, p. 251.

² J.B.O.B. for September 1916, pp. 311, 313.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 315, 318.

noteworthy features thereof, namely, (a) that we may either take the aforementioned rite as an instance of the widely-spread Indian custom of entering into a mock-marriage with a tree or plant, or (b) we may consider it as the instance of a ceremony for making the tribal godlings resident in the mango tree to witness and thereby sanctify the actual marriage with the human wife.

(a) If we look upon the ritual performed in connection with the mango tree in the light of "a mock-marriage with a tree or plant", as is indicated by the Hindi term *Jee-Bhāṭā* applied to it, we are supported in our view by a considerable mass of Indian evidence on the point. For I have already shown elsewhere in this *Journal* that, in various parts of India, if a person is desirous of marrying a third or fourth human wife, he has, first of all, to go through the trappings of a marriage with the *lālā* tree (*Acacia arabica*) or the *śā* plant or the gigantic swallow-wort (*Celastrus giganteus*).¹

Then again, there arises the question: Why, of all other trees, the mango tree should be selected as a suitable substitute for a human wife for performing the ceremony of the *Jee-Bhāṭā* or the *Jee-Bhāṭā* with?

We shall try to show, by tracing out both *causes*, that the mango tree is looked upon by the *Mūṇḍas*, the *Bhils* and the *Bhars* as the habitation of their tribal godlings, and that, therefore, it is sacred. This tree is also looked upon as a source of evil spirits and influences by various other races of people all over India; and its twigs and leaves are used for making the aspersion at various ritual observances in different parts of this country. Wreaths made of its leaves are hung up on the occasion of *pūjās* and other festive celebrations on the house-door. In Rohilkhand, on the occasion of the *Abhī* Festival (The Festival of "The Undying Child"), the exhibitor goes at daybreak to one of his fields, taking with him a brass *lālā* full of water, a branch of the mango tree, and a

¹ For my article "On the Use of the *Jee-Bhāṭā* in the *Mūṇḍ*, *Bhār* and *Bhars* of the *Bhils* and the *pre-Islamic Arabs*" in *J. O. R. I.* for June 1903, pp. 189, 190.

spade. The attendant priest then makes certain calculations and ascertains the spot where the first digging shall be done. This having been done, the peasant digs up for shods of earth with his spade, and then sprinkles the water from the *lota* for times with the branch of the mango tree into the trench.¹ At the Pola Festival held in Bharu, the Indians of the whole village are led in procession under a sacred rope made of twisted grass and covered over with mango-leaves.² [Compare this sacred rope with the Sacell's strings in which mango-leaves have been tied up and which are stretched overhead across the streets in these places.] Whenever cattle-rustlers break out in Northern India, it is a common practice to hang up a rope of straw into which mango-leaves have been strung, over the roadway by which the cattle enter or leave the village on their way to the grazing-ground.³ It is also on account of the sacredness of the mango tree and of its consequently possessing the property of driving away evil spirits and influences that the twigs or leaves of this tree are so largely used in the performance of various rites auxiliary to the main marriage-rites of the Monds, the Bichays and the Bhants of Chota Nagpur, and of the Santals of Santal.

[5] If we look upon the rite of the so-called "Marriage with the Mango Tree" as the instance of a ceremony for enabling the tribal gullings, resident in this tree, to witness and thereby certify the actual marriage with the human wife, our theory is supported by ample evidence which proves the existence, among several wild tribes of India, of the belief that their tribal gullings, who dwell among the leaves of their sacred trees, act, firstly, as witnesses of their deeds and scrutineers of their conduct, and, secondly, play the rôle of judges of their conduct and punish them for their crimes, if any.

Take, for instance, the pipal tree (*Ficus religiosa*). It is regarded throughout India as sacred to the deities who are

¹ CHAKRAJEE'S *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Southern India*. (Allahabad Edition of 1896) pp. 363, 376.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 377.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 378.

believed to take delight in sitting among its leaves and to hear the music made by the rustling of its foliage. While giving evidence before a court, the Hindu or aboriginal witness takes a pipal leaf in his hands and invokes the deity, who sits above him, to crush him or his nearest and dearest relatives in the same way as he crushes the leaf in his hand, should he happen to depose to anything but the truth. He then pinches and crushes the leaf and deposes to what he has to state.

In the same way, the lofty red silk-cotton tree (*Bauhinia malabarica*) is regarded by the jungle-folk of India as the favourite seat of their gollings who are far more terrible by reason of the fact that the latter are superstitiously believed to keep watch and ward exclusively over the people living in the vicinity of this tree, and, having their faculty of super-sensitiveness long engaged, are able to institute a far more searching enquiry into the conduct of every animal whom they dwell immediately around them. The pipal tree is believed to be inhabited by some one or other of the three gods of the Hindu Trinity—Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Maheshwara or Shiva the Destroyer—whose duty is supposed to be to exercise superintendence over the affairs of the whole universe. But the silk-cotton and other trees are believed to be the houses of the lesser gollings who are entrusted with the task of looking after the affairs of only a single district, or, perhaps, of a single village. The people of this district or village have their eyes always fixed upon these gollings; and every one of them is fully aware that he is, at any time, liable to be headed up before the tribunal of these their minor deities, and to be compelled to undergo the punishment voted out by the latter to himself or to his nearest and dearest kinsmen, if he has already told or is about to tell a lie, or if he has already given or is about to give false testimony.

In their own courts held under the pipal or the silk-cotton tree, the imagination of the aforementioned jungle-people very often did what their gollings, who were believed by them to preside over their mid courts, were generally supposed to do. If a witness told a falsehood, he believed that the gollag, who sat

on the lady throne above him and scrutinized the heart of every man, must have come to know of his misdoings. From that time forth, his guilty conscience pricked him every now and then; his sinful heart did not afford him any rest; and he vainly feared that the enraged godling would punish him for his wickedness. If any accident befell him or those nearest and dearest to him, it was looked upon in the light of a punishment inflicted upon him or his kinsmen by the offended godling. Even if no accident happened to him or to his relatives, his own guilty and troubled conscience was sure to bring about some other evil to himself.¹

On a consideration of the foregoing evidence, we venture to propose the theories (1) that the aborigines, namely, the Illinois, the Iroquois and the Huron of Chota Nigger, and the Iroquois of Seneca regard the image-own as the habitation of their evil godlings; (2) that these Iroquois, from their lady houses, witness and thereby sanctify the actual marriages of the aboriginal bridegrooms with their houses holden; and (3) that it is for these reasons that the first-named three aboriginal tribes of Chota Nigger perform the ceremony of the *U-NAWA* and the *Aw-NIWA* with the image-own.

¹ *Bureau's Families and Socialities of the Indian People*, Vol. II, pp. 111-112.

IX.—Is Mähli a Real Caste-name ?

By Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Bar. B.A.

A few months before the Census of 1911, I was sampling at Bāhe (Shams Besheta, Subdivision Kharai, District Handli) when one of the regular enumerators of the village came to me and sought my advice how to distinguish in the enumeration book between the two classes of Mähli which he said there were in that part of the district. I gave him the stereotyped answer, viz., that enumerators were not to be entered, and advised him to describe both classes of Mähli as "Mähli" simply in the enumeration book. The average enumerator would probably have been satisfied with this, but so was not my interrogation. He said that the two classes spoke two different languages, and that although they might be shown as belonging to the same tribe, it would certainly be incorrect to state that the two classes spoke the same language. This aroused my curiosity, and I enquired of the enumerator if he could take me to any place where I could see both classes of Mähli; he asked me to follow him to the next village, which I did. There he called a number of men and arranged them into two groups, one class calling themselves Ö; Mähli or Ema Mähli and basket-carriers by profession, the other class known as Pūare or Pūar Mähli, whose principal occupation, I was told, was oil-pressing. The Ö; Mähli told me that they were not the same tribe as the common Pūare, whose gibberish they could not understand; the Pūare similarly assured me that they could not follow the language of the Ö; who, they said, were no better than Doms and Pūris. I asked members of each class to speak in their own dialect and watched them speaking; and I found that, although evidently it was an exaggeration to say that the language of the Pūare was not intelligible to Ö;, and vice versa, it was pretty

clear that they spoke distinctly different dialects. The dialect of the Öy Madie contained a number of words which were common in Sambl but were not used in Mandari, while the Pitam Madie were speaking, so far as I could make out, in exactly the same dialect of Mandari as is used by Mandie in that part of the country. Thus:

| Öy Madie. | Pitam Madie. | English equivalent. |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| gung ling ling | gung ling ling | I am creeping softly. |
| gung ling ling ling ling | gung ling ling ling ling | I am going (to the field) to my paddy. |
| ling ling ling | ling ling ling | I do not know. |
| ling ling ling ling ling ling | ling ling ling ling ling ling | There are no relations of mine on the hills (as in the Sambl dialect). |
| ling ling ling ling ling ling | ling ling ling ling ling ling | How many children have you? |

In answer to my question where their houses (relatives by marriage) could be found, both Öy and Pitam named numerous villages in what is known as Pich Pargana (the five Parganas Bah, Thana, Bada, Sili and Barampur) and the adjoining Ghans of Muzaffar district; the Öy spoke also of houses in Jaska and Barampur Ghans, while the Pitam spoke of houses towards Ekprai. One of the villages mentioned by the Pitam was Takt in Ghans Kivai, a place that I had passed a few days before and where I had seen across a colony of Mandie who were, like the Pitam, oil-pressers by profession and who, I had been told, were known by the distinctive name of Kharhar Mandie. I hesitated a green, and asked them if they knew anything about the Kharhar Mandie of Takt, to which they at once replied that Kharhar of Takt were their houses and that Pitam and Kharhar were but different names used in different localities for one and the same caste. Kharhar

Mundis whom I subsequently came across in Benda and Khazil think acknowledged their identity with Patars (Bekhal Khanguhar, chachikhe of Labja is thini Benda, is, for instance, son-in-law of Tai Patar of Maipa is thini Tense; and Lala Pika, Kijaya Pika, Anra Pika of Takot are related to Thaker Patar and Gahan Patar of Nurti, thini Tense). I have been told that the name is known by still another name in Singbhorun district, viz. Tindirü; and that the men in thini Torpa and Benda who referred themselves as Mikhli-Mundis are also Khanguhar Mundis since Patar Mikhli. I had no occasion, however, to meet either Tansikhe or Mikhli-Mundis after I got the information, and I am not in a position, therefore, to search for its correctness.

West of Barahat town, is the area which alone is locally recognized as Nagpur proper and in Bawa (thini Chalingur and Bidnapur) and in Firo (thini Biadoga, Kothadoga and Karing) the term "Mikhli" stands for quite another class, known also as Gopis, who are neither hunter-warriors like the Ors nor village-guardians like the Patars. Gopis are ordinarily described as village watchmen and runners by profession or as drummers or as makers of *dehast* (wooden) or as fishermen; but probably their most important function is the social equivalent in Orma villages to the services required of them. Gopis in numerous connected with the births, marriages and deaths of Ormas. On the day that the newborn Orma child is to get his name—theoretically the sixth day after birth, but in reality the day on which the joys of postnatal sex for knowing after the child's birth are ready—the Gopit has to be called in to dress the child's head and to take a very important part in the *adhe pialad* (name-giving) ceremony. The Gopit is generally not as adept in shaving, and the shaving of the scalp is generally completed by a barber, or an Orma, but the first tuft of hair must be removed by the Gopit's hands. The shaving over, the Gopit takes a cup made of a leaf, or leaves, fills it with water, and, placing it on the ground, takes his seat before it with a small quantity of rice in his hands. Name for the

child are suggested by the parents or their relatives; and as each name is suggested, the Gopik drops two grains of rice into the water from two opposite sides of the cup and watches if the grains meet as they sink to the bottom. If the grains do not meet, the name must be given up and a fresh name has to be suggested and two more grains of rice dropped into the water. The process is repeated with another name and another pair of grains of rice, and so on, till the meeting of two grains of rice dropped at the same instant proclaims the particular name which the child is to bear in life.

At Orissa marriages it is the Gopik's wife whose services are required. The first thing to be done when the bridegroom returns to his home with his newly-wedded wife is the *innis-sindur* (oil and vermilion) ceremony. The Gopik's wife is called in, and she comes with a new *kalas* with which she parts the hair of the bridegroom and of the bride. She then besmears their heads and bodies with oil and then applies *sindur* (vermilion) to the heads of both. Although the *sindurdatta* by the Gopik woman had been preceded by another at the bride's place, when the bridegroom and bride applied *sindur* to each other's foreheads, this second *sindur-sindur* is an equally essential item of the marriage rites, and not till this is over can the newly-wedded pair visit the bridegroom's parents and other relatives in the bridegroom's village and obtain their blessings.

In connection with the Orissa's funeral ceremonies the Gopik's services are equally necessary. After the cremation is over, the Gopik must be fed and propitiated first before food can be served out to the assembled relatives or to the spirit of the dead man invited to return to his old home. And for this service the Gopik gets, besides a full meal, a new brass vessel (*s-chips*) and some money, and also, if the relatives of the deceased are well-to-do, a plate of cloth. Gopiks very often pride themselves as being for the Orissas what the Brahmins are to the Hindus caste, getting as they do, food and *dakshina* if the Orissas are to perform properly any of their social ceremonies. Orissas on the other hand assert that the Gopiks are *notra*

mercenaries who take upon themselves, in return for the present and every gift, the star of the demand; and in fact the Gopikā occupy a comparatively inferior position in the social scale.

In the tribal language of the Orona, Gopikā are known as Tāiyar or Tāri. No Gopikā would, however, call himself a Tāri, and among Sūltas (non-aboriginals and others who speak in Oronvāri Hindi) the expression Tāri* stands for quite a distinct class who are basket-weavers by profession. Now about Basohli and in the eastern thānds, the expression Tāri is rather loosely used by Sūltas indiscriminately for all basket-weaving castes; but most of these so-called Tāris are found on questioning to be really Dūras or Mīrāsas or Būra Māhās or Ghālas, and they all disclaim connection with Tāris. It is only farther to the west or to the south, in Guadā and Sirādgā subdivisions and in scattered villages in thānds Tapharī, Karā, Lāpang, Bero, Manjār, Bāyara, Kura and Lohīrādgā that one comes across a class who are not only known to others as Tāris but also describe themselves as Tāris. Some men of this class whom I met at Hādā in thānd Karā and some others whom I met at Morārdādgā, thānd Kūhārdādgā, Pārgatā Hira, said that in their own language they called themselves Hīr, which they said was also the Tāl equivalent for man. Tāris of the Lohīrādgā side do not, however, call themselves Hīr; and Rūdāra Tāri of Santiago, who is, in the parlance of the caste for Kōwāle Pārgatā, the driver, told me that the term Hīr is merely equivalent to the common noun man, and that the name by which Tāris describe themselves is Hīrā's. Tāris of Hādā, on the other hand, told me that Hīrā's means split bamboo and cannot possibly be a caste name. So that as it may, there is no doubt that the Tāris of Lohīrādgā side as well as those of Hādā and Karā and of Guadā and Hira form one endogamous group. Hīrā Tāri and Pārgatā Tāri whom I met at Hādā (thānd Karā); Tāris whom I met at Bero, a village

* Tāri = the Oron equivalent for Ghikā, is pronounced with the accent on the first syllable; the Sūltas would Tāl, and the word used by the basket-weaving Tāris themselves, but so much so.

very close to Kupa as the thirty-third wife of the Barchi-Lohndaga coal, and Kachhi Turi of Boriglon (near A'ruai) in Gorda think all spoke of relationship with Barchi Turi of Beytai (Hatai Mändai). The Barchi men spoke also of relatives in Teyya and Löpung thöts (at Teykua and Suvaglaya), the Barchi men spoke of relatives in Hatai Mändai, Deyo (villages Chama, Beytai, Makut, Kanjig, Tora, Jihio, Jacagüa) as well as in Gunglon and Bakhungar thöts (villages Baringa, Dewiki, Kaseu, Iala, Kiti), while the Boriglon men spoke of his relatives in pangtöts Pütsi (villages Baghant, Boriga, Kolakot, Dzagipai) and Bira (at Tanya near Shagat). Both near Kupa and Lohndaga and near Koshaga I found the Turi speaking of Örtent as "Jejo" and of Lohua as "Käjo's".

I have not come across any Turi of this class or heard of any of them living east of a line running from Chorea in thöts Mändai south-west to Shagat near thöts Kari and then south through Teyya, Kolakot and Bira thöts. West of this line Örtent are the predominating caste and Mändai are very few in number, except in thöts Kolakot, Barchi and Baw; but the language which the Turi speak resembles Mändai very closely. Thus, Barchi Turi and Pütsi Turi of Barchi in Hatai Kari, whom I met at their village vötsi, translated—

- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| "I am going" by | "Iag uuu'taailag" |
| "You are going" by | "Iag uuu'tind" |
| "He is going" by | "Iukö uuu'tind" |

and when I asked them how their language differed at all from Mändai, they could give me nothing more than that they would say "Kie uuu'tind" [He does not give] where Mändai will say "Kie uuu'tind"; and that Mändai will say "Käji" [word] while they would say "Käthä". [I may here mention that *uu* is the Barchi equivalent for Mändai *uu* "to give" and that *Käthä* is the Barchi equivalent for *Käji* in Mändai].

In the same area in which the Turi live is to be found another caste of basket-weavers, who call themselves Öya (the same name by which the Hatai Mändai of the Plain Flycatcher and of Juchä and Barchi sometimes describe themselves). These

Ös disdain all connection with the Turis, water touched by whom they would not drink. They call themselves Hades, their principal god being Tänglatih, and one of this caste, Itangpo Öy of Lohangdi near Silem, is reported to have employed a Buddhist priest on the occasion of his son's marriage. Örgyals (baskets of a particular shape and make) are the only things that they would make out of bamboo, and it is on this account, they say, that they are called Ös; Turis make *orgs* (winnowing fans), *wolests*, but not *örgyas*. These Ös have no knowledge of the Öy Mihlis or Bess Mihlis of the eastern part of the district; and they feel offended if they are called Mihlis, that term signifying Goshis in the area in which these western Ös are found.

Turis also disdain all connection with those Ös of the west and would not drink water which an Öy has touched. The only caste, they say, with whom they are in any way allied are the Kaled Turis, members of which caste could be found at Dhorri Nawdji near Chingpi (Hsiao Lohsifang) and Paletse near Sone (Hsiao Hsiao). The Gaur's Turis, in the real Turis call themselves when distinguishing from Bess Turis, take water from the latter; and Lempi Sone Turis of Bhamo added that it was also possible for a Gaur's Turis to have a wife from the Bess Turis caste, but only by the defective form of marriage. I saw the basket-weavers at Paletse near Sone; they said they had never heard of the name Bess Turis, and that they call themselves Bess Mihlis, not Dais. They had relations, they said, at Dhorri Nawdji near Chingpi, but most of their kinsmen were to be found eastwards, at Uesafu, at Kanchi, at Tadjilow and farther east. Chalo Mihli of Hsueh (Hsiao Hsiao) and Sone Mihli of Tadjilow, whom they mentioned as their relatives, said that they and these Patrins relatives of theirs were the same caste as the Bess Mihlis or Öy Mihlis of the east. Chalo knew of the basket-weaving Turis of Nagpur; Bess Mihlis could take water from these Nagpur Turis, and defective marriage between these Nagpur Turis and Bess Mihlis would be possible, though Chalo Mihli could not quote any actual instance where this had taken place.

The possibility of bellshin marriage between two groups which do not ordinarily intermarry one, I believe, is generally regarded as good evidence of those two groups having originally formed one caste; and I think it would not be unjustifiable to hold that the basket-weaving Tsis of Nagpur and the Bins Mähle or Öy Mähle of the eastern hills are merely subcastes of what originally formed one caste. It is also possible (although there is not much positive evidence in support of this) that the Öys of the west are yet another subcaste who have come under the influence of Hinduisms to a greater extent than the other subcastes. I would further hazard the suggestion that the name Öy is not derived from the term Öyyä, as the Öys supposed (the converse is probably true: the name Öyyä being derived from Öi), but that it is only a corruption of the expression Hie or han. Practically all the main groups of the Khavur race call themselves by the expression which in their special dialect stands for "man"; thus, the Misch call himself Hôr, the Santal calls himself Hôr, while the Laria Kol of Singbhum calls himself a Hô. In the language of the Tvis, Hôr stands for "man"; the very same word is used for "man" by each of the Bins Mähle of Thilakany, Lâpung (a village near Angur in which I lived) and some adjoining villages as have not yet forgotten their tribal language. Very probably the same word is used by those admitted relatives further to the east, in Bonda and Tamar, although I am not quite sure on this point.

The following are the names of Gahar (heterogeneous groups) that came to my notice among Tvis, Öy Mähle of the eastern Ghats, and the western Öys of Nagpur proper. Names of the villages concerned are also noted, where these could be ascertained:

| Tvis | Öy Mähle or Bins Mähle | Set of western Mähle |
|--|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| Set alhar (Hôr's) (a Set, also unknown). | Set (a Set, also a sub-caste). | Har's. |
| Ngirak (Ngir, also Ngirak). | Ngirak (the Ngir). | |

| Taris | Oy Mikhli or Bim Mikhli | Oy of various tribes. |
|--|---|-------------------------------------|
| Tay- | | The leg or paper. |
| Chakam. | Chief. | |
| Ita is Kishik (a leaf). | Kishik. | |
| Mikl. | Machl (the power). | Mik (the line behind of the Machl). |
| Tari (happily) after the matter had been settled some of the apples. | Tari (the big tree). | Kari or Tari (a wild animal). |
| Mik (a leaf, also a mixture of stone and wood). | Tari. Pul. | |
| Mikl (the mountain deer). | Machl (the deer, was much less than one used by Arabs as gazelle deer). | |

I could get only four *gavia* names of Gupka. These are Bugh (Bugh), Ind (a leaf, also a mountain), Kachik (Kachik) and Kujek. The first two names appear also among Taris and Oy; but I cannot say if this fact, or the fact that the name Mikl is shared in common by Gupka and by the Oy Mikhli or Bim Mikhli of the western district is sufficient to connect the Gupka with Taris, Oy and Bim Mikhli. Ind appears as a *gavia* name among Auri also; Kujek one is to be found among Gupka and Kachik among Haidi. Similarly, Kachik and Tiri appear as *gavia* names with Taris as well as with Orlens; and Haidi's and S'vans are to be found both among Taris and among Mikhli. Ind (wild cat) appears as a *gavia* name both among Orlens and among Mikhli; similarity of *gavia* names should not, therefore, be taken as any evidence of a common caste.

As for similarity of the name Mikhli, this is shared by the Patars who are admittedly the same caste as Khangar Mikhli, and then there are the Mikhli Machli as well; and I am inclined to think that the term Mikhli is not a real caste-name of all, but is merely a common name used by different castes.

just as the term *Mishli* is used indiscriminately by Koroia, Ahira, Koria and Bedote in Chota Nagpur and by Bikhari in Bihar. Mr. Strassfield held the opinion that *Mishli* were a degraded offshoot of the *Munda* but were now a caste by themselves, divided into the two sub-castes, *Pitar* and *Ora*; he also held that *Gorila* were *Dandia* who had merely taken a new name with their new complexion in Chota Nagpur and had taken to beef and pork (vide his letter No. 484-G, dated the 1st October 1901, respecting an certain caste in Ranchi, printed as Appendix VIII to the 1901 Census Report for Bengal). Apparently he did not know that *Gorila* also very often call themselves *Mishli*, for he would have found it very difficult to reconcile his theory of *Gorila* being *Dandia* with the other theory that all the various groups known by the name *Mishli* were allied to each other and were all of *Munda* stock. Mr. Strassfield knew of *Mishli-Munda* and *Khanghar Munda*, and had been told that these were identical with each other, but he does not appear to have been aware of the identity of either with the *Pitar Mishli*. That *MAT-Munda* alias *Khanghar Munda* alias *Pitar Mishli* alias *Tamaria* are degraded offshoot of the *Munda* caste has, to little doubt, but in all probability the *Ora Mishli* have not with the *Munda* a greater degree of kinship than have *Santal*, *Hat*, *Toria*, *Aura* or other main sections of the *Kharwa* group. As for *Gorila Mishli*, it has still to be ascertained whether they are of the *Kharwa* group at all.

At the census of 1901, the total number of persons returned as *Gorila* in the area now forming Bihar and Orissa was 7,088, of whom as many as 6,277 were from the district of Ranchi. It is not possible to say what was the total number of *Gorila* in the district or in the province in 1901, as the census tables for that year show only *castes* of which the provincial aggregate in 1901 had been 54,068 or over, of which had numbered over 25,000 in any single district. A request was made by the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi to have a special exception made in favour of *Gorila*, but this did not meet with success.

The Superintendent of Census Operations had also been requested to have a separate column in the caste table for Patra Mithia and Khunglur Mundia, and also to include in the same column figures for Tamiya as well, if further investigation in the Singhbhum district established the alleged identity between Patra and Tamiya. It is not known whether any further enquiries were undertaken to test the allegation about identity of Tamiya with Patra; but the Tables show only 8,668 Tamiya in the whole Province, of whom all but 118 were returned in Singhbhum and the Orissa and Chota Nagpur States. The number of Mithia in Ranchi shown in the 1911 Table is 22,611 and apparently includes as in 1901 (when only 13,543 Mithia were returned) Patra as well as Gyra and Bina Mithia. Khunglur Mundia were apparently again included, as in 1901, under Mundia, so that members of admittedly the same caste were shown, some as Mundia and others as Mithia; while, on the other hand, Patra Mithia and Gy Mithia, who regard each other as unorthodox almost, were mixed up under one common heading "Mithia".

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Ruins at Gholamara.

By ANANTAPRASAD SHASTRI, M. A.

About four miles to the south of Paraka is the district of Mirbhari is the village of Chanta.¹ Even at present it is a large village containing many well-to-do families—a few belonging to the higher classes, the majority being cultivators. It contains a girls' school and a boys' school. It boasts of many of a flourishing post, and many of the ruins that are still extant appear to be of some interest to students of Indian antiquities.

The most remarkable are two stone temples, about 40 feet high. The stone is of a dull white colour, rather rough and unpolished. The stone pieces are of a rectangular shape, about 2 feet long and 1 foot broad, and are laid upon one another with a very thin layer of cement between them. They show clear signs of decay. A rectangular opening in the front of the stone wall leads into the sanctum or *prabhavata* which, now full of rubbish, at one time contained the image. The top of the temple is adorned with a stone wheel or *chakra*, and evidently at first there were two of them. The *chakra* now, which we found lying at a distance, was at one time upon the larger one which is now now in its original position. For the general design of the top or *chakra*, I would refer the reader to the Kandarya Mahadeva temple at Khajuraho, Plate XCII, *Indian Architecture* by E. B. Havell. The stately outside, to some extent, is the sloping shape of the body. In fact, the complete absence of figure sculpture in the decorative treatment of the building is

¹ The village of Chanta and Gholamara was hit by the British Government in 1857, and the British Government of India and the British Government of India.

one of its striking features. The two temples at Cherra are of the same type though one of them has suffered more from the effects of time than the other. From a similarity of the possibilities noted by Mr. Hivell¹ we might regard them as instances of Hindu architecture of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

Just at the entrance to the village, on the bank of a pond, there is standing an image of a female deity surrounded by smaller ones. It is about 5 feet high, of a bluish stone and very smooth. I was informed by a local man that it was found imbedded in the mud under water and taken out and kept in its present position by people who were clearing the pond. The image is evidently the representation of the Hindu Goddess *Dashakṣa* with weapons in her several hands and accompanied by her retinue. The fine contour of the central figure and the bold lines of the minor ones are unmistakably the handiwork of a master craftsman. Other images, including those of *Jāna Vimuktaka* which we found scattered through the village, are also noticeable.

About a mile from Cherra we found an image which was called *Sipaseer* by the villagers. *Sipaseer* is a well-known name of *Siva*, but this name was possibly attributed long after the image. The image is still worshipped by the neighbouring village-people and the spot is held secret. If really a representation of *Siva*, it furnishes us with a different conception of the god than what is in vogue. It has ten hands, one holding something like an armour or shield and presumably the other hands also had different sorts of weapons in them. From the large number of stones lying about the image we think that there must have been a small temple there which had fallen down. The image is in a bad condition and extremely crude and primitive in its workmanship. Being of grey black stone, the different details lacking the grace of proportion, it betrays an inferior stone-carver's attempts at creating an object of art. Its author cannot have been very skilled, he may have floundered much

¹ E. H. Hivell, *India Discovered*, p. 126.

later than the artists who built the stone temples and the image at Chum.

Two miles to the north-west is Choleman. Here, on a somewhat elevated piece of land, surrounded by open tracts and inside a grove we found ruins. The site is picturesque, shady and retired.

The central image there is of black stone, very smooth and dark, about 2 feet high. It is fully finished, its two hands being broken off, but the remains suffice to impress upon one its majestic beauty. It gives us a really noble conception carried out with magnificent strength and breadth of modeling. All the different parts evince perfect proportion, the whole figure passes in the sculpture that intuition which, to quote Dr. Coomaraswamy, is "the vision of the artist and the imagination of the natural philosopher".¹ Calm, impassive, inflexible in every lineament, the inner-defining spirit pervading the whole physique, the sculptor who hewed out of a mass of insensate rock the vision of the god certainly knew that "beauty is inherent in spirit not in matter". The physique and countenance of this figure remind us of the splendid statue of Avalokitesvara from Banabhar in Java, about tenth century A.D.² The similarity is quite evident though there is a difference in posture.

The two small figures at the two sides of the central image are very neat. Only the heads are visible, the rest lying buried underground. The stone face of the child is visible in every feature however tiny. Both of them represent the god as contemplative—the clear, serene face of the sage, freed from all worldly passions and desires, in perfect communion with the Universal Soul. They corroborate Mr. L. Dwyer when he says that "the Indian ideal is the beauty of contemplation not of action".³ The head-formation of all the three is the same, matted hair in the shape of a heap on the top; the smaller two are clothed with an ascetic robe of which the very lines are depicted with vigour.

¹ Dr. A. E. Coomaraswamy, *Atlas of Indian Art*, p. 2.

² E. H. Reisch, *The Gods of Indian Art*, p. 16, Pl. II.

³ Lawrence Dwyer, *Painting in the Far East*, p. 11.

There are something like two pillars standing behind the central image. The whole place is filled with shafts of stone, big and small, and it is more than probable that a temple stood there on the shafts of the images. Besides these we found one head and an arm in all likelihood belonging to the same body, the other limbs of which (and possibly other figures too) are now lying under the heap of stones there.

The head is of the same blackish stone as that of the central figure, highly polished and glossy. It is about 1 meter in weight and covered with varnish which proves that the body with the head must have been an object of worship to the villagers and that not very long ago. But it is apparently a head of Buddha. The whole face is distinguished by an exquisite purity of contour.

At a distance of about 50 yards from the above-mentioned maha ruins there lies a lion-jewel's gemstone. It is imbedded in the ground in an oblique position and must originally have belonged to the principal heap but was probably carried off and left by posterior hands. The lion is of special interest. The fine curves of the mane and the face have suffered severely from the effects of time and the gemstone below with two slight hands holding a sword and other weapons has become almost indiscernible. The suggestive calm and forceful proportions together with the majestic posture of the lion are very impressive. The sculpture of this lion belongs to the class of the best at Nalanda (see Havell's *The Icons of Indian Art*, p. 138) and the elephants at Kosambi (see Havell's *The Icons of Indian Art*, plate XXIII). The lion is of the same black stone as the other figures. The sculptor who carved the fine features, the wavy mane, the magnificent chest and the life-like legs seems to have belonged to the school to which the other sculptures who created the above images belonged.

An inscription was found carved on a slab half-buried there. It is a very simple one and reads

Sri Bhagavati Ghatika

The letters are Nagari of the pre-Bengali type. They closely resemble those of the Durgam Prasthi of about

A.D. 1350-40¹ and of the land grant of Vaidyadeva A.D. 1142.² It gives us the name of the donor (Dingudi).

To come to an approximate date of the ruins. We get two definite landmarks: from the similarity with the Borobudur sculpture—eighth or ninth century A.D., and on the other hand the fourteenth century A.D., when Jaina sculpture began to be scarce, so much so that we read in Mr. Banerji's *History and Literature of Jainism* that about the fifteenth century A.D. the worship of images was forbidden by several Jaina religious teachers.³ So we arrive at the approximate period from the sixth century to the fourteenth century. The paleography of the short inscription also points to about the tenth century or a little later.

We might obtain many new pieces of evidence if the site were excavated and we have published this note with the hope of inducing people to undertake the task of searching these buried and forgotten remains, by which much interesting light might be thrown on an obscure page of the history of Madhyan. It would, moreover, be of interest to lovers of Indian Art to study these remains.

¹ George Bhatia, *Brahm Palaeography*, Pl. V, Col. XXIII.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. V, Col. XII.

³ C. P. Banerji, *History and Literature of Jainism*, p. 121.

II.—Identification of Three Monuments at Sarnāth.

By Hrudayan C. Bhattacharya, M.A.

A great diversity of opinion prevails among scholars with regard to three monuments discovered at Sarnāth. No finality of conclusion having been attained, they have only been content with a partial solution of the problem. A fresh discussion of the subject, as a whole, therefore, needs to be started which would possibly be of some service to future research.

At the outset the nature of the problem should be made clear after having explained what the three monuments just mentioned are. They may be taken to be: (1) The Ashoka Pillar, (2) Jagat Singh Stupa, and (3) the "Main Shrine". About these three we possess two ancient accounts of two different ages. One is Hsueh-tsiang's description of Sarnāth, another is the Mahāpala Inscription. In Hsueh-tsiang's travels these monuments are mentioned as intact, whereas the Mahāpala Inscription mentions repairs of their ruined condition. A complicated problem was likely to have arisen from the attempt to compare the newly discovered monuments with those described by Hsueh-tsiang. But now the last, no unknown law has been made to establish the equation between Hsueh-tsiang's account with the Mahāpala Inscription, not between these two and the topography of the newly discovered monuments. We shall presently attempt such an identification in the light of our up-to-date knowledge of the ruins at Sarnāth.

As the monuments seen by Hsueh-tsiang have come down to us, they certainly existed in the time when the Pāla reign was engaged in the repairs of the Sarnāth monastery in

general. Let us now understand the Chinese Pilgrim's account in so far as it concerns our discussion. He writes:—"To the north-east of the river Yawut, about 24 li or so, we come to the Staghodawa of Laya. Its precincts are divided into eight portions (sections) surrounded by a surrounding wall * * *. In the great enclosure is a *Fidra* about 200¹ feet high, above the roof is a golden-crowned figure of the *Amra* deity. The foundations of the building are of stone, and the stairs also, but the towers and niches are of brick. In the middle of the *Fidra* is a figure of Buddha made of (native copper) * *, he is represented as turning the wheel of the law. To the south-west of the *Fidra* is a stone steps built by Abha-rdja. Although the foundations have given way, there are still 108 feet or more of the wall remaining. In front of the building is a stone pillar about 700 feet high. The stone is altogether as bright as jade. It is gleaming, and speaks like light; * * * * *".

Next we may examine now how far the present remains can be identified with the monuments described in the above extract; we propose the following identifications:—

A.—"A *Vidra*, 200 ft. high"—the Main Shrine and its original foundations.

B.—"A stone steps"—the Jagat Singh steps (according to Sir John Marshall's conclusion).

C.—"A stone pillar"—the Abha Pillar.

Assuming the above equations to be true, the actual progress of the pilgrim round the sacred precincts might have been something like this:—Entering the site where the "Main Shrine" now stands and where the old stupa facing the east stood and contained an image of the "Divine One", the Chinese pilgrim would enter keeping the stupa on his right hand (*Pravalsigant*) and moving to the north he would

¹ See Dr. Drell's account of the Western Wall" (Popular Edition), Pl. VII., pp. 45, 46. Also Watson's "On Yung Chwang's Travels", Vol. II., p. 10; and the "Life of Hiuen-tsang", p. 96. The height of the *Vidra*, as given here, is 200 feet instead of 200 feet of other versions.

them come to "Jagat Singh Stupa" and moving round, keeping it also to the right, he would finally look on the Ashoka Pillar to the true north from where he stood and to the west of the "Main Stupa".

A.—Anybody examining the present main shrine carefully will come to the conclusion that its section is rather of a comparatively recent time and its original one was a much larger one as it can be inferred from the pavement extending towards the east, which was undoubtedly the direction of its main gate.¹ As to who built the room of the present main shrine (we shall discuss presently).

B.—Sir John Marshall, upon close examination of the structure, has ascribed the Jagat Singh Stupa to the Ashoka period.² Therefore, we may have no hesitation in asserting that that was the stupa which the Chinese pilgrim related to the south-west of the main building.

C.—The description left by Hsueh-tsung of the pillar having a "dazzling brightness" exactly fits in with the Ashoka pillar now standing, very under a shade, to the west of the Main Stupa. Sir John Marshall, however, questioned this identity. But nearly all his questions Dr. Vogel has tried to answer. We have Mr. V. A. Smith's opinion in his "Ashoka" accepting the same identity. We quote here the passage:—"Only two of the ten inscribed pillars known, namely, those at Benares and Sarnath, can be identified certainly with the monument noticed by Hsueh-tsung."³

Again, turning to the Mahipala inscriptions we note that many years after Hsueh-tsung's visit to Sarnath, an inscription was engraved in Mahipal's reign to the effect that some repairs have been made of the ruins of Sarnath (1018 A.D.).⁴ * * * *

¹ Hsueh-tsung speaks of *Śaśihīrasa* generally as being the "door opened towards the east." But in "Journal of the Western World" (Popular edition) p. 74.

² "Guide to the Bodhi Tree, Ruins of Kashi" by D. B. Soper, p. 8.

³ *India (Second Edition)*, p. 124.

⁴ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, p. 100; *J.A.A.S.* (S.S.), Vol. II, 1886, pp. 342-7; Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, 1897-8, pp. 480-4.

Much light, it may be shown, is thrown on the monuments under review by certain passages of this inscription.

The couplet, we quote below, is the most important part of the record :—

(a) " *Ten Dharmarājika Śākyap Dharmachakras parivartanam.* "

(b) " *Kṛtāntarān nīlā Pañcāntarā-Mahāntarā Śākyā Gaṇḍhā Kāṣṭhā.* "

Translation :— " They (Śākyap and Vāsudevap) repaired the Dharmarājika and the Dharmachakra (vāra ?) installing the monument, as well as the Gaṇḍhānt, made of stone, belonging to the eight great places. "

We shall attempt now to examine these monuments and establish their identity, as far as we can, in the light of Hemschlag's travels, and epigraphic finds.

Dharmarājika.—Dr. Vogel tried to identify the present "Dharmak Śūpa" with the "Dharmarājika" of the inscription. But since the publication of Dr. Vaid's true view that the word Dharmak was derived from Dharmakā rather than from Dharmarājika, Dr. Vogel has finally abandoned his identification. Archaeologists have, however, ascertained that the Dharmak Śūpa belongs to the Gupta period and not to the Ashkan period. The word Dharmarājika again was used to denote the Ashkan stupas generally.¹ It has already been pointed out that the Jagat Singh Śūpa was of the Ashkan age. It is inferable, therefore, that the word Dharmarājika refers to the original structure of the Jagat Singh's Śūpa. Moreover, we gather from the travels of Faldem that he saw a stupa where the *Pañcāntarāpīṭha* paid reverence to the Buddha and to the north of it was the famous site of "Turning the Wheel of the Law."² Judging from this, I am inclined to believe that the Dharmarājika or the Jagat Singh was raised by that stupa by Faldem.

¹ 34,000 Dharmarājika built by Śākyā Dharmapā, as stated by Dharmapāla (Jā. Gaudā and 266, p. 666) quoted by Foucher, *Les Gaṇḍhāras*, p. 454.

² The Itinerary of Faldem (translated by Jaldar) pp. 327-8.

Dharmachakra.—Its mention has been made in the Malipala inscription as *Śākyas Dharmachakras*. Dr. Vogel took the word *śākyas* to mean "complete". The late Dr. Venis seemed to have accepted his rendering evidently in the absence of a better one. This rendering, in my opinion, appears very doubtful and therefore desirous to be corrected. We must with an expression like *Śākyas Paṭa* meaning *Śākyas-Paṭa*. Likewise, we may take the expression *Śākyas Dharmachakra* to mean the present *Dharmachakra* together with its various appendages. The meaning of *Dharmachakra* remains now to be settled. From the fact that the Buddha at Sarnath turned "the Wheel of the Law" here originated in later times the *Dharma-chakra* symbol or the symbol of the Wheel, the *Dharmachakrasimbha*, and even the name *Dharmachakrasimbha* denoting the monastery of Sarnath.¹ In a wall, discovered in the course of excavations at Sarnath, is inscribed *दीर्घमण्डपं चैव चक्रं तत्पुनः स्मरति*;² It may consequently lead us to the conclusion that the whole monastery used to be called *Saddharmachakra* and a chapel within its precincts was known as *Mahāgarbhasthān* (Main Shrine). From all this we may deduce that the present monastery, as a whole, together with its appendages, has been meant by the expression *Śākyas Dharmachakras*. Mr. A. K. Mahtre, of the Varanasi Research Society, is of opinion that the *Dharmachakra* symbol, which formerly surrounded the lion capital of Ashoka and of which the fragments are now being preserved in the Sarnath Museum,³ is the exact object which is denoted by the foregoing expression in the Malipala inscription. The practice of adorning the lion capital of Ashoka with the *Dharma-chakra* symbol was not an uncommon feature in ancient days, and, as a matter of fact, we find the same thing on the Ashoka pillar at Sarnath. Therefore nothing can be said with certainty as to the object which was repaired—either the whole monastery or

¹ In the inscription of Kanakasthān we find that Sarnath has been called *Saddharmachakra* Thān, vide the present writer's "History of Sarnath", p. 128.

² Tagore's Annual Progress Report for 1915, p. 6.

³ Sir John Marshall's Annual Report, A. S., 1906-7, p. 95.

the Adoka pillar. It is not unlikely that the whole monastery was under repair along with the repair of the Dharma-ottjhi houses, as the monastery, the Gandha-Kaji and the Dharma-sijhi were all in a ruinous condition. The Pala brothers, it may rightly be supposed, undertook to repair all of them.

Adya-madhatthas-Sarita Gandhakaji.—DR. HILKEST, Vogel and Vonis have offered various interpretations to this expression. Of these, Dr. Vonis' is the latest. The late learned doctor, after having shown the impossibility of explaining the compound as the Gandha-Kaji erected at stone brought from eight great places, on the ground of Sanskrit grammar, has put forth the following careful interpretation: "Ekina is made of stone and in the shrine are, or to be, being, eight great places (positions)."¹ According to the rules of Sanskrit grammar, this compound can be no other than the *सप्तमष्टोद्विषमस्य*. Then, of course, the compound parts would be:—*सप्त सप्तमस्यस्य* (or *सप्त*) *द्विसप्त*.² We shall consider now whether this interpretation suits the topography of Sarath as well as the good or general other grounds. Remarks have been made from scholars that the explanation hitherto advanced of the expression is far from being satisfactory.³ To work at the Adoka, it appears that the word "*Sarita-Gandhakaji*" here, no doubt, refers to the Main Shrine existing to-day, the architectural characteristics of the twelfth century A.D. are traceable in the plan and the style of this building. The word Gandhakaji has, however, been discussed elsewhere. Again, the previously mentioned author and, bearing the legend *वीरगुरुवर्य मय्यावसुत* *मय्यावसुत*, furnishes us with the information that "in the Main Gandhakaji which was situated in the Sadhuanasabhas Vihar", etc. The age of this epigraph is much anterior to that of the Mahipala Inscription. Thus, we find that the relation which the

¹ *J.A.S.B.* (N.S.) Vol. II, No. 3, p. 141.

² Cf. *विश्वकोष*, *शब्दकोष* *शब्दकोष*.

³ Dr. HILKEST, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, in a letter to me expressed the same view—"The explanation, I am afraid, must always remain doubtful."

Dharmachakra Vihāra or the whole monastery here to the Gandhārī has been a matter of considerable antiquity. Round the chapel in which the Buddha died an extensive monastery may have gradually come into being. That chapel used to be called "Gandhārī" and the whole monastery passed by so many different names. Our attention may be turned again to Hsiao-tsang's account just for the sake of comparison. We shall find there that he also saw the whole monastery and a high building made of stone.¹ There was an image of Buddha therein represented in the *Nirvanasamvatsari*. In the traveler's account one thing appears to be specially striking and on which he seemed to have laid much stress, viz. "The Sanghikṣana was divided into eight portions (sections)."² I conjecture from this that those eight parts of the Sanghikṣana in course of time developed into eight great places or vihasas or monasteries which constituted the whole establishment. And very probably the Sanghikṣana having distinct divisions received the true designation of *śaṣṭi-mahāvihāra*. Curiously enough it is to note that six distinct monasteries have already been entered by modern exploration. I was also informed by a Superintendent of the Indian Archaeological Department that probable sites of more vihasas still lay hidden on the east of the sanghikṣana. No exploration has, for some reason, been carried on in that direction. We may nevertheless arrive at these conclusive points that *śaṣṭi-mahāvihāra* was the name given to the whole Sanghikṣana and *śaṣṭi-paṇḍitakṣa* was the name which signified an old stone building situated probably in the middle of the Sanghikṣana and therefore called at one time *śaṣṭi*, meaning "central" or "original", from the fact that the Buddha had set up his first residence there, and at another time "*śaṣṭi*" as it was chiefly built of stone.

¹ The Buddhist literature informs us that the room where the Buddha died was usually well frequented by having some vihasas and that it received the name of Gandhārī. The vihas, again, is *śaṣṭi* and has been modified into Gandhārī and came to be used in a similar sense in Tibetan. See—"T'ang-Sung-Shi-Ching" by S. C. Das, A.R., p. 77.

² Cf. Walter's record, "The *śaṣṭi-mahāvihāra*, however, was in eight divisions divided into six walls." Walter's, Vol. II, p. 15.

III.—Raja Indradyumna.

By J. N. Samaddar, B.A.

In one of my peregrinations I found an Oriya priest making some excavations on a small ridge in the village of Jagannagar near Lakkhmal in the Manghyr District. The presence of an Oriya priest at that place naturally excited my curiosity and on enquiry I came to know from him that he believed to have had received a mandate *ସ୍ୱପ୍ନ* while asleep from the god Jagannatha to build a temple there and so he had come all the way from his native district, Puri, to carry out the command, which he proposed to do by digging.

On my return to the Dik Bhagalpur, on further enquiry I came to know that there is a tradition in that part of the country that close to the top of the northern ridge in that village, one king named Indradyumna had his treasure which was sealed with a magic seal and that a number of fruitless attempts had been made in the past to discover this treasure. It was said that the Oriya priest had come there as Jagannatha had revealed to him the place of the treasure on condition that he would build a temple there, rivaling the temple at Puri. My curiosity being intensified, I went to the ridge the next day, and as fortunately the priest was then absent I was able to take a more minute observation of the excavation (?) which was going on and found that underneath the grass some pavement was indeed discernible and portions of the grass having been removed in some places, the pavement was clear.

Mr. V. A. Smith in his History referring to the Pala king observes that "According to tradition, the ruler of Magadha at the time of the Muhammadan conquest in a.d. 1197 was Indradyumna Pala. Forts attributed to him are still pointed out in the Manghyr District." (History, p. 461.) The Archaeological

Survey Reports also mention "the last king Indradhama or Indradharm who held out the fort of Jaynagar on the Kipur river against the Mohammedans" (A.R. Vol. III, 184) and "Jaynagar is said to have been the stronghold of the last Hindu Prince of Magadha named Indradhama or Indradharm. He was defeated by the Mahomedan Musalman Naw. There is a small village called Jaynagar, but the name belongs properly to the strong military position on the south, to which Indradharm is said to have retired after his defeat by the Mohammedans." (A.R. Vol. III, 189).

This King Indradharm to whom is attributed "*Atterapada palar*" (seventy-two tanks), has also his traditions in the neighbouring village of Urea which is also said to be one of his forts, while another of his forts is located at Indrapur, a few miles from Gidhaur. Close to the ridge mentioned in the beginning of my note are to be seen villages and ramparts and several mounds which appear to have been extensive works, evidently to protect the dip.

But the most interesting legend relating to the King is what has been mentioned by Buchanan Hamilton, as quoted by Martin in Vol. II of *Eastern India*, who says "the last Hindu prince of consequence, of whom I find any trace was a Raja Indradharm, who has left considerable traces in the western part of the district and it is said in the adjacent parts of Bihar, over both of which he is said to have been King, after the Mohammedans had obtained possession of Delhi. Finding himself unable to contend with these victorious invaders, Indradharm retired with his army and family to Jaganath. It is universally agreed that the temple there was founded by a prince of this name.....Whether or not Indradharm was a person of the family of the Pala rajas or a person who on their fall had retired on Magadha, I cannot ascertain, but I think that the former is most probable.....I suspect that Indradharm was the ancestor of Pradyaksa who retired to the united dominions of Andhra and having collected the

powerful remnants of an evergreen sapling may have actually founded Jagannath." (Vol. II, pp. 23, 24.)

The traditional founder of the Jagannath temple is named *Jalandharyama* whom Wilson regards as one of the Kings of Ilhaia, while *Paraschottama-Maharajya* makes him a prince of the Bhoja dynasty who reigned at Anant in the country of Malwa. But tradition apart, history points that the temple at Jagannath was finished in 1198 (Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 334) and Hauser also in his *Orissa* (Vol. I, p. 162) assigns the same date and names the second Indrajyotima as the re-builder of the temple in 1198 (Vol. I, p. 23). Stieling, another of the Orissa historians, also places the date of the temple in 1198, while Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra who differs from Hauser as to the founder, practically accepts the same date. If, therefore, the temple was built or re-built in 1198 as some accurate attribute the authorship to Indrajyotima, it is quite possible that Buchanan-Hamilton's tradition and theory may be correct and that the last King of the Pala line after his defeat at the hands of the Mohammedans may have fled to Orissa which was at that time immune from the attacks of the Mohammedans, and there built the temple.

If therefore the Orissa prince from Puri can really find out the reputed treasure and build a temple at Jagannath, it might be Orissa's paying back to Bihar the debt which she owes to her companion. As to whether he would be permitted to do so or, of course, more than what I can say, let the Archaeological Department may notice the fact of digging by the Orissa Bakhshi, and collect the soil pieces (see and second Jagannath) which clearly show the former existence of a powerful Ilhaia palace in the locality. [Probably the ancient name of Jagannath was Jagannath which appears in an inscription of the twelfth century A.D. from Darbhanga, to be published shortly in this Journal.—

K. P. J.]

IV.—Copper-plates in Bhuvaneswara Temples.

By R. P. JAYASWAL

Last October when I was in Orissa I heard from the priests at Bhuvaneswara that there is a copper-plate deposited at the top of the Linga Raja temple, and that it is well known to the maza whose hereditary business is to get up to the top by the help of the hanging iron-chain and set up the temple flag. Everybody at Bhuvaneswara speaks to the existence of the alleged copper-plate which is believed to have been deposited in the hole under the *Amalika* by the original builder of the temple.

Amongst the papers of the Society I found an extract sent by the Hon'ble Mr. LaMotte in 1817 from Orissa which bears on the subject and runs as follows :—

A correspondent of the *Asiatic Researches* (the Jan. 1818 January, 1817) is a English article headed "Orissa Temples and Copper-plate Inscriptions" writes among other things in the following effect :—

"The construction of the top of a temple within the fighting point, is usually known at the *Bahamandala*. It is performed with much ceremony, young and healthy. Then the structure is kind with gold, precious stones, gold, silver and other ornaments. To them also used to be added an hundred copper-plates, giving the names and ancestry of the builder and architect with date and other necessary information. At present this seems to have been invariably the practice at almost one hundred years back. Such copper-plates have been found in this position at the reconstruction of several old temples. As if the structure has been built lately it is an old temple, it is very to contain the copper-plate with the necessary information is equal to be contradicted. These relations in which properly collected work, I think, furnish much valuable historical information and not at all the existing difference of opinion is equal to avoid. Hence temples of ancient Orissa. I think the buildings would not at all be damaged or profaned by the process of removing records which will be lost to us in course of time."

The Temple Committee of Bhuvaneswara have it in their power to render a service to history by taking out the copper-plates from the Linga-Raja for a short time and getting it deciphered. It will not only settle the question of the authorship (yet

unknown) of that great architecture, but will shed light on the post-Gupta period of the history of Orissa. The object in depositing the copper-plate was to tell the people the history of the temple and its builder when that history is forgotten, and the Temple Committee will be fulfilling that pious object by bringing the record to light.



V.—*Kālījñī*, the Goddess of the Chilka Lake.

By *Rai Bahadur Moonmohan Roy.*

A rocky island in the Chilka Lake about eight miles south-west of Balugaon contains a temple of the goddess *Kālījñī*, who is regarded as the tutelary deity of the lake and whose worship is much in vogue among all classes of the people in the neighbourhood. The local boatmen and fishermen, both *Yāgu* and *Orīs*, are regarded as under her especial protection and are amongst her most ardent votaries. The goddess is believed to exercise enormous powers, such as raising or killing storms in order to sink or save boats containing people who have offended or propitiated her, as the case may be.

The *Raja* of *Parikud* and *Khalkhat* both claim that the first temple was constructed by their ancestors, but the present temple, on the site of an earlier temple which had fallen into ruin, owes its construction to the present *Raja* of *Parikud*. From her name it is clear that the goddess is now identified with *Kālī*. The image, however, is merely an irregular block of stone with a maximum height of 4 feet and a breadth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The stone is smeared over with a mixture of oil and vermillion, which makes a sticky paste on which are plastered large numbers of tangles of glass or silver with a pipe in the middle of each. These tangles are slowly affixed to the stone.

No priest is attached to the temple, and the votaries who frequent it conduct their own worship, unless a *Brahman* happens to be present, in which case he is asked to officiate. It is impossible for worshippers to go very frequently to the island, and even the *Raja* of *Parikud* goes thither only three or four times a year. The daily worship of the goddess is thus performed before a representative or substitute, namely a block of stone on an embankment of the lake close to the *Raja*

of Fuchow's residence. This practice of worshipping a substitute is widespread in China. Thus the god Jagannath of Puri is represented by the minor god Madan Mohan on the occasion of the Chandan Jatra which is performed in the Narasimha tank; and in Bhuvaneshwar the principal god, Lingaraj, whose image is a phallic symbol, which is not capable of being moved, is represented by Chanda Sekhar on the occasion of the Aachutana festival. People wishing for a horse, such as the birth of a son, or recovery from disease, make votive offerings of sheep, goats and fowls. These animals are not sacrificed, but are reserved on the island. As the herbage dries up during the hot weather and the water in the lake at that season is undrinkable, the fate of these unfortunate animals can be better imagined than described. This inhuman practice has recently come to notice, and in consultation with the Hoja of Fuchow and the Mohants and Boniks of Puri, it has been arranged to remove the animals at frequent intervals to the main herd, and let them loose there after affixing to them some distinguishing mark to indicate the fact of their dedication.

VI.—A Seal of King Bhaskaravarman of Pragjyotisa found at Nālanda.

By B. D. Basu, M.A.

In the Annual Report for the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, Mr. K. N. Dikshī, M.A., Officiating Superintendent of that Circle, describes some of the most important finds discovered by Dr. D. B. Spooner at Nālanda. Dr. Spooner has brought to light seals of three different dynasties :—

- (1) The Vāla Dynasty of Thanesar,
- (2) The Maithili Dynasty of the Middle Country,
- (3) The Dynasty of Pāpavarman of Assam,
- (4) An unknown dynasty of kings.

It would not have been necessary for me to write this short note if Mr. Dikshī had succeeded in identifying the seal of the third dynasty of kings mentioned above. The seal described by Mr. Dikshī on page 48 of the Annual Report is undoubtedly the most important of the 475 seals discovered by Dr. Spooner at Nālanda. This seal is one of Bhaskaravarman, king of Pragjyotisa who was a contemporary and ally of Harshavardhana. Before the discovery of the Nidhanpur grant of Bhaskaravarman, this prince was known to us from the mention made by Hiuen Tsiang in the Hsuan Tsang's History. Dr. Spooner's Nālanda find is the second record of Bhaskaravarman and of the dynasty of Pāpavarman that has come to light as yet. In his description of this seal Mr. Dikshī states "Another fragmentary seal introduces us to a hitherto unknown genealogy, with names ending in *varman*". Further on he states "the names Nistyanavarman, Chakravartinvarman, Svarathakharavarman and Pushkavarman, as also Yajñavall and Mayasiddhi are not known so far as belong to any North Indian dynasty of the late Gupta period".

If Mr. Dikshit had looked into the *Epigraphia Indica*, I am sure he would have been able to correct his readings and to identify the royal personages mentioned in this record. On page 69 of the twelfth volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Professor Palamathi Bhattacharya has given a complete genealogy of the dynasty of Nagasarmas from the founder to Bhaktsvarnana. A reference to this would have shown that the dynasty is not a new one and the names Nityasvarnana, Candrasiddhasvarna, Tadjara¹, Nityasiddha and Nityasiddhasvarna are not altogether unknown. With the aid of the Nidharpur grant I am able to restore the inscription on the Nalanda seal to some extent:—

1. [Gacapati] ramaś śi[?] Tadjaraśya[ra] Śi [Mahasvarnana].

2. [Śi-Sarna]yapita Śi-Nityasvarnana. [Śi Devaratyaś Śi-Mahāsiddhasvarna].

3. [Śi-Vijāna] vaitpita Śi Candrasiddhasvarna Śi-Bha[garatyaś].

4. [Śi-Siddha] ramaś tana Śi-Nityasiddhasvarna [Śi-Siddhasvarna].

5. [Śi-Siddhasvarna] Śi-Siddhasvarna.

6. [Vara Śi-Siddhasvarna].

Mr. Dikshit is certainly wrong in reading *Śi-Ka* instead of *Śi-Bha* in l. 5 and in restoring *Tadjara* instead of *Bhaktara* in l. 6. I am not sure of his reading *lohasvarna* in l. 5 but as I have not seen the original I cannot offer any suggestion. It ought to be *Śi-Siddhasvarna* according to the Nidharpur grant. The name of the author of *Siddhasvarnana* is *Nityasiddha* according to the Nidharpur grant but according to the Nalanda seal it is *Nityasiddha*. We have a similar abbreviation of a proper name in early Gupta genealogies. The name of the queen of Candragupta II and the mother of Kumaragupta I is *Dharmadevi* in inscriptions but her full name was *Dharmadevi* as found by Hach in one of his *Inscriptions*.

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1909-10*, p. 367, pl. 110.

In conclusion I venture to suggest that it would be highly convenient for Indian Epigraphists and students if important records like this are reproduced in the Annual Reports in which they are described.



VII.—Ferry Tolls in an Orissan Copper-plate.

A copper-plate measuring 10½" x 8" and provided with a ring by means of which it could be suspended was recently found at Maskipatan in the Puri District. It contains in Odia the under-mentioned table of rates, but there is nothing to show the date when it was prepared. As the rates would be high even now, it probably refers to some old ferry across the Chilka Lake. This plate has been presented to the Puri Museum by Rai Bahadur Sahib Choud, Superintendent of Police.

TABLE OF RATES.

| | Rs. a. p. | | |
|--|-----------|---|--------|
| For each person | — | — | 0 2 0 |
| For each palanquin with eight horses, one horse and one trunk-beam | — | — | 0 4 0 |
| One bullock-man with load | — | — | 2 1 0 |
| One oxen horse with rider | — | — | 0 0 0 |
| If the horse walks through water, (and) rides on the boat | — | — | 0 0 0 |
| For each elephant with load | — | — | 1 0 0 |
| For each camel with the rider | — | — | 2 20 0 |
| If horse walks through water, the rider and effort | — | — | 0 4 0 |
| If the elephant walks through water, the standards being: | | | |
| One load | — | — | 0 1 0 |
| For each sheep and goat | — | — | 0 1 0 |
| Bullock cart with bullocks | — | — | 2 2 0 |
| English and one with load | — | — | 2 2 0 |
| " " " without load | — | — | 0 1 0 |
| For a load of earth | — | — | 0 1 0 |

JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. VI

PART III

LEADING ARTICLES

I—Contributions of Bengal to Hindu
Civilisation.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprosad Shastri,
M.A., C.S.

The First Contribution.

Variety and Treatment of Elephants.

When the Vedic Aryans came to India, they did not know the elephant, for this animal is not found in the north-western parts of the country. In the *Rig-Veda*, which constitutes the most ancient literary record of the Aryans, the word "Hastin" occurs in two places only, in those of which *Śrīdhara* translates it to mean "बहुतुलना वा निभं बहुलं वा अश्वधीर" "pride with hoofs." According to the same authority the word as used in the remaining two places means a big grandiose animal, perhaps an elephant deer.

(1) अश्विनी मन्त्रिचक्राक्षी

विष्णो न सावनी राहुपुत्रः ।

अस्य सः अश्विनः सावनी वरा

प्राप्नुवीत, अश्विनोत्तमः ॥

(1) मरु उवासे गर्वं वपती
 त्रि तपो वीर्यवता वाः ।
 मनीष शक्ती लीनोऽवराधः
 विंदो न शीमः आमुषमि विदुः ॥

(1) O Maruta, you are great and learned. Your hymn is wonderful. You are self-sufficient like the mountains. You cut up the forests like the "Hasta" animals. Lead your strength to the very quarters of the globe.

(2) O Indra, when you appear with your splendour before the Sun, instead of being dimmed, it increases in brilliance. You become as fireless as a lion when you are armed, even as the "Hasta" quells the power of others.

In these two places "Hasta" has been likened to, or has been supposed to be, a species of deer. This is significant. It shows that the Aryans at the time of the composition of these verses came into contact with the animal for the first time and thought that it belonged to the deer species. In the Udisti island in Polynesia the natives know swine only. When therefore Europeans brought into the country horses, dogs, sheep and other animals, they gave all these animals the appellation of swine, horses being called *uigigig* swine, dogs *huhig* swine, sheep *huhig* swine, and so on. Similarly the Vedic Aryans knew the deer, for they were skilled in hunting. When therefore they came to India and saw the elephant for the first time, they did not hesitate to call it the deer with a trunk.

The elephant is a native of Bengal, Burma, Borneo, Sumatra and other islands. It can be found up to Delhi. Due to Western India and in Mysore and Coimbatore in Southern Africa also abounds with elephants, but the African breed is small in size. From these facts it is practically certain that the Vedic Aryans knew little of elephants.

I have said that "Hasta" occurs twice in the *Ug-Veda* in the sense of an elephant. Even in these places it is to be doubted whether this is the real signification of the word. If instead of "deer with a hand", the animal had been described

as "trunked deer" all doubt would have been removed. This doubt is further strengthened by the fact that in Sanskrit there are many synonyms for "Hastin" such as "Mūṣṭaga", "Kasta", "Gaṇa", "Driṣṭa", etc.; but none of these words are to be found in the Ṛg-Veda, in which even the word "Aśvina" finds no place. When the Vedic Rsis knew not elephants that were black, how could they be expected to be familiar with those which were white?

But whether there is mention of elephants in the Ṛg-Veda or not, they are mentioned in the Taittirya Saṁhitā. When testing of Ārunasmita, the question arose as to what particular animal should be sacrificed before a particular god and it was decided that the first eleven gods should receive the sacrifice of wild animals. According to some, the sacrifice of offspring of these animals is sufficient. According to others, wild animals in flesh and blood and not their offspring should be sacrificed. The names of the eleven gods and of the animals which should be sacrificed before them are as follows:—

King Indra should receive the sacrifice of the hog, and King Varuṇa, that of the antelope (वृषभ). The King Yama was to be propitiated with the वृषभ and the God Upāśa with viṣṭa. The Rṣi, the king of the forest, is to receive the white deer श्वेत वृषभ, while the king of men the monkey. The Rājāśvaś should be sacrificed before the king of vultures, or the king of birds, and Nāga, the king of serpents, should receive the sacrifice of a snake (शृङ्ग). Śama, the king of frogs, should be given a frog (गुग्गु), while Śiṣṭaśvaś is to receive the peacock (पद्म), and Himavā the elephant.

In the Ṛg-Veda there is no god bearing the name Himavā. The name Himavāta comes once in the tenth Maṇḍala meaning the mountains covered with ice. Himavā was afterwards raised to the dignity of a god, and the sacrifice of the elephant with which the Aryans became subsequently familiar enjoined in his honour. From these two facts it is evident that at the time, when the Taittirya Saṁhitā was composed, the Aryans had made considerable progress in the country.

The *Vaish Navisa* gives an explanation as to how *Himavata* who was not formerly a god became one afterwards. In this *Faung Pradjapati* says:—"I have crossed the Himalaya for the production of *Sundata* and other herbs necessary for the performance of sacrifices." This led *Kalidasa* to say "*avap-
dharavayava* was", which means that divinity was subsequently conferred by *Pradjapati* upon *Himavata* and that the latter's portion in *yajnas* was also allotted in a subsequent age.

By the sixth century B.C. the taming and domesticating of elephants became widely prevalent. Lord *Buddha* had an elephant; his brother *Devadatta* had also one. *Buddha* was day after day trying his strength with an elephant, and at last he broke the trunk and threw it at some distance. The spot where the trunk fell was turned into a well. The King *Udayana* had a large elephant, called "*Madagiri*." Both he and *Cassapa Pradyota* had large elephant-stables. They also had elaborate arrangements for separating wild elephants.

The capturing and taming of wild elephants, the taming of these animals for war, their treatment, etc.—where did all these useful arts originate? This question admits of one answer only. It is Bengal that first subdued and tamed these large beasts. The country which is bounded on the one side by the Himalaya and on two other sides by the *Arakanyas* and the Sea gave birth to what is called the "*Hastivajra*," or the science about elephants. It was here that a great man flourished, who from his childhood associated with elephants, working, walking, lying and resting with these beasts, nursing and tending them during their illness, serving them in every possible way, and, in a word, transforming himself into an elephant. He was, in turn, loved, served and fed by these animals and treated by them when he was ill.

The name of *Lampaka*, King of *Anga*, is familiar to the people of Bengal. He adopted *Sita*, the daughter of King *Dakshina*. On one occasion he took a fancy to elephants and said, "As India is famous since an elephant, so I will have an elephant to ride." But there was one difficulty. He did not

know how to subdue the beast, and for this reason looked all the Hya to give him advice. The latter, after much deliberation, sent emissaries to all parts of the country in quest of a herd of elephants. These were arrived at a big stream which is stated to be "under the protection of the King of mountains and where the Lushaya flows towards the sea." There they found a large number of elephants and with them a Masi. They were satisfied that the Masi was the protector of the herd. On coming back to their own country they reported to the King all they had seen. Then the King with his army arrived at the stream. But he did not meet with the Masi who had gone to a distant place on a mission for the benefit of elephants. The herd which was there was driven by the King to his own capital Comptanagur. Here, at the suggestion of the Hya, a stable was built in which the beasts were put, and they were supplied with food. The Masi, when he returned to his abode, found that his elephants were all gone. He wept bitterly and, after having instituted a vigorous search which lasted for many days, came to Comptanagur where he found his animals in a stable. They had sores all over the body, and looked like skeletons, being afflicted with various diseases. He immediately brought a few leaves, roots of plants and other herbs, ground them into shavings and applied them to the affected parts of the bodies. The latter were grateful for the kindness shown to them and served him in many ways. Both he and they were very glad to see each other after a long interval. The King heard this and, being desirous to know who he was, sent his sons to him; but he did not speak a word. The Hya came next; he did not respond. The King then himself came, but still he maintained his silence. On being persistently entreated, however, he gave the following account of himself:—

"In the country which borders on the Himalaya and through which the Lushaya flows towards the sea, there lived a Masi. He was my father, my mother being a Karan or che-elaphant. I lived and grew with elephants. They are my friends, relatives and companions. My name is Pishigya. I take care of

elephants and nourish and cherish them, hence my name is Pila, and the suffix Kappa denotes the gotra or family in which I was born. I am an expert in the treatment of elephants."

The king on hearing this asked him many questions about elephants, and he in reply explained to him the veterinary science relating to these animals. This science is called "Hastiyogveda" or "Pilahappa." This treatise is written in the form of ancient stanzas in prose and verse but the latter predominate. Modern stanzas consist of sentences formed by suffixes only. They have no verbs. The ancient stanzas however abounded with verbs and each chapter begins with the promise "बुद्धिमान्," "We will explain." The only difference between the Pilahappa and the earliest stanzas available is the fact that in the former the stanzas are written in the form of a dialogue between the King and the Minister. Bharata-Narada-Sutra, too, has been written in the form of a dialogue. There is no other ancient work which is written in this form. It appears that there was an ancient stanzas work in prose, but that it was in a subsequent age transformed into the form of a Purana, its dialogues and in verse, the ancient prose being interwoven in it as in the Bharata-Narada-Sutra.

Now, the Hari says "Tunga-hara is the Kappa gotra." It appears however that the "Gotra-parvam-silarsaka-bhaskarabham" collected by Chandraśekhara Bha, A.D., which contains towards the end the names of about 4,500 gotras, does not mention the Kappa gotra. From this it is evident that it is not one of the gotras prevalent among the Aryans. The question arises, therefore, how could this Pilahappa belong to the Kappa gotra and how could he be regarded as a Brahmana? It may be said by way of explanation that as the Atharvaveda, Baudhayan and other stanzas do not mention the name of Kappa as one of the Manu who founded a gotra, it is to be supposed that Pilahappa did not belong to any of the gotras recognized by the Aryans. The Kappa gotra seems to have been prevalent only in Bengal. Pilahappa was an inhabitant of Bengal. He was born and educated in a country watered by the Indus, or the

Endropatra, between the Himalaya and the Sea. Although, therefore, his treatise was written and published in Champougura, the capital of Anga, he himself was a Bengali. From a consideration of these facts we are driven to the conclusion that it was in Bengal that such a huge beast as the elephant was first tamed, domesticated and utilized in the service of man and that it was here that the mode of its treatment was discovered. A close study of *Pālakṛya* will warrant the supposition that it is a translation from some other language and that it does not always follow the rules of Sanskrit Grammar. The antiquity of the work it is not now possible to ascertain. Kāśhika called an ancient *Sūtra*. In the sixth canto of *Baṅgavansā*, Śaśanka alluding to the *Hiṅg of Aṅga* says, "we learn from an ancient tradition that the *Satishkara* themselves train the elephants of the king; hence it is that he enjoys as much the prosperity of India."

In Kāśhika's *Artha-Samudāhara* is a chapter headed "Hastiputra", in which we find mention of elephant physicians. Kāśhika says that if an elephant while going from one place to another is suddenly taken ill or disabled or if wounds flow from his temples, it is the duty of the physician to treat it. From this the inference is irresistible that the science of the treatment of elephants had been in existence before Kāśhika's time. The form in which the *sūtras* in the *Pālakṛya* are written also shows the antiquity of the work. Its *sūtras* were composed in a form identical with what Max Müller calls the *sūtra* period. According to Böcher the *sūtras* of Vāśīṣṭha and Gāṇḍhara were anterior to those composed by Āpānaka and Baudhāyana in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. *Pālakṛya* seems to belong to this age.

Indian science for the *sūtra* period, at an earlier age still. It is however unnecessary to enter into a discussion on this subject. It is sufficient to observe here that if in the fifth or sixth century B.C. Bengal was so far advanced in the science of the treatment of elephants, it reflects an equal credit on our country.

The Sacred Contributions.

Variety of Religious opinions.

I have listed in many places that Jainism, Buddhism, Ajivikism and all the religions which received from the Buddhists the appellation of "Tirthashilas" or the Religious Systems, were founded upon the customs, usages, customs and religious opinions prevalent in ancient times in Bengal and Magadha and among the people known as the Cherts. There are many reasons for supposing that this is so. All these religions had their origin in Eastern India, in Bengal and Magadha and among the Cherts, that is beyond the limits of the countries with which the Aryans were directly connected. All of them breathe the doctrine of indifference. The religion of the Vedic Aryans is a religion positively of the householders. The Hindu-Veda does not teach indifference. The other Veda mostly deal with religion and ceremonies which also constitute the religion of the householders. The Sâtras also teach of the same religion, not chapters of them being specially called "Grîha-Sâtras." The Sâtras divide the life of a Brahmana into four stages, the last being that of a Bhiksha. But even upon the Bhiksha indifference is not specially enjoined. All that is said is that the Bhiksha should be by begging. But the religions of which I am now speaking have been such as all unambiguously in teaching indifference. They all teach the duty of leaving home, which is full of misery, and seeking a mode of life that shall free mankind from the bondage of birth, old age and death. In achieving this goal, one has to engage in the contemplation of "Who I am, whence I come, and why I come." Somewhat that was rank of this contemplation, the soul exists, but it becomes *SHUNY* (empty and unconnected), and is divorced from the world, arriving at a stage beyond the reach of birth, old age and death. Others say that it lives at this stage its self-consciousness [*MAHATMA*] and becomes universal. It then pervades equally in all beings and becomes the seat of agonies and sorrows. These doctrines are not to be found in the Veda, nor in the Bhishag-sûtra nor in the Sâtras. They appear to be

Dharma and Yoga systems and are the products of profound thinking.

Even on a superficial comparison of these religions with the customs and the religious practices of the Aryans, we find there is no harmony between them. The Aryans require personal cleanliness and bath or washing clean clothes and taking daily baths. The Jains think we should remain naked, and must neither bathe nor rub dirt or filth out of the body. Mahatras have what was called the burden of filth. Many Jain ascetics were proud to assume the title *Mahadhatra* in or the burden of filth. The Aryans put on a head-dress and wore slippers and the sacred thread. The Jains were bareheaded, well-laundered, and wrapped with a single cloth and shawl. The Aryans always shaved, but the followers of these religions neither shaved, nor cut their hair, nor pared their nails. The Aryans, when they cut the hair, kept a tuft in the middle of the head. The Buddhists kept on such tuft, but made a clean cut. The Aryans ate twice, once in the day and once in the night. The Buddhists ate before twelve o'clock, and fasting to-day on any particular day, they had to remain without food till the next day. In the night they could not take any food except milk or soup or other liquid food. The Aryans used to be dirty, on the whole, but the Buddhists shun themselves on the face general. The Aryans read and wrote Sanskrit, while the followers of these religions did their reading and writing in the respective languages of their own country.

Where did Buddhists, Jains and the followers of the other persuasions derive their novelties? They could not have picked them up from the Aryans, for their novelties were opposite to the Aryan usage. They could not have imbibed them from the north, for there is the eternal barrier, the Hindkush. It could not have been possible for them to have had close association with people living on the north of the Hindkush. Neither could these novelties have travelled from the south, for there is absolutely no evidence to show that these people had even any connection with the Aryans. On the other hand it is more consistent with

probability to suppose that there could be no such connection, the Vindhya range standing as a barrier. The conclusion therefore is inevitable that all these customs and usages must have been derived from the East where we find considerable traces of them still existing.

Mahastira, the last of the Jain Tirthankaras, left his home in his thirtieth year, and, after living for a few days in the Jain temple of Valāhī, remained ascetic for a period of twelve years. During this time he travelled to the eastern parts of the country and acquired wisdom. After an absence of twelve years he returned to Valāhī. His predecessor Parsvanatha was born in Benares, and after leaving his house in his thirtieth year, travelled in every part of the country and particularly in the East. In the last part of his life, he lived in the Samakapāl, or Parsvanath hill, where the majority of his twenty-two predecessors had also lived and died.

All these religions owe their origin to the Śākhya doctrine. Following these doctrines, the Jains studied to become Karmāns. The Buddhists say that the Jains out-temperated the Śākhya. These Śākhya doctrines do not belong to the Aryans; they had their origin in the East. Māhā and others as well as some of the later Upanishads having approved of these doctrines, Śaṅkhara attempted to refute them, so he himself disbelieved with. According to Śaṅkhara, the Śākhya doctrines should not be accepted by the learned. He does not admit that they are to be found in the Upanishads. He explains away the Śākhya element in them. Kapila, the author of Śākhya, lived in the eastern part of the country and so did Patañjali. In the *Saṅgīta* of the Mahābhārata, in the verses beginning with *अथ यदाश्वमेधमभिहितवान् पुराणम्*, there is a mention of Patañjali going to the court of Jambhā and imparting instruction to him. I have said in every place that the Śākhya system originated in the East and hence I dissent from dwelling on that point any longer.

The Third Contribution.

NOTE.

The civil service of ancient Bengal, in advancing the civilisation of the world, consisted in the manifestation of all.

Europeans brought silkworms from China and after repeated attempts made during many centuries succeeded in building their industry. It is their impression that China was the birthplace of silk. The Chinese themselves also make the same boast. They say that in 2648 B.C. one of their queens introduced the cultivation of the mulberry plant into China. There has been, in that country, an elaborate literature on the subject of silk industry from very ancient times. The Chinese, however, never taught the industry to foreigners, but kept its secrets to themselves as their Unpauld or hidden science. The Japanese, with remarkable difficulty, learnt from Korea the manufacture of silk in the third century A.D. Shortly after this a Chinese princess transmitted its manufacture to India. In the first or second century A.D. China carried on by land an extensive silk trade with Europe. Many suppose that in India the Saka kings of the Peshawar put silk rearing into extensive cultivation in consequence of the silk trade. Europe commenced her silk industry long after this.

But we learn from the *Artha-Shastra* of Kautilya that the manufacture of silk was extensively carried on in Bengal in the third or fourth century B.C. The finest silk cloths were called *Patalaka*, wool of leaves. These *Patalakas* used to be manufactured in three places:—Magadha, Pundra and Saurashtra. The worms were reared on *Nigavajra*, *Lihua*, *Vahala*, and *Vaja* or banyan or other trees. The *Nigavajra* worms produced yellow silk, while those of *Lihua* and *Vahala* wheat-coloured and white stuffs respectively. The banyan-tree-worms spun silk resembling butter in colour. Of all the varieties, the finest was that manufactured in Saurashtra.

The account given above has been mostly translated from *Artha-Shastra*. It is to be found towards the end of the chapter which gives a list of the finest things which the Royal Treasury should contain. The chapter is entitled *सुवर्णमणि*. The word "सु" here does not mean jewels and diamonds alone. It means what constitutes the excellence of every description of property and includes "वस्त्र" (clo-cloth),

"বঙ্গ" (manufactured), kottay, jute-cloth pieces, silk cloth and various piece-goods. In the position of the work translated above mention is made of Magadha, Panchala and Savarnakulpa as the places where silk was produced. Magadha is identical with South Bihar and Panchala is North Bengal. The question is, where is Savarnakulpa? The ancient interpreters say that Savarnakulpa is situated near Kinnertya. But the silk manufactured in the neighbourhood of Kinnertya is produced from the eastern plants. It would appear therefore that the name of the Yüankien is not correct. The name Savarnakulpa was, I think, subsequently changed to Karna-Savarna which includes Marichibahal and Rajmahal. The soil here being red like gold, the country was called Karna-Savarna, Karp-Savarna or Savarna Karp. Silk is still manufactured here, the stuff that is produced being excellent. Nigropaka or Nigropak trees grow here in abundance. Idraea - named Midar tree [well known in Bengal] which roots and supports the human; Yulaka and longpa trees also do the same and they are well known.

From the manner in which Kanjya mentions the silk piece goods of China, it would seem that he gives preference to the Bengal-made things. The *Artis-Specta* does not furnish evidence to show that the manufacture of silk was introduced into Bengal from China. The Bengal silk being independent of mulberry plants, there is no reason to suppose that Bengal borrowed the art from China. To put the matter clearly, the manufacture of silk was carried on both in Bengal and China, though it must be confessed that the rearing of the mulberry trees for this purpose spread from China to different parts of the world. Kanjya does not say that the manufacture of silk was carried on in any other part of India except Magadha and Bengal. He mentions the names of Magadha, Panchala and Savarnakulpa only, of which the last two are situated in Bengal. After Kanjya's time silk was manufactured in various parts of India. It appears from a stone inscription discovered in Meerut and set up in A.D. 418 that a member of merchant house Samratya came there and started silk business and that

they built by subscription a large temple in honour of the Bengol.

The facts which we have gathered from the Archa-Stone tablet great credit upon Bengal, if the Bengalis commenced the manufacture of silk before any other nation in the world. If, however, it be supposed that the Chinese were the first in the field, still it must be said to the credit of the Bengalis that they began the manufacture quite independently and without learning anything from the Chinese. For, as I have said, they did not, like the Chinese, utilize the mulberry plant for this purpose. They manufactured silk from plants which grew in abundance without any human effort. The silk manufactured in China is white. It has to be dyed again; but the Bengali silk did not require to be coloured, the different colours being produced by the utilization of different plants. It would be still more available, if this special process was lost now.

The Fourth Contribution.

Silk.

The fourth glory of Bengal is cloth made of bark. Primitive people used to wear leaves. Even now in some of the tributary states in the jungles of Orissa, people wear leaves. Next they wore bark. They obtained the bark by boiling and wrapped them round their bodies like cloth and also used them as shawls over their shoulders. There is a grand steps on the Banahil hills. It is surrounded by a railing of stems with huge gates at intervals. Each gate rests on two pillars. These pillars again are ornamented with sculptures. Among them are engravings of many two-wheeled wags. From the manner in which they put on the bark, we can get an idea of how people lived by wearing bark in those days. After that the next step was to discard the bark, to extract the fibres out of it, to spin them into yarn and then to weave them into cloth. They used to spin yarn from the fibres of jute *Bax "Alauda," "stad,"* etc. These yarns are now used in making ropes and gunny bags. In those days good stuffs were made of this yarn and sometimes these cloths were sumptuously dyed. The cloth manufactured from bark was

called *Kamra*, the *Kamra* being known as *Dakila*. As *Kamra* was considered sacred, it was a favourite with the people.

According to the *Antya-Bastu* of Kantiya, this cloth was woven only in Bengal. The Bengal *Dakila* was "pure, white in colour and looked very decent and smiling." The *Dakila* of Parajha was darkish, but "bright like a gem." The *Dakila* of Suranakhalya "glittered like the sun and was as brilliant as a jewel." At the end of the chapter in which Kantiya deals with these things he says "In this I have dealt with the *Kamras* of Kati and Parajha." From this we can infer that the "*bachchan*" of Bengal was the best of its kind and that *Dakila* was made only in Bengal. For this reason I have included it in the list of the productions of which Bengal may be proud.

I have refrained from any mention of cotton cloth, because from Chakya we can see that it was not a monopoly of Bengal. There were other places, e.g. Malhar, Aparanta, Kalliga, Kati, Vata and Mahin which produced excellent cotton cloth. Malhar means the Pindya territory and Malha was on the south of the Narbada and Aparanta was in the present Bombay Presidency. But long after Chakya, the cotton-loom became also a distinctive glory of Bengal. A piece of *Dacca muslin* spread on the grass and wetted by the dew of the night was perfectly indistinguishable. A piece of this muslin could easily be passed through a ring. The weavers rose very early in the morning and went to the cotton fields with small sticks of bamboo. As soon as a bud opened, the cotton was carefully wrapped round this stick. From this cotton a very fine yarn was made, which was ultimately woven into muslin.

When Akbar conquered Bengal he agreed to take only Rs. 5,00,000 as the revenue from the *Schahar*; but on condition that the *Schahar* was to furnish all the *Baida silk* and *Dacca muslin* that would be required in the royal household in Delhi.

The 16th Contribution.

Theatre.

The 15th glory of ancient Bengal consisted in its theatre, which were called "*Pachai Gita*" or "*Pakhin Ghara*."

Many European scholars maintain it as their opinion that there were no theatres in India in ancient times. That they were a novelty subsequently imported into this country from Greece. This is not strictly correct. But we need not quarrel with them. For what we are concerned with is only to point out what constituted our glory in the past.

We learn from the *Satras* that once upon a time there was a deadly contest between the Gods and Asuras. India, coming out victorious, caused a flag to be hoisted. The Gods assembled under it and made themselves merry. While doing so they suddenly began a mimic representation of the battle in which they had been engaged a short while ago, and finding that it was an amusing pastime, resolved to repeat it whenever it should be necessary to raise their flag. The Asuras protested and said "We shall not allow this. It is intended to lower us." They attempted to break up the performance which was going on, when India chased them with a bamboo. While the Asuras were being repeatedly struck down with the bamboo, its butt-end was hoisted and it was called the "*Jarjara*". From that time forward the "*Jarjara*" became a theatrical symbol. Hence, in building a theatre-house it was necessary first of all to fix the *Jarjara* on the ground, and before the commencement of a play, it had to be worshipped. The six different divisions of the "*Jarjara*" used to be wrigged up in six different places of cloth. In these parts or divisions six of the celebrated Gods were supposed to reside. These Gods too had to be worshipped.

Theatre-houses were constructed in three different ways. Those intended for the Gods were 108 cubits long. They were narrow at the two ends and wide in the middle and were called "*Tamsa*". Those meant for Kings were furnished. They were 48 cubits long and 12 cubits broad. The stages of the ordinary gentry were in the form of an equilateral triangle, each side measuring 12 cubits. Blind, lame

or good-looking men as those who were ugly or deformed were not allowed access to a place where a theatre-house was being built. Such persons could not even be wanted for their labour. Dignitaries and nobles were also rigorously excluded. In building a theatre-house the *Jurjra* had to be fixed in the centre. Half of the house was intended for the audience and the remaining half for the actors. Some of the stages with their audience halls were built two-storied, presenting a spectacle which cannot even now be met with in many countries in Europe. In these stages the names of the earth were represented in the ground floor and those of the houses on the first floor.

In the portion of a theatre-house which was intended for the audience the arrangement and distribution of seats was as follows:—

The *Bathangas* were accommodated in the front where the pillars were all white. The *Kapatriyas* were seated behind the *Bathangas*; here the pillars were red. The space lying behind the *Kapatriyas* was divided half and half between *Valjyas* and *Stidras*, the columns being black and yellow. Each of the rows into which the seats were distributed was one cubit higher than that which stood in its immediate front. This was the plan in which the gallery was constructed. In the first floor, too, where the house was two-storied, the distribution of seats was made in the same manner. The ground room and the music-hall stood just behind the stage. Behind these was the recreation room and behind this again was the place of worship.

The walls of the theatre-house were decorated with murals of houses, gardens, recreation scenes, recreations, *divya loka*, etc., painted in their glowing colours, but they contained no certain paintings saveable at pleasure as in a modern theatre. The *Jurjra* was worshipped on the stage where also the *Nidhi* was met. There were two doorways on the two sides of the stage, through which the actors entered.

The actors were formerly *Bathangas*. But having as several occasions betrayed the light, they incurred the displeasure of

the latter and became *Sūtras*. The *Artha-Sūtra* of Chanakya mentions them only as *Sūtras*.

Bharata Muni gives no account of theatre as they existed in this country in ancient times. He says there were many schools of dramaturgy and each school had its own and well defined its *Bhāga* or commentary, *Vitika*, *Nirukta*, *Saṅgraha* and its *Kāṅkī*. These collected together formed the *Bharata-Nāṭya-Sūtra* which was compiled probably in 300 B.C. For in this work we find simultaneous mention of the three tribes known as the *Sūta*, *Yavana* and *Pahlava*. Nölde, the celebrated German antiquarian, is of opinion that any work containing the names of these tribes together must have been written between 300 B.C. and A.D. 100. It must be said however that in the *Bharata-Nāṭya-Sūtra* the word "Pahlava" occurs in its ancient form which is "Pārthava." In the *Arthashastra* also, lying on the south of the Caspian sea, a powerful tribe called *Parthava* or *Parada* flourished between 328 B.C. and A.D. 322. Situated as they were between India on the one side and the Roman territory on the other, they often attempted to extend their dominions at the expense of both. They were formerly called "Pārthava," but in their declining days received from the Indians the appellation of "Pahlava." In the *Purāṇas* they are mentioned as "Pārada." If therefore the *Bharata-Sūtra* was written in 300 B.C. it must be supposed that many dramatic schools had existed even before that date. In *Pāṇini* we find mention of two *Nāṭya-Sūtras*, one of which was composed by *Śāṅkī*, the other by *Kṛishṇa*. From the drama of *Śhīla* we learn that *Valmiki* Udayana boasted that the *Śhīlaka* *Bharata* had been his ancestor.

The methods of dramatic representation, varying as they did with the tastes and mental characteristics of different peoples, were four in number:—*Aśvati*, *Damasa*, *Pāṇini* and *Oṅraṅgaṇi*. The people of the Damasa liked dancing and music during a performance. They also loved to see the "acting" provided it was clever, sweet and entertaining.

The methods peculiar to the eastern parts of India was *Oṅraṅgaṇi*. Bengal stood at the head of the countries in

which it prevailed. For it was from Bengal that Malak, Moha, Fenchak, Brakmattar, Bhagava, Mangava, Praggjyotish, Paktinda, Visha, Tamsalipita and other countries derived their dramatic prvaytil (tragedy). The peculiarity of this method consisted in the fact that it gave preference to entire and small dramas, dialogues and musical recitations. The Bengalis had a special liking for the "acting" of men and disliked that of females. Eastern Bengal showed a partiality for head-dresses and aspersions *aranda*. Now a word about this Bengali dislike for dancing and music in ancient times. It is with no small surprise that I learn from Babu Anjan Lal Bose, the premier playwright and actor of Bengal, that the Bengalis have still retained their national characteristic. Even now they are averse to dancing and music which however have been retained in the programmes solely to please the Marwaris.

It reflects no small glory upon Bengal that 140 years before Christ she could boast of a method of dramatic representation, which was her own.



II.—The Story of a Cotton Printed Fabric from Orissa.

By O. C. Ganguly.

What has hitherto passed as "a piece of ancient Chinese cotton" often in the female types depicted as close a parallel to Orissan figures as familiar to us through old ancient Orissan paintings and wall carvings, that the inference is almost inevitable that the piece of printed cotton here illustrated [Plate I] may have originally come from some part of Orissa. The fabric is supposed to have come from China and was originally reproduced in the *Fable*, No. 115, Plate VI. And whether it is Orissan or not, there is absolutely no doubt that it is a piece of Indian cloth and the fact that it now hails from China gives it a quite unique interest. From the story of Atoka at Dhauil we get a glimpse of the Kingdom of Kallaga, of which ancient Orissa was a part. It was an extensive, populous and civilized kingdom before the conquest of Atoka. That frequent sea voyages were made to countries outside India from the ports of Kallaga is now a recognised fact in Indian history. It is highly probable if not absolutely certain, that a section of the inhabitants of ancient Kallaga sent out a colony to Java where Indians have ever since come to be called the "Klings" (i.e. Kallagaites). As late as the eighth century we have evidence of an intercourse of Orissa with China. This is attested by the Japanese edition of the Chinese Tripitaka which is a translation of a portion of the Buddhist *Sūtras* made by a Chinese monk named Fa-hsien on the basis of a manuscript sent as a present to the Chinese Emperor Te Tsung by the King of Uche [Oche] in A. D. 788. The name of this King in the letter of presentation has been read as *Su-mahara Kuan* [No. 19 in Mr. Banerji's Catalogue; *Western Os Java Chinese*, Vol. II, page 156; *Puri District Gazetteer*, 1908, page

18]. On the basis of this evidence, it may be possible to suppose that the printed fabric in question may have travelled to China either by the inland or the seacoast route. At present the chief centres of production of printed cloths and sun-dyed palm-leaf are at Mangalore, Karappa, Tansa, Kalamati, Solapur, and Sikkimpong (see Kalamati). There is reason to believe that the traditions of this craft in Southern India have been derived from ancient Kalinga where cloth used to be manufactured in such large quantities that Kalinga became the word for cloth in old Tamil. In minor details of the architecture represented and in the general spirit of the design the fabric in question has many interesting coincidences with a piece of modern printed cotton from Sikkimpong (reproduced as Fig. 4 in the account of *The Victoria Institute*, Madras, 1908). So that it is possible that our printed fabric from China originated either in China or some part of Southern India. My reason for suggesting that the piece of cloth came from China are:—(1) that the female figures represented are undoubtedly Orissan in type, rather than Southern Indian and this can be easily demonstrated by comparison with figures in old Orissan paintings; (2) some of the architectural details appear to be especially characteristic of Orissa; these are the towers and pillars of the *Pinnas* which closely reproduce the towers of many Orissan temples, particularly the towers placed over the *Kirtimukha* on the tri-dotted arches, which are characteristically Gaudhar or at least Northern Indian types. The principal objection to identify the piece as Orissan is in the type of the male figures represented which rather recall the dress and headgear of the Mahattas who conquered Orissa from A.D. 1745. If the old textile craft of Kalinga be supposed to have survived to the time of the Mahatta occupation, it is hardly possible that the craft was actually practised during the periods of anarchy and violence which followed the tyrannical occupation of the country by the Mahattas. It is unlikely that after 1745 any direct intercourse either by sea or land could have taken place between India and China. On the other hand, we



GOTTES FÜRSTENHAUS



1888, No. 1.

COTTON-PRINTED FABRIC.

know that during the seventeenth century the great trading and shipping centre of Coromandel coast was Masulipatam and it appears on the testimony of Hutton [*"Annals of the Trade of Madraspatnam,"* Hakluyt Society Publication V, xii.] that at this place "ships of Indes were constantly employed on voyages to Amboyna, Pegu, Tannorey, Malacca and the Maldiva islands" but the trade from this centre was probably confined to the places round the Bay of Bengal. If the fabric we are discussing be a product of Masulipatam or of any Southern Indian cotton centres then it may have been carried to China through the mercantile shipping of the Coromandel coast.

The architectural details provide any date being assigned to the piece earlier than the twelfth century.¹ During the seventeenth century (A.D. 1674 to 1749) the Naduvetti Rajas of Tanjore were generous patrons of the cotton domestic, the descendants of whom have still a colony at Koladi Karappur in the Tiruchirappalli District, twenty miles from Kumbhakram. And a printed cotton actually worn by Raja Sivaji, the last Malabar prince of Tanjore, is still preserved in the School of Arts collection, Madras. If the seals (figure) pictured in the piece are taken to represent Mahabharata may be assigned to end of the seventeenth century when the craft of cotton printing was in a flourishing condition, the chief centre of the industry being Masulipatam which probably still continued the older traditions of ancient Kallings.

The records of the factories of the East India Company referred to by Mr. Haldovsky, the distinguished Principal of the Government School of Arts, Madras [*"Cotton Printing and Printing,"* Madras, 1917] afford very interesting information as to the reputation that the industry had acquired in foreign countries: "In the records of 1634-35 an interesting account is given of a white walla cloth which was sent to India, to be dyed,

¹ A Japanese writer on the basis of the cotton textile mentioned it is a cloth at the end of the Gen period (1680-1687 A. D.) and the beginning of the Meiji period (1868-1912, A. D.) I am indebted to Mr. E. Kikawa, Lecturer, Columbia University, for the reference.

by His Majesty King Charles I. The original cloth having been lost, the latter suggests another to be stayed after the manner of her paintings of Moudiptam." The records also refer to trade in painted cotton with Persia. The possibilities are therefore equal that the painted piece of cotton we are discussing was produced at Moudiptam about the middle of the seventeenth century. But if we compare our fabric with an example now in the South Kensington Museum, London, attributed to Moudiptam [seventeenth century] we find it is so different in its pattern, design and technique [vide Illustration II] that it is difficult to ascribe our specimen to Moudiptam. Excepting the conventional fustoon hanging from the arches the two pieces have no similarity to suggest a common place of origin. The only point of contact between the two pieces lies in the representation of a similar scene ; the South Kensington specimen probably commemorates the visit of some European to an Indian court, probably the Mughal Court of Oudh or the Nizam. The Southern Indian patterns, chiefly from Kalahasti, have invariably religious subjects for their motifs and are used as covers for processional cars and as covers for images. The cottons from Moudiptam are chiefly used for prayer mats and bed-covers and are commonly referred to as " palampoom " [*palamp-pah* = bed-covers]. The industry at one time commanding an international trade is now rapidly declining and we all owe to Mr. Halvey a great debt in preserving in his able monograph, referred to above, an account of the craft with representative illustration of characteristic patterns used by craftsmen.

To return to our illustration, one of the many unique features of this ancient cloth " picture " is the representation of various trees, animals and birds. The coconut tree suggests the locality of the area in which the tree must have been very common. Of the small figures depicted is the almsman, these figures rather similar in dress and gesture, with a bowl in hand, probably represent royal retainers, or perhaps, types from contemporary police force. Of two religious icons depicted with

elaborate matted locks and bearding warts, the most important features are the unobtrusively cast marks on their body rather illegible in the reproduction. Of other types represented, the one on the left side of the *Trishakti* probably pictures a peasant, and the one on the right, the type of the middle class *Madhucharyas* [gentlemen] of the time. The latter's dress reaching up to the ankle requires particular notice in contrast with the *paṇḍita* worn by the *minstrels*. All the male figures have head-dresses of some kind or other. Of the principal male figures pictured, three types are differentiated. The figure on the extreme right seated on a quoin chair, with a female figure on his lap, is probably a prince, he wears a sort of a cap which is quite distinct from the turbans of the other male figures. The central figure with sword in hand, obviously, is some high officer of the state, probably the head of the army, referred to in the inscriptions, as the *vallabha-pati*, the two figures on either side with a lotus and a nosegay are courtiers. The three figures wear shoes of a very peculiar pattern which have an resemblance to those worn by the *Moguls* or the *Mahrattas*. The "head of the army" certainly wears ill-fitting black coverings on both legs which recall stockings or hose. The figure on the extreme left, from the similarity of his vestment, may be taken to be another official, probably the minister of the prince, and wears turban and ornaments similar to the prince himself. The various patterns of shoes worn by the female figures are worthy of notice, as also the fact that all of them, of varying complexion, wear a sort of ladies which cover the greater portion of the arms. The data offered by the production of the dress given to the figures ought to be sufficient to identify the locality of the scene. But the present state of our knowledge is not sufficient to enable us to interpret the information conveyed to us by the painted piece of cloth. The dresses are not identical with the dresses we associate with the *Mahrattas*, though they have some resemblance to them. They probably represent the fashions of dressing at one time current among Hindus in the parts of the eastern coast between the *Mahanadi* and the *Krishna* which must be

taken as the locality of the scene depicted, and the date of the cloth may be roughly indicated as between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century which fits in the chronology of the Eastern Chinga Kings of Orissa. The painted cloth has preserved for us a unique mirror of a phase of the life of the time, a picture of which is not available from any other source. For it is a characteristic feature of Indian antiquities that the ancient monumental records invariably ignore the secular epistolary life of ancient India such as the dress, habits and physical environment of the people. And from this point of view this piece of painted cotton is a quite unique historical document.



III.—Rajgir Jain Inscription.

By Purna Choud Nohar, M.A. B.L.

It is admitted on all hands that Rajgirha (Rajgir) is one of the oldest cities in India and has received attention as a place of great antiquarian interest. The five hills, two of which Vallibhaia and Vipula, still retain their old names, form a girdle like the walls of a town and are covered with small Jain temples.

The present inscription is from one of these temples on Vipula hill built some six centuries ago. Many of the earlier temples were ruined during the political struggles and disorder in the country and the existing temples on these hills were all later on restored.

The inscription in question is engraved on two stones which are now lying in the Northernmost Pundarikoti Jain temple at Bihar. The temple, of which this is a fragment, being dilapidated or destroyed, these stones, for some reason or other, were removed to Bihar, more than a century ago, but no notice of them was taken till now. Both the stones are of a hard jet-black kind and are of almost the same size, one measuring 2 feet 10 inches and the other 2 feet 5 inches in length, and both, 10 inches in breadth. The engraved letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length. The letters of the first stone are a bit bigger in size than those in the second. The first stone contains, besides 16 lines of matter, an outline of a lotus with 40 petals inscribed on the left-hand corner. The second stone has 17 lines, but it is damaged in the middle towards the top and the end.

The inscription is a Prastuti or eulogy of a temple built on Vipula hill and dedicated to Pundariktha. It is dated the dark day of Ashvika in the Vikrama year 1612 corresponding to A.D. 1345. The date has been put in symbolical words and figures. The characters belong to the usual Devanagari

alphabet of the Jaina type. In respect of orthography, there is nothing to call for any special attention. In the decorative portion, illustrating the creation of the temple, the author has shown great skill and has used metres in the composition of verses. There are in addition several prose passages scattered here and there in the text.

The inscription refers to Sultan Firuz Shah Taghik, the Emperor who reigned from A.D. 1351 to A.D. 1389. In the year 1354 the Sultan raided the province of Bengal and the stones were inscribed in the following years.¹ Another important reference is found therein concerning the political history of Bihar. The inscription records the stay of Malik Vajr in Bihar as representative of the Emperor visited by Narasiddha. We find mention of Ilyas Khaji, known as Hajj Ilyas, but better known in history as Samriddhi, governing Bengal at the time (A.D. 1342-1351). I have not yet been able to get hold of any account of Malik Vajr or Narasiddhi in any of the available histories of Bengal, and as these names may be of some interest to students of history. In Bihar now I was informed of various traditions concerning Malik Vajr but I could not collect any systematic account either of the man or his time. It is related that the brave Malik Vajr died as a "Shahid," having been killed by some Muhammadans, that his body without head was seen on horseback coming from Fort Dakhan and that he was buried on the small hill near the town of Bihar known as Gita (fort) where a tablet with inscription in verse was placed in his memory which was removed by some executive officer about half a century ago.

For the Jaina students the inscription gives a regular list of the heads of the Khurana Gachchha, one of the divisions of Svetambara Church, beginning with Udayana Suri² and

¹ Tarkabachi describes the following facts relating to the conquest of the Sultan in Bengal:—"Three years (A.D. 1354) after the accession, he made an attempt to recover Bengal, and reconquer the whole province, but was not able to reduce his enemy with the value which he expected him to retreat." *Epitome of the History of India*, 2nd edition, p. 419.

² See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 208, No. 18.

ending with Jina Chandra Suci¹ during whose spiritual leadership the temple was created. We further obtain information of the genealogy of the dedicator of the temple. He is described as a descendant of the minister Daliya. This Daliya is said to be one of the foremost ministers of King Bhurata, the eldest son of the first Tirthankara Bhadrakya Deva. From another inscription which I found in the temple at Pawaupuri (Bihar) it is clear that Mahatmyas (Mishras) and those described as belonging to the family of the minister Daliya were identical. They followed the Jain religion. These Mahatmyas abounded in the province in those days, a few families of them are still existing in Bihar; and they did their best to preserve their sacred places during the long period of Muhammadan sovereignty when almost all sacred temples of the Hindus were polluted and demolished by the Mussalmans. It is also interesting to note in this inscription as in several other Jain inscriptions of different dates from other parts of India, that unlike their orthodox Hindu brethren the Jains were all along treated with sympathy and kindness and received help from the Muhammadan Government on account of their peaceful and loyal character.

¹ See *Jaina Sanshodhan Mandal*, Vol. II, p. 349, No. 12.

TRANSLATION.

[FIRST STORY].

- On, salutation to Lord Parvathā. May that Parvathā like a Kalpa Tree [said to satisfy all desires] which has taken the permanent root on the superior and vast mountain Sumeru [in case of P. (whose temple) permanently lies on the holy hill of Vindhya] the mountain of the immortals, which appears beautiful with its lovely branches of leaves [in case P. appearing beautiful with the expanded hand of the Lord of serpents] at the root of which is seated Indra [in case of P. at whose feet is seated Indra] which bears excellent fruits and flowers [in case of P. bestows of the fruits of welfare and Visnu's of prosperity and fame] grant the fruit of desires to the Jaina Community. (1)

- Where [in Rājagṛha] the venerable sage Bharata was born, took initiation and obtained enlightenment and the emperors Jays, Bhisma, Lakshmana and Jashodhara, who were Chakravartins, Bahubali, Vibhishana and Pandubandara, respectively and other lords of earth flourished, and where Śreepala and other Kings received the wealth of Jaina teachings from Bhisma. (2)

- Where [in Rājagṛha] Abhaya Kumāra, Śaṭi, Dhanya and many others wished both material and spiritual end of all their desires. (3)

- Where [in Rājagṛha] the holy hills of Vindhya and Vaidhara, adorned with Jaina temples lying extended in the East and West welcome to the people that welfare in the two worlds is easily obtained from this place; who is not speak highly of such a place of pilgrimage known by the name of Rājagṛha? (4)

- There in the holy city of Rājagṛha, the host of the sacred places, which helped the people to cross this limitless ocean of the world, while Śulista Śrī Pura Śrī (Kashmira Pura Shakh Taghā) the protector of the good, with the lotus-like feet, tinged brown by the dusts of rays,

emanating from the jewels of the harbors of all the Kings, was calling the world from the vast peak of the holy mountains of Vipula, shaped like a great ship in the form of the hull of a ship and while by his command *Aditika* Papa was the Governor in Magadha, with the help of his servant *Manadharika* (*Nandradika*) the dynasty of the minister *Talpa* finished last in the world—the dynasty, the successive persons of which were all mines of virtues like a string of pearls, adorned the chest, east and land of good Kings, who recognized and respected the meritorious. (5)

In other times, in that dynasty was born *Aditya Pila* of pure intellect, the harbinger of the good and whose person was bedecked with jewels of numerous good virtues. His son highly spoken of by the people became known by the name of *Tilaka Pila* in whose family which was as pure as the snow was born the wealthy *Rita*. (6)

A son was born to him named *Tilaka Magdha*, the best of all men, versed in the rules of religious practices and scrupulous of all the innumerable virtues and of constant purification. He had a wife named *Chandrika* in his house. (7)

Five sons were born to them, all famous in the world, fathers and children and sanctified by virtues. Of these the first three were respectively known by the names of *Adishvara*, *Nandishvara* and *Madhava*. (8)

The fourth was the prosperous *Madhavanika* and the fifth and youngest was the illustrious and intelligent *Devanika*, both of whom earned the title of "the driver of the Chariot of Religion" even in the eastern country which is full of deep rivers by reason of the excessive water there [signature of the people] and so difficult to drive. (9)

The first wife of *Madhavanika* was *Antara* who was experienced of easy descent and stored all good principles and customs. Of her two sons were born, the first son was *Padaraja*, in whom good qualities and prosperity united and the second went by the name of *Madhava*. (10)

His second wife was the beloved *Bhikṣu* favoured of the creator. *Dharmasikha* and others were her sons—all blessed with a large fortune. (11)

- The first wife of *Dhanuṣya* was *Agṇi*, adorned with the
 12 jewels of virtues and whose consort was boundless love of a high
 order. *Dharmasikha* was the first son born of her body and after
 him *Śaṇḍa*—both perfect in all the fine arts. (12)

- He (*Dhanuṣya*) had a second wife named *Padma* in his
 house. The first son born of her was *Kṛṣṇasikha*—the repository of
 13 all good qualities, the second *Padmasikha* favoured of fortune, the
 third *Gadāsikha* and lastly the daughter named *Aśvamedh*. (13)

Madhura, the leader of *Uṇṇa*, the first head of the *Jaina* church
 of the present age, the most affectionate of the prospering *Jaina*
 world of *Paṇḍurāṣa*, was born, who showed the virtuous the
 step to salvation and who was the author of *Bhikṣuṇā Sūtra*
 (religious text). (14)

- In his family was born *Vajra* distinguished in ten *Pāras*
 the foundation for splitting the *Viṭ* of *Śaṇḍa* from whom
 14 sprang the *Vajra-Śaṇḍa*—the fratricidal branch adorned with
 the flowers of good men. (14)

- In the *Chandivāṭa* of that *Pa*, which was always enlight-
 15 ened, was born the learned prospector *Uḍḍiṣa* in whom (the cul-
 ture of) all the pure and refined arts reached their culmination; and
 in whose place was born the good sage *Gaṇi Paṇḍurāṣa*. (15)

After him succeeded *Śāntasira* *Sarv*, the servant who was
 indefatigable and renowned in the world and possessed of pure
 virtues and the knowledge of good manners and livelihood.

- 16 First when the *Gana*..... became furious as *Kṛṣṇasira* in this
 world (16)

Then came the prospector *Śaṇḍa* *Chandiv* (1) the foremost
 of all sages who was author of *Śaṇḍa* *Śaṇḍa* and maintained
 self-restraint. (18)

Having worshipped, with words of mantra, *Śaṇḍa*.

SUNSHINE STORIES.

17 *one Chaitanya*,.....*Abhaya* Śrī flourished after him,
who was author of the commentaries known as *Śāṅkṣi*, the
source of endless pleasure. [10]

20 [Then flourished] *Jina Vallabha*, who does not even
now shake his head drinking, like water, of the excellence of
his virtues by the wind of error? [11]

In his place flourished the saint *Vimala*, the most
exalted of the sages, who was commended to the people blessed
21 by the darkness of ignorance, by *Amala*, as the best of all the
possessions in this land and worshipped even by the virtuous and
the greatest of the gods by reason of the wealth of knowledge
of right conduct. [12]

After him flourished *Jina Chandra Śrī* [13] who had
given up all gold by the virtue of want of attachment; on
22 whose forehead the jewel *Chaitanya* rested as if by reason of the
faded being the shade of the goddess of fortune. [14]

After him flourished *Jina Pati* the best of the orders,
who meeting antipathy in argument established an easily
accomplishable thing to be difficult of accomplishment, the
23 well illustrated to be devoid of illusion and that to which
the adversary could cite no authority based on sound testimony.
[15]

After him flourished *Jinavara Śrī*, the chief of the sages,
who like the sun, replenished with the store of knowledge of
truth (in the case of the sun—brilliant with the mass of rays)
blew open the lower beds of the good people (in case of the sun—
blew open the beds of good lotuses) and who became famous (in
case of the sun—rose high up) and was loved by reason of his
choosing the best self-restraint (in the case of the sun—loved
by reason of his stay in the sky). [16]

24 Then in his meritiveness sent flourished *Jina Prabhā*
amongst the people, who killed the evolution of ignorance and
caused the enlightenment [of the people] and who was the firm-
most of the observers of self-restraint and whose conduct was as
pure as a jewel. [17]

After him, in this world, arose the the very man, *Jiva Chandra (III)* the lord of yoga who, by teachings checked the continuance of the naturally ignorant, and who always took pleasure in the full enlightenment separated from ignorance, and who destroyed the ignorance and wicked nature of the people (in case of the moon—which causes the ocean to swell up by its beams, reveals in the full moonlight the got rid of darkness and which destroys darkness and the evil influence of the ill stars). (20)

In his place shone the prospect *Jiva Kanda* who caused wonder to the people with his fame in this world by establishing the image of the First Lord of the Jivas in the high and lofty temple on the best hill of Vipula, the receptacle of virtue and all goodness, shining even in this fifth *Yuga* with the splendour of all the religious injunctions of "Vaidhpatha". (21)

After him was *Jiva Padma Shri*, the lord of yoga in whose house even the crowned goddess of learning was fortunate enough to share brilliantly in his knowledge, seeing the quest of the presiding goddess of the lord of *Yuga* in him. (22)

After him finished *Jiva Leha* the chief of the sage who was the successful repository of the perfect understanding of the sense of his best *Satvas* established by the relation of ether's *Shaktas* and was the means of knowledge and desire which leads in the people of the age of *Kali*. (23)

In his place flourished *Jiva Chandra (IV)* best as enlightening *Ugri*, the vast receptacle of the elucidation of the teachings of *Padma* whose amiable manners pleased all the best characters and who was the best of all the sages. (24)

By his advice *Radhakrishna*, a resident of the city of *Prithivapura* and his intelligent brother *Devakrishna*, caused the palace of Lord *Parasurama* to be erected for bringing about prosperity. (25)

Here *Radhakrishna*, the ornament of the race of *Mayadeva*, along with his friends and relatives caused the dedication to be made. (26)

The ceremony of dedication was performed by the best of the teachers named *Divyacharya* by order of his preceptor, who

was a pupil of the great Jina Chandra and whose teacher in
sculpt of Plaster was Jina Lubhi, the lord of signs. (22 & 24)

This scholar held the university on the sixth day from
23 the new moon in the month of Ashvina in the Vikrama era of
1472. (25)

May the creator of this palace, in the interior of which
24 shines the image of Lord Parvathia, the god of Jains and
which is adorned with *śaśa* ornaments and flags at the top of
its chow, and the renowned preceptor be blessed in this world
along with the Jaina Sangha (community). (26)

Getting this laudatory verse of wonderful meter composed by
the venerable Khemabhatta superior by reason of his postulatory
buddi, it was put in writing according as it was like the golden
of fume incense. (27)

And this good composition was engraved for work by
31 the son of Thekkara *Mahacharya* named Bhatta the great *śaśa*
and artist. (28)

Thus, in the Vikrama Samvat 1472 on the sixth day of the
new moon of Ashvina, under the penogya pen of the temple
of Parvathia should to be stated by the two good *śaśa*
śaśabhatta and *śaśa*, the five sons of Thekkara *Mahacharya*
32 the ornament of the race of the minister with the great merit of
4 pilgrimage earned in the course of wanderings in the eastern
country of the teacher *Śivara* accompanied by *Pang*
(*Pang*) *Śaśabhatta* *Śaśa*, *Mahacharya* *Śaśa*, *Śaśabhatta* *Śaśa*,
and *Pang* *Śaśabhatta* *Śaśa* by the advice of Jina Chandra *Śaśa*
the ornament in the seat of Jina Lubhi the preceptor and decoration
of Khemara Chakabha.

May the Jaina Sangha be prosperous.....Chha.

IV.—Translation of Maharajah Kalyan Singh's *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*.

II.

By Khan Bahadur Nuratun Hussain Khan.

Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan Ali Jah.

The author has heard from trustworthy men that Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan, son of Meer Bari Khan, son of Intiaz Khan of Persian origin was an Imperial Durwan at Patna. His father Meer Bari Khan was one of the King's Mansibdars. He possessed a *jagir* in Baghal where he passed his life comfortably. Nawab Mahabat Jung, owing to the ability of his kith, had Meer Kasim Khan married to Fatima Begum, daughter of Nawab Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan. He gave a large amount of money as well as *rahutias* as her dowry. He also allowed her Rs. 100 per mensem from his treasury. During the reigns of Mahabat Jung and Nawab Serajuddaula, Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan did not enjoy a very high social position. Like other ordinary *rajas*, he was one of the courtiers of the Nawab, but was highly talented and qualified and was proficient in astrology and mathematics. Even the very beginning his career looked promising. Feelings between Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan and Momen were however strained, and Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan therefore could not show any favour to Meer Kasim in the beginning of his rule. He did not try much for the improvement of his son-in-law's position and honour. But the very fact of his being the Hindostani's son-in-law was sufficient to get him the governorship of Raigyar and Patna. Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan appropriated a box of valuable jewellery belonging to Intiaz Khan, wife of Serajuddaula, at the time of his going in pursuit of him. By this means, his financial position was

improved and he kept more closely and intimately with him with a view to maintain the dignity of his position. After the death of Masna he used to go to his father-in-law very often. He studied and conspicuous were his services that Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan felt it his duty to reward him with higher power and raise his social status. With a view to settle certain questions Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan had used to send Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan to the English at Calcutta. As Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan was, comparatively speaking, wise and more prudent than his relative he fully impressed it on the minds of the English that he too was their friend. The English considered Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan to be possessed of higher administrative powers than not only Sadik Ali Khan but also Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan having performed the work for which he was sent, came back to Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. As there was no other man in the family of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan better fitted than Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan for responsible work, Meer Kasim was very often intrusted with missions and used to go to the English at Kastrinamur on behalf of his father-in-law. As he discharged the duties entrusted to him with great tact and ability, he was much respected both by the civil and military officers. But the increase of the military expenditure coupled with the extravagance of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan brought financial difficulties, and the laxity of supervision on his part gave room to misappropriations and defalcations which at times assumed large proportions. The pay of the military fell in arrears and the English were also not paid their agreed grant, and the total debt amounted to 5 crores and 48 lakhs of rupees. The soldiers waited for three years, and when they saw that their dues could not be realised, they all assembled before the palace and began to abuse the Nawab and would not allow him to take his food and drink. This continued for four or five days. When this news reached the English at the Kastrinamur factory they communicated it to the authorities at Calcutta and asked Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan to interfere. At the request of the

English, Meer Mohammad Karim Khan interfered and from his own pocket paid 5 or 6 lakhs of rupees to the officers who had caused this commotion and asked them to leave the place. That it was that the disturbance which might have assumed a much more threatening aspect was cooled entirely through the influence of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan. But the habitual indolence and dissipation of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan were such that neither Meer Mohammad Kasim nor the soldiers could be paid from the State treasury. The English repeatedly asked Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan to pay the soldiers and to repay the amount spent by Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan. They told him point blank that Meer Mohammad Kasim had advanced the money at their request and they were therefore in honour bound to see that his money was paid off. Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan paid no attention to this remonstrance. In the meantime Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan had to go to Calcutta on some business. Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan did not know what to do under the circumstances. He knew that it was not advisable to allow Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan to go to Calcutta and yet he had no reasonable excuse to prevent him from going there. At last he gave him permission to go. On reaching Calcutta, Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan saw Mr. Vansittart Nasir-ol-mulk, Shereh-badshah Bahadur and the other members of the Council and after the exchange of the usual greetings delivered to them the message of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. He pointed out to the Council that Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan was utterly incapable and that his habits were such that it was impossible for him to carry on the administration of the country. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan took this opportunity of availing, incidentally as it were, on the friendship he entertained towards the Company, the unwillingness of Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan to pay up the dues of the Company and of the military as well as the advances he had made to him at the request of the English. The earnestness and pathos with which he spoke, made a profound impression on

the English, and they all, especially Nawab Shamsuddaula Bahadur, who was the ablest, felt convinced that he would be a great improvement on Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan as a Subadar, say that he was the ablest of his relatives in matters of administration.

Nawab Shamsuddaula Bahadur had heard much against Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan, and he knew him to be incapable and totally unfit for the honorable office he held. But he was in a fix as to what to do under the circumstances, inasmuch as he felt that the task that lay before him was not of ordinary importance. He was pleased with Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan and proposed to appoint him the Prime Minister of the State and make him act as a Deputy of Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan, who was to receive a fixed, regular allowance from him (Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan). He put his proposal before the other Members of the Council and sought their advice. Some Members, who were in favour of Shamsuddaula Bahadur, accepted the proposal, while Mr. Anjani, who was sent in rank to Shamsuddaula Bahadur, together with two or three other members opposed it. Mr. Ellis, Major Campbell and Mr. Johnson also differed and openly withheld their assent in the Council. The discussion made in the Council was however inhibited soon. But as Shamsuddaula Bahadur was supported by the majority, it was decided that Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan be appointed to act as a Naib (Deputy). Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan being pleased with the decision at once started for Hoshiabul and saw Nawab Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan the next day after his arrival there. Nawab Shamsuddaula Bahadur, some other officers and Mr. Warren Hastings, the then senior officer at Kashiabur who had gone to Calcutta at the time on being summoned there by the Governor, also left for Hoshiabul with some English troops and camped at Muradbagh. The next morning Nawab Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan started to see the Governor and having arrived the Bhagratia reached

Muzulihagh in the afternoon. Nawab Shamsuddinah Bahadar after the usual exchange of civilities informed the Nawab of the resolution passed in the Council. Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan was much annoyed at this. He pleaded not guilty, and said that as he had firmly kept all the promises made by him after Shamsuddinah's defeat, he was not prepared to make any departure from that which had been agreed upon. He was much displeased with Shamsuddinah Bahadar and left the palace without further ceremony. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan was going to Shamsuddinah Bahadar when he met Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan on his way. Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan asked Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan not to go to Shamsuddinah Bahadar. In spite of the warning he received from Meer Jafar, he went straight to Shamsuddinah Bahadar and paid him a visit in his own camp. Shamsuddinah Bahadar related to him all that had passed between him and Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. On hearing all this Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan said that all this most evil propensities to him as Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan was sure to have him killed. He said that they (the English) should now firmly stand by him, specially as it was not Meer Kasim alone who seemed to stand in need of their help. Nawab Shamsuddinah Bahadar replied that he could do nothing. Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan said that when he (the Governor) was powerless in the matter, he himself must be expected to be in a worse condition. As it was dinner time Nawab Shamsuddinah Bahadar requested Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan to wait till he had finished his meal. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan in a state of utter confusion was sitting with his head bent upon his knees and did not know what to do. But he did not lose heart and ever believed in the kindness of God who always helps his creatures in times of difficulty. When Nawab Shamsuddinah Bahadar had finished his dinner, Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan went to him again and informed him of the proceeding. He was

is. He said that if the agreement proposed was not kept, it would mean his death. Meer Jafar was enraged at the bargain. On hearing all this Nawab Shams-ud-Daula Bahadur began to consider the matter in consultation with Shams-ud-Daula Mr. Hastings and other officials. After much discussion it was finally decided that they should carry the proposal through anyhow. They notified Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan and asked him to be present at Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan's palace the next day. They would themselves go to the palace at that very time. Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan in a state of vaguery returned to his house and made arrangements for his safety as best as he could. He rose early the next morning and after dressing armed himself well and came out to the Dewankhana. The soldiers and officers and other employees of Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan, who were still there only as a result of the promises made by Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan, came to his house and took him on an elephant to the Dar-ul-Ismar of Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. From Nurulabugh the English, with their officers and army and baggage came to the Dar-ul-Ismar of Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan and gathered round the Dar-ul-Ismar. Nawab Shams-ud-Daula Bahadur with his officers and Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan went inside the Dewankhana of Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan. On the motion of the English, Nawab Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan went word to Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan who was inside his Mahal at the time, that he should either pay up the soldiers or should make over his rich Mahal to him so that he may retain force there at the point of bayonet the revenue misappropriated by them and pay up the salary of the soldiers and the dues of the English. This discussion went on till the afternoon, when Nawab Meer Mohammad Jafar Khan sent one of his confidential servants to say that he was ready to leave the Kingdom to him (Meer Kasim); that he intended to go to *Awadh*, and that Meer Kasim may do whatever he liked and that he should pay the English and the army in the

way he thought proper. He said that if the English accepted his proposal they should arrange for his voyage so that he with his family and children may go to Calcutta with the English. Nawab Shams-ud-Daula Bahadur informed Nawab Meer Mohamud and Jafar Khan that he might go to Calcutta with him. Innumerable luggage and country boats were brought over to the Dar-ul-Izza. Nawab Meer Mohammed Jafar Khan took all the valuables, jewellery, gold mohars, silver and gold chains and other valuables and heavy articles from the inside of his palace and such things from the outside as he could get, had boats laden with those, took the employees of the Mahal, e.g. Bano Begum and her family, some male personal attendants, some trustworthy soldiers and confidential servants and started for Calcutta in company with an Englishman. On the 13th Rabi-ul Awwal 1217 Hijrah in the Dar-ul-Izza Shams-ud-Daula Bahadur and other English officials of rank installed Nawab Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan on the *Mahmal* of the Government of Bengal. He became known in "Nawab-ul-Mulk Intizam-ul-Mulk Nawab Ali Jafar Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan Bahadur Nawab Jung". The rule of Nawab Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan was proclaimed in the city by loud of drums. The court [gentry] of Bengal of all classes and rank welcomed him with respect and welcomed him as Nawab. In a week or two Nawab Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan made arrangements for payments by instalments to the soldiers and to the Company. Nawab Shams-ud-Daula Bahadur and other English officials returned to Calcutta with the British army and Nawab Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan devoted himself to general administration and chiefly to the finances with special reference to the defalcation made in the time of his predecessors. He paid equal attention to the army and the treasury. In the treasury he appointed as clerks some of the old *Mahmalists* of Haidar Jung's time and as Nadirs some of his own trustworthy attendants. He showed great favour to his cousin Abu Ali Khan and conferred the title of *Mirza* on his uncle Turab Ali Khan.

He appointed Ali Ibrahim Khan of Bakhairah one of the *Muhtasibs* of Saharunpore. He appointed the brothers of Muhammad Amir Ibrahim Khan his personal attendants and entrusted to him the work of distributing the pay of the soldiers and of looking after some of his household affairs. He appointed Bita Ram the famous *Mutawakkil* and accountant of the late Haidar Jung an auditor of the Durran and an accountant in the department of the treasury from which pensions and allowances were paid. He conferred his old *Shirazi* and conferred upon him the title of Haidar Jang Khan. He appointed Khwaja Ghouse Khan, brother of Khwaja Mader, a charge of artillery, and asked him to get English-made muskets and to employ expert artificers. The said Khwaja became such a great favourite of the Nawab that others began to envy his position. The Nawab took him into his confidence and his words had therefore great weight with him.

Shahid Syed Ali, an inhabitant of Lucknow, was given the post of *Bakhshi* in the military department, and after his death his son Muhammad Ali and his nephews Fakhir Ali and Faruk Ali were also appointed *bakhshis*. Mirza Shikandar Khan, who was a great handwriting, was appointed to the post of *Farisnawis*.

On finding the treasury empty Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim Khan felt much embarrassed. He did not know how he would be able to meet the excessive demands. He had to pay off the soldiers; he had to pay the dues of the Company; and with a depleted treasury he felt himself at his wit's end, specially because of his having taken the entire responsibility upon himself. He examined the settlement of the Parganahs of Bengal and in list of their dues, made over the district of Bareilly to the English and pawned some of his jewels with the members of the Council. Having arranged for paying off the Company, he devoted his attention to paying the soldiers who were in arrears. He detected the misappropriations made by the *Mutawakkils* and after deducting the amounts thus misappropriated he paid the balance from the treasury. Some were sent to the Parganahs with payment orders to the local officials; while to some he

held out promise to pay with the least possible delay. This humane treatment was looked upon by the soldiers of the Muzumt as a God-sent blessing, which they had never received in the time of Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan and which proved to be the real cause of Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan's popularity. He made a budget of his income and expenditures and regulated his expenses accordingly.

He dispensed with luxuries and affected economy in every branch. He realised large sums from Chitani Lall and Miran Lall, the Mutasaddis of Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan. It is said that he went as far as to convert forcibly money from some of the relatives and dependents of Nawab Mahabat Jung and Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan as well as from those public women who had been lavishly paid by Meeran and Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan, and credited the amounts thus realised in the state treasury. But Sakrat Singh, the famous Mutasaddi of Mahabat Jung, made a list of his valuables, jewellery and cash, and submitted it to Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan. Meer Muhammad Kasim was much pleased at this, gave the man a portion of his property, and took the rest himself and added his portion. In this manner Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan improved the finances. He kept those soldiers in his service whom he considered fit and dispensed with the services of the incapable after paying up their salaries.

He now turned his attention to the refractory Zamindars. The first thing that he did in this direction was to march against Anad Khan, son of Badliassera. Anad Khan was a Zamindar of Bidhman and as one of the biggest Zamindars of the time in the province of Bengal also possessed an army. Muhammad Kasim defeated him, took a decent amount from him, lessened the revenue of his state, and brought him to submission.

For the present the author leaves Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan engaged in his administration of Bengal and turns his attention to the affairs of Arkhush (Pates).

When the Viceroyalty of Bengal passed into the hands of Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan, Major Curme Khan Bahadur and

other British military officers, Maharajah Rana Narsing, the Nephew of the Bhoj Peshwa, Raja Ram Balabai, the Mutasaddi of Sahib Ali Khan's demand, and Maharajah Shitab Rao, the Dewas of the province of Bhoj, began to advance towards the vicinity of Kaybhatpur with their own armies, as well as with the armed retainers of some of the *rajas* (gentry) of Anandabad (Palna) whose names the author does not recollect, with a view to oppose the combined armies of King Ali Ghasbar (Shah Alam), the Peshwa Hindustan Rao, and Kangur Khan, Esaukhar of Tirhut. Thus they all marched and encamped near the appointed place, when the combined forces of the King also appeared. Fighting commenced the next morning. Kangur Khan was the first to run away from the battlefield, harassed by British artillery fire. He was followed by the King and his army. The forces of Mowla Rao also fled at last, but the Peshwa general stood firm by his arms. When Major Carmichael and other English officials saw the brave general standing at his post, they rode up to him, praised him for his admirable courage, took him into their camp, and entertained him.

Maharajah Shitab Rao, who was a sincere well-wisher of the English, then proposed that peace be concluded with the King, which was readily accepted by Raja Ram Narsing, Major Carmichael and the other English officials. The English made Maharajah Shitab Rao their representative and sent him as such to the royal camp with a view to open negotiations with His Majesty. Maharajah Shitab Rao proceeded to the royal camp, and had the honour of obtaining an audience of His Majesty. He spoke with so much force and eloquence and managed the business so tactfully, that the King accepted the terms proposed by him, and handed over to him a *farman*, sealed with the royal seal, consenting to the proposals regarding the treaty. The Maharajah returned to the English camp with the royal *farman*. The English were much pleased with the Maharajah for the courteous manner in which he had settled such a delicate question, which they considered no other Indian was capable of doing.

then. The same day the King removed his camp nearer to where the English lay. Emperor Khwa was not pleased with the news and went away to his own country. The next morning Major Carmichael Khwa Sahib together with the British officials, Maharajah Ram Narain, Maharajah Doss Bahadur, Maharajah Shitab Das Sahib and a small retinue started for the purpose of seeing the Emperor. They were allowed to enter the royal camp and on being welcomed with an audience presented names. At the request of Maharajah Shitab Das the Emperor nominated an elephant, and in company with Major Carmichael Khwa Sahib and other English military officers of high rank, started for a garden near Gaya. The Maharajah and other high officials took leave of the King and repaired to their camps. The next day the King in full state, accompanied by the Maharajah and the English with their armies, started for Anandah and reached there by continued marches. The King and his officials were accommodated in the royal fort, where His Majesty was presented with honors suited to the dignity of his exalted position. The imperial feast was arranged near the tent of Hastings. The British army and its officers accommodated themselves in their own camps at Bunkipore. Maharajah Shitab Das and Maharajah Ram Narain went to their respective residences, while Maharajah Raj Bahadur and the army of Subah Ali Khwa remained outside the city near Bagh Jafar Khan. The next day the English officials, Maharajah Shitab Das, Maharajah Ram Narain, Maharajah Raj Bahadur Singh and other guests of Anandah assembled and went to the royal fort. They got the audience of the Emperor and presented names. They requested His Majesty to ascend the imperial throne, raised the royal umbrella over his head and in honor of the occasion presented him with honors for the second time. The royal audience was proclaimed by beat of drum in all the streets of Anandah. The public were overjoyed to have the pleasant news, which was an indication of the restoration of peaceful order. It was a masterpiece of the policy of Maharajah Shitab Das Sahib, which in fact placed the British rule in Jaffa on a firm basis and restored

passed to the inhabitants of Deogal. As soon as Nawab Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan knew of the treaty that was made with the Emperor and of his accession to the royal throne, he started for the Subah of Bihar, through the hilly regions of Bikhman and Khatagpur. After several marches he arrived at Arrah with a large army and encamped to the west of Hugh Jaffer Khan.

Maharajah Rani Nanda and Maharajah Raj Bahadur went to him with their wives. The next day Major General Bahadur and other English officials went to see him and informed him of the treaty and the accession and induced him to acknowledge the King. Nawab Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan replied that they should first call Maharajah Shitab Rae Bahadur, who was the real moving spirit, and that he would reply to them after he had a talk with the Maharajah. Major General Khan Bahadur therefore sent for the Maharajah Bahadur. Maharajah Shitab Rae Bahadur having put on his armour took his retinue with him and forthwith went to the English in the camp of Hugh Jaffer Khan. With them he went before Nawab Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan and telling the Nawab's position into consideration he presented him a valuable *Faridat*. Nawab Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan too owing to his previous acquaintance with the Maharajah stood up in his honour, examined him, accepted the *Faridat* presented by him, and asked him to take his seat. He then expressed his great appreciation of the tact and ability with which the Maharajah had managed the whole business, and then asked him to relate to him all that had transpired in connection with the matter. With such remarkable eloquence did the Maharajah expound the whole matter that the Nawab was immensely pleased with him. But Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan either through fear or not of more valour did not consent to go to the King's court. Maharajah Shitab Rae, however, whispered something in his ears and after a little consideration he expressed his willingness to meet the Emperor in the Factory of the English. The English and Maharajah Shitab Rae then took leave of the Nawab and went to the English Factory. They descended the Factory very tastefully and spread

a golden waist on a wooden dais, which was reserved for the Emperor. After taking His Majesty to their Factory the English asked him to take a seat on the musnad, while they all remained standing before him bareheaded and with folded arms. Nawab Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan mounted an elephant and proceeded to the Factory with great pomp and splendour. When he came near the Factory he dismounted. The English went forward to receive him and conducted him to His Majesty in a manner suited to his dignity. The Nawab was well versed in the etiquette of a Royal court. He made obeisance to His Majesty, and presented him with 1,001 gold mohurs, suits for his special use, and valuable jewellery (diamonds and rubies). To which the Emperor bestowed the Nawab with a *khilat* of some pieces, a garland of pearls, a sash (a piece of cloth tied round the waist), an embroidered shawl set with stones, a crest with catch plates, a sword with a shield, a *gholander paidi*, an elephant and horse and drum. The Nawab again presented water to the Emperor in token of gratitude for the high honour done to him, and after paying his loyal respects to His Majesty, retired into another room. The Nawab then called Major Currier, Mr. Maecher, the senior officer of Amirkabad, and other English officials. Negotiations regarding revenue and other affairs of the provinces of Bengal were opened through Mahomed Ali British Beg, who was the recognised agent of both the parties, and after a good deal of discussion it was settled that 24 lakhs of rupees should be annually paid to the Emperor in the shape of a present to His Majesty.

After the settlement of this business, Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan took leave of the Emperor and repaired to his camp. The Emperor also proceeded to the fort. Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan also requested the Emperor to dismiss Mir Hedayat Ali Khan, father of Ghulam Hussain Khan, from his army as being the sole cause of the disturbances that had taken place and to direct him to go to his jagirs. On his arrival at the fort the Emperor dismissed Meer Hedayat Ali Khan, who had to make his way towards his jagirs at Hamedabad.

The English officers, Maharajah Rana Nana and other persons of high rank and position used to pay their respects to the Emperor and the Nawab as long as the former resided in the fort of Ainsabad. The sum which Meer Mahmood Khatia Khan had promised to pay to the Emperor was, at the instance of the English, paid to His Majesty through Maharajah Shitab Rao.

At the time when the Emperor was engaged in the province of Bihar, Nawab Mahmood Rana Gali Khan, afterwards known as Mirza Asaf, was sent as a representative to Akbar Shah Abadi. In the meantime Sherjandaula, Najeebuddin, Akbar Khan Begum and other Afghans invited Akbar Shah to come and oppose the Mahattas who had appeared on the scene with a large and powerful army with the sole aim of setting up Durrani Rao Ghis of Puna as the Guru of Hindustan and in response to this invitation Akbar Shah arrived in Delhi from Kandahar. It took Akbar Shah nine months to crush the Mahattas. After defeating the Mahattas Akbar Shah plundered some of the Indian cities and took large sums of money from Sherjandaula and the Afghans, whom he also defeated, at the instance of Mahmood Rana Gali Khan Mirza Asaf, to remain firm and loyal to the crown. Akbar Shah gave him Hindustan for his country.

After the departure of Akbar Shah, Najeebuddin placed Sultan Jorasan Bala, the eldest son of Shah Alam, on the throne at Shahjahanabad as a deputy of his father and issued coins in the name of Shah Alam. Sherjandaula, Akbar Khan Begum and other Afghan Chiefs also issued coins in the name of the Emperor, had his name read out from the pulpits along with the *Zikirs* (written sermons), submitted loyal addresses of congratulations to him at Ainsabad, with large and valuable presents and invited him to come to Hindustan. The Emperor offered his thanks to the Almighty and proceeded from Ainsabad towards the provinces governed by Sherjandaula either in the end of the month of Shawwal, or in the beginning of that of Reebul 1170 Hijrah. Meer Mahmood Khatia Khan

and the English officials after making suitable presents to His Majesty, gave him a most loyal send-off. One of the English officials, accompanied by Maharajah Shitab Das a small detachment of troops, went with the Emperor to a distance of three or four mautils. They then returned to Anandah, and the Emperor proceeded onwards, till after crossing Kammur, he met the forces of Shajwahanda which had been posted there with a view to receive him with full military honours and give him a right royal reception. Shajwahanda himself made due obeisance to His Majesty, presented him with *Kumra* and valuable jewellery, etc., and took him towards his Ditch (graves).

In the beginning of the rule of Meer Mohammed Jaffer Khan, Maharajah Shitab Das had given pledges to Colonel Clive Baidjeng Bahadur, the founder of the British Empire in India, Mr. Amcott, Captain Knox, Major Currie Khan Bahadur and other English officials, that he would be firm in his attachment to the Company and the English had also promised to stand constantly by him. This was the mutual understanding between the English and Maharajah Shitab Das, and it was on this understanding that the Maharajah undertook to settle matters with the Emperor. The tactful manner in which he overruled the peace, the vigour which characterized his action in installing the Emperor at the instance of the English, the discrimination with which he settled the affairs of Dergal, and the tact with which he finally disposed of the business of the King and conducted His Majesty from Anandah to the present government of Shajwahanda, made a profound impression on the English. Nawab Meer Mohammed Kaseem Khan, who watched all these proceedings and saw many things for himself, also entertained a very high opinion of Maharajah Shitab Das. He thought that if he could gain the Maharajah to his side and make him his friend and supporter, he would be of great service to him in his political and administrative work. With this object in view, His Highness one day spoke to Major Currie Khan Bahadur that he had never seen Maharajah Shitab Das since

his meeting him is the Imperial Durbar and that he would be very pleased to see him again. Major Curzon replied that he would see Maharajah Shishu Rao and arrange the matter. Major Curzon then took leave of the Nawab and went straight to the Maharajah. The Maharajah received Major Curzon most courteously, and in the course of conversation Major Curzon asked the Maharajah to see the Nawab. The Maharajah thought over the matter and hesitated. He finally told Major Curzon that he had no faith in the Nawab, that he considered His Highness to be wanting in foresight and stability. In the Maharajah's opinion the Nawab was unprincipled and selfish in the extreme, consequently there was every probability of his turning against the English as soon as he got full power and saw his authority well established. The Maharajah was pledged to the English, and he could not therefore look to the interests of any one whose interests were not identical with his own. It was therefore that he did not like to see the Nawab. But Major Curzon persisted and explained to the Maharajah the desirability of seeing the Nawab, chiefly because of his being in favour with most of the English officials who were bound to support his cause. Maharajah Shishu Rao, however, yielded, and consented at last, though rather reluctantly.

The Major then went home. The next day Maharajah Shishu Rao Bahadur mounted an elephant and with his retinue and attendants went to Nawab Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan. He got down at the gate, went inside on foot accompanied by some of his chosen attendants, and made his obsequious bow to the Nawab. The Nawab stood up to receive him and gave him a seat near his *Mahand*. After enquiring after the Maharajah's health, the Nawab complained to him of his not having seen him for a long time. The Maharajah gave a suitable reply, and apologised to His Highness for his inability to call on him. After some friendly conversation, the Nawab asked all his attendants to retire. The Maharajah also made his men retire from the place. When the Nawab and the

Maharajah were alone, the Nawab sought the help and friendship of the Maharajah. He said "Oh Maharajah! I look upon you as a staunch friend of mine and regard you more than I would my elder brother. I highly appreciate your stationeriness, your political foresight, your wisdom, your sagacity and your military genius. I have a great regard for your high character and ability of soul. I count upon you and entertain friendly feelings towards you; and if you promise to be my constant companion and to be firm in your attachment to me, I pledge as oath and on my honour to be your slave wellwisher, and to make you my deputy in the administration of the province of Bengal." The Maharajah, who was one of the most experienced men of his age, a keen observer of human nature and a shrewd man of business, replied "I am much obliged to your Highness for the good and kindly feelings you entertain towards me, for the hearty and enthusiastic reception you have given me, and for the hopes of prosperity and the promise of help you have been kind enough to hold out to me. Your Highness want also believe that I am your sincere wellwisher. But I am afraid I do not find myself equal to the task your Highness has been kind enough to impose upon me. However, I shall think over the matter in my solitary retirement and give a decisive answer when I have the honour of calling next on your Highness." The Nawab was much delighted to hear all this and after presenting him and part to the Maharajah bade him good-bye. The Maharajah came home, and after taking his meal sent for his attendants and related to them all that had happened at the Nawab's. They were unanimously of opinion that he should accept the proposals of the Nawab, inasmuch as his promotion to the post of deputy to the Nadim of Bengal would enhance his dignity and raise his social position considerably. The Maharajah kept silent and did not say anything one way or the other. In the afternoon he went to Major Creek. At Major Creek's he also found three men of his English friends. He related to them all that had happened at the Nawab's and sought their advice in the matter. They

congratulated him, and advised him to accept the proposals made by the Nawab, as that would raise his social status and give them an assurance that their position would be safe and their interests well protected. But at the same time he should communicate to the Council at Calcutta over his signature all that the Nawab proposed to him, as it will be to his advantage if his appointment was made in consultation with the English at Calcutta and the members of the Council. They then asked him to see the Nawab, tell him that he had accepted his proposals, and then again inform them of all that he said in reply. The Maharajah said in reply, that he in reality would not wish to serve the Nawab and did not like his company. But they persisted and requested the Maharajah to see the Nawab, after which they would consider the matter. The Maharajah first kept quiet, then talked on other subjects, and at last took leave of them and came home.

At home and in his library-room, Maharajah Shite's Bae deliberated over the matter, and at last came to the conclusion that it would be much safer to avoid the company of the Nawab. He having regard for the advice given him by Major Creb, and his other English friends, on the fourth day he mounted an elephant and in full State proceeded towards the camp of Meer Muhammad Qasim Khan. Meer Muhammad Qasim Khan received him most cordially and enthusiastically, and seated him nearer to himself than on the previous occasion. The Nawab then ordered his eunuchs to retire from the place, and when he and the Maharajah were alone, asked the Maharajah what statement he would give him with his definite opinion, and give him a decisive answer. The Maharajah who was adept in court business, replied that he would feel much obliged if His Highness would condescend to excuse him from taking upon himself the great responsibility with which he was to be entrusted, for even without the proposed honour he would remain equally firm and faithful to His Highness. He added that as he was most anxious to visit his native place, and see his family, whom he had left in the up-country, and whom he had not seen

for four years, he would show it a special favour if he would be granted four months' leave to go and see his family after which he would again pay his respects to His Highness, and most gladly carry out all his instructions and orders.

The Nawab heard all this with great attention, but pressed the Maharajah to accept his proposals. When the Maharajah saw that the Nawab would not yield, he asked his permission to speak out the truth without any mental reservation. The Maharajah said that as he had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the East India Company through some of the English officials, it would be proper and desirable, both in the interests of His Highness and himself, to get him into His Highness' service after converting the English. This address of the Maharajah made an impression on the Nawab and he consented to appoint the Maharajah after getting a written permission from the English. The Nawab therefore wanted to write to the English in consultation with the Maharajah. But the Maharajah told His Highness' permission to go home and to pay again his respects to His Highness after four or five days, when he would write in His Highness' presence. The Nawab consented. *Div and dar* were then presented to the Maharajah who took leave of the Nawab, and went home. The friends and relatives of the Maharajah all approved of the idea of his accepting the service of the Nawab, but the Maharajah doubted very much the cordance of the arrangements. He had no trust or confidence in the Nawab. He considered him unprincipled, selfish and treacherous, and did not wish to have anything to do with him. In the evening, Maharajah Ram Narayan heard of the incident and came to Maharajah Singh Bah who gave him a hearty reception.

Maharajah Ram Narayan also advised Maharajah Singh Bah to accept the service of the Nawab. But the Maharajah remained firm in his opinion. The fact is that he had no faith in the Nawab, who he thought was a dangerous man, really working in the interests of clannishness. The Maharajah told Ram Narayan point blank that he would not on any account

except service under any one else except under the East India Company. Raa Narayaa expressed his entire agreement with the Maharajah, and highly appreciated his far-sighted policy and sound judgment. Maharajah Raa Narayaa then asked the Maharajah as to what he would do, now that the matter had so far advanced. The Maharajah replied that he would first see Major Creek Khan Bahadur and his other English friends, inform them of what had happened, and then quietly sit at home and never see the Namah again. Raa Narayaa then took leave of the Maharajah and went home. The next morning Maharajah Shitah Raa called upon Major Creek where he met his other English friends also. He related to them all that had transpired and sought their advice. Major Creek and others said that they would be able to give definite opinions in the matter, after they had seen the letter of the Namah to the Company. The Maharajah then came home. But soon after he was told that the Namah was much annoyed with him on account of Maharajah Raa Narayaa's meeting to him. The fact is that the Namah hated Maharajah Raa Narayaa and bore grudge against him, and therefore felt much offended on learning that he had seen Maharajah Shitah Raa. Under these circumstances the Namah himself did not send for Maharajah Shitah Raa, with the result that there was no further meeting between them. This state of affairs greatly delighted the Maharajah who felt quite relieved. The Maharajah subsequently related all these facts to Major Creek, and his other English friends, who were unanimous in their condemnation of his tact, foresight and sagacity.

V.—The Social Organization of the Pabri Bhuiyas.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

The Pabri Bhuiyas are not divided into clans, subclans, or castes. There is no trace amongst them of any Village organization. The unit of their social organization is the village consisting of families supposed to be descended from a common ancestor and all regarded as "kuzans" or agnates. In almost every village, however, one or more families of marriage-relations called "Families" have settled.

The every village there is a senior husband called the Nish and a married son called the Dharri. The rest of the villagers are called Parjia. The Nish is said to belong to the elder branch and the Dharri to a younger branch of the original village-family. The Dharri is allotted some land called "Dharri" land in the village to enable him to meet the expenses of the public *yojas* performed for the benefit of the villagers. The Dharri, besides having charge of the public worship of the gods, is along with the Nish the leader of the villagers in all social, semi-religious and semi-political matters. The Nish is the guide and representative of the villagers in their relations with the authorities and with the outside world generally.

These posts are both hereditary. Within a fortnight after the death of a Dharri, the villagers assemble at the *dhara*, or village meeting-ground, and hand over a new bamboo basket to his eldest son, and each villager presents him with a *hul*-cup filled with unbroken rice. The new Dharri now inherits

Succession is
Dhariship.



E. A. F. F. F.
(Front view)



H. F. F. F. F.
(Back view)

himself and breaks the rice which he offers along with some pils and breadstuffs to Gô-ai the ordinary dolly of the village. He then boils some *Arad* rice into *Aras* which he eats alone. Henceforth he is the recognized *Dihari* of the village. There is no bar to a lockster being appointed a *Dihari*.

When a *Dihari* dies without a male issue, the whole order of the village assembles at the death and a new election of a *Dihari* is decided by the following method. The successor to a deceased *Dihari* is chosen by the following method. The election of a *Dihari* is decided by the following method. The

dust-ground is cleared with weeding and water. Every villager present brings a bushel of unhusked rice. All this rice is informed baked by an elderly man of the village after he has bathed and has washed the husks and winnowing-fans to be used in husking the rice. The rice thus husked is now placed before the assembled villagers. Any one of them who desires to, do so, takes up some grains of rice in the joined palms of his hands and drops them on the ground saying some villager whom he considers suitable for the post. The grains so dropped are called *pitais* and the *pitais* dropped by different men are all dropped close to one another. All the *pitais* thus placed on the ground are then covered over with a new earthy mound. The villagers then disperse. Next morning, the villagers after bathing themselves assemble there to ascertain which *pitai* has furnished entirely separate from others so that not a grain has got mixed up with the *pitais* on any side of it. The man in whose name such a *pitai* was dropped is declared to be the elected *Dihari*. Some elderly men now kneel near the basket containing rice and flowers to the *Dihari* thus elected, and says, "From to-day you become our *Dihari*." He takes the basket home and hangs it suspended in a side so that none the way touch it.

The *Nat* and the *Dihari* preside over the *panchayat* or assembly of village elders by which ordinary offences and disputes are decided, and the *Nat* and the *Dihari* preside over the *panchayat* and maintain in accordance with sacred tribal custom. Particularly, it is said, a murderer might in the night be killed while engaged in the murder.

otherwise he might be given a severe beating which might cause any injury short of death; and a man proved to have stolen another's goods was punished by making him remain seated for three days with his legs buried in holes made in the ground. A husband catching his wife and her paramour in the act of adultery was entitled to cut down both of them with his axe. But if they managed in separating and going a few steps apart they had to be handed over to the authorities for punishment. In such a case the woman is made over to the abductor if he is not a friend of the woman's father; otherwise she is made over to her parents. An unring female is not punished unless she has gone wrong with a man of another caste, in which case she is excommunicated. Disputes about partition or inheritance of property are decided according to customary tribal law by the village *posadnyak* under the guidance of the *Jedak* and the *Dikari*. When important questions arise which they cannot decide, or when their decision is not accepted, the matter may be referred to the *Posadnyak* of the *Dur*, to ascertain which, however, the disputing party has to provide a costly feast.

The orthodox methods employed by a *Posadnyak* in deciding disputes or finding out a culprit where **Oaths and ordeals.** there is no evidence are the use of oaths and ordeals. Oaths are taken by touching the earth and saying,—"May I be one with the earth (*zemia*)—(i.e. die and rot in the earth)—if my statement (or my claim, as the case may be) is not true or correct"; by placing the hands on the head of one's own and saying, "May my line (*linia*) be cut off if my statement (or my claim, as the case may be) is not correct"; or by invoking the gods by name and saying, "If I am guilty, may I be destroyed by you, ye gods". A more elaborate ruffied is the following:—A portion of the earth or open space in front of the *Maye-pla* of the village is cleared with working and water, and on the spot thus cleared some *besad-mik* or earth from an anthill (representing the Earth), a tiger's skin, and a twig of the *besa* plant are placed.

The village Dikari now invokes *Shikama-Dosti* or the Supreme God, and often draw rice to Him. The deponent then touches the ground and says,—“If I be guilty, may my line be extinct as my shoot (child) burst open.”

One or other of three different modes of ordeal are employed to find out the truth or otherwise of an accusation made against a man or a woman of being a *Pitaji* or sorcerer or witch. These are the *cedring* (*Oker-dari*) test; the *iron test*, and the *ladder* (*Sira-didi*) test. The *Oker-dari* test is as follows:—A coin is placed in a vessel full of boiling hot cedring. The person accused of being a *Pitaji* is asked to dip his right hand into the boiling cedring and take out the coin. If the hand remains unharmed in the process, the accused is declared innocent. If the hand is burnt or scalded the person is declared to be a *Pitaji*. In the *iron test*, the accused person has to take up a pound's weight of red-hot iron three times on his right hand. If the hand is not scalded the person is declared innocent; otherwise he is held guilty. The *Sira-didi* test is the following:—A ladder of twelve steps is set up and on the ground below the ladder a small circle (*patela*) is inscribed. Inside the circle the Dikari makes offerings of *dral rice* to *Shikama Dosti*. The accused goes up on the topmost rung of the ladder on which a cup of milk, a mango twig, and some *dral rice* have been placed. The accused is required to drop these one after another into the circle. If it all fall inside the circle, the accused is declared innocent. If anything—even a single grain of rice—falls outside the circle he is declared guilty. The punishment for a *Pitaji* is expulsion from the village.

When a *Pitaji* of the village is found guilty of having killed either intentionally, or through neglect, or by accident, a cow, calf, or ox, or of having kept a *non-Pitaji* female, the *Mark* and the Dikari pass the sentence of excommunication on him and in the quality of rice, goats, fowl, salt and other requisites of a feast which must be supplied for the Panchayat of the *Shikama* organisation (as has recently described),

Other features of the Dikari and the Mark.

when they first meet, for the purpose of restoring him to the community; and they also inform the offender that he has to pay a fine of twelve rupan to the Dir to be spent as follows:—One rupan each to be paid to the Hatoqan, and the Pabai Bektas of the Dir, a rupan or half a rupan to be paid to the Dikha Bektas, and the balance to meet the expenses of a annual feast when the Panahyat break up. When hunting expeditions (*Pindli*) are contemplated by the villagers—as is usually done between the months of Chait and Jaisitha (March to May)—the Dikha fixes the date and notifies it to the villagers. On the appointed day he performs a *ghat* of the village-gods in the morning. Then the Dikha leads the people to the forests. Arriving at a cross road on the borders of the village, the hunters offer *drad*, rice, sugar, molasses and *frankincense* to Ganes and also take a vow of offering him a *frank* if deer or moular or wild bear or other game is bagged. They also throw handfuls of rice upwards towards the sky for *Dhany-Dasta* (the Sun-god or the Supreme God) and downwards for *Bachkhmita* or *Bach-mati* (the Earth-goddess). The party returns home by the evening.

The Dikha and the Nakh also select to different men of the village the duties they have to perform when the Rajah or his officials or other important personages visit the village; they select persons who are to carry horses or palanquins, etc., for such visitors; and collect contributions in money or in kind for supplying provisions to honored guests of the village and to meet other public expenses. The Dikha and the Nakh have also a general supervision over the hereditary *darwishes* although, within the darwisyah itself, two of the elder boys act as leaders, decide upon the order in which they will visit different *darwishes* villages to dance with the maidens of such villages, punish the younger boys for neglect of their duties, such as clearing the darwisyah, bringing fuel from the jungle, sleeping their elders, attending to the village guests and digging for the elder boys of the village by running their arms and sharpening their legs, and so forth. When any member of the darwisyah goes wrong with a *darwishi* (agnat) girl, he is expelled from the

dormitory. In every village there will exist women dormitories for the maidens of the village. The older girls instruct the younger girls in the different styles of dancing. The girls weave mats for the bachelors' dormitory as well as for their own. As the girls supply the mats on which the boys sleep in their dormitories, so the boys in their turn supply food for the girls' dormitory. Logs of wood are kept burning the whole night during the cold months.

When coming to some common tribal grievance against the authorities, a general assembly of the tribe is called upon at a meeting of the leaders convened by some prominent Bôhja leader, such as the Gup Nakk of Kalya or the Minak of Kôlupôdi, and by way of a secret signal or message common words are sent round to the headmen of the different Bôhja villages indicating the number of combatants each village has to supply, it is the Bôhja and the Nakk who are to decide which of the young men must go to fight, and out they go with slings armed with their bows, arrows, and axes under the leadership of their Nakk.

Thus the Palai village community is bound together not only by a bond of blood-relationship and common worship of the village deity, but it is also an economic, social and quasi-political organisation.

Superimposed on this village organisation is the larger organisation of the *Bir*. The villages of the **The Bir Organisation.** Palai Pargana are grouped for socio-political purposes into several *Birs*, each "bir" consisting of from three to twelve or more villages. Thus, villages Kerra, Kooda and Dorava form what is called a *Tu-Elappô Bir*; villages Sôlgura, Ilappa, Ludi, Buhaga, Kamma, Kama and Kanta form a *Su-Elappô Bir* known as the *Pandi-Elappô Bir*; villages Naravagoru, Kalakadai, Talakala, Balura and Barava form a *Jôdi-Elappô Bir* known as the *Doikee-Bir*; villages Ugura, Palaiyar, Sero, Palavagôdi, Laghri, Girth, and a few others together form a *Bir* known as the *Pattial-padi-bir*. For purposes of social

government, the chiefs of the different villages constituting the *Bir* meet in *Bir-Panchayat*. The objects for which the *Panchayat* of a *Bir* now ordinarily meet are to take back into the community a man who was excommunicated by his village *Panchayat* either for having kept a female of a tribe or caste other than *Bhalia* or *Gaba*, or for having killed a cow, calf, or ox, and to divide the property of a heirless *Pahel* of the *Bir*; and to incorporate into the *Pahel* community a man of the *Gote* caste, or a non-*Pahel* *Bhalia* of a class of whose hands *Pahel* *Bhāyās* may drink water when such *Gote* or *Bhalia* has kept a *Pahel* female.

Every *Bir* has the following public servants: A *Pahel* male of one of the villages of the *Bir* is appointed **Public functionaries of the Bir and their functions.** he *Bhāyā* or leader who is required to shave a social offender when he is occasionally taken back to the community, or to shave a social *Pahel* when the *Panchayat* of the *Bir* occasionally incorporates him into the *Pahel* community. The *Bhāyā* also acts as a messenger to notify the date of a meeting of the *Panchayat* of the *Bir* and to summon the people to attend it. Another *Pahel* of one of the villages of the *Bir* is appointed as the *Bokhā* of the *Bir*. His duty is to perform the purificatory rite of sprinkling from a wooden vase containing a little cooking oil, in cow's urine on the head of a social offender when he is taken back into the community or on the head of non-*Pahel*s who are taken into the *Pahel* community. Besides this *Bhāyā* *Bokhā*, a *Bokhā* or man of the washerman caste living in some village of the *Bir* is also appointed as the *Bhokā* *Bokhā* of the *Bir*. His duty is to wash the clothes of a person or family when they are taken back or incorporated into the *Pahel* community, and also the clothes of a family when they undergo seasonal purification after a death or birth in the village. Ordinarily a *Pahel* family wash their own clothes; and at birth, death or marriage and also on ordinary occasions, the functions of a barber are performed by a fellow tribesman living in the village. For their services on each occasion, the

Elkandiri is given a cloth or a rupee in each, the Elhiyk Bekiri gets a rupee or so and the Dihia Bekiri gets from eight annas to a rupee.

The method of convening a meeting of the Panchdyot of the **Procedure of Bar** and the procedure followed by the **Pan-** the **Bar Pan-** chdyot are as follows:—When the social out-caste informs the Dihiri and Nisk of his village that he has collected the amount necessary for restoration to the community, the Dihiri and Nisk summons the Elhiy-diri of the Bar and, through him, sends a message to the different villages of the Bar that such and such a date has been fixed for the social, or ceremonial, restoration of such and such an outcaste to the community. Sometimes men of some neighbouring Bars are also invited. On the evening preceding the appointed day, as many Panchi as possible assemble at the village of the outcasts.

On their arrival the women of the village come with jugs of water and wash their feet. The guests each present one or two pies to the women. A feast is provided for the assembled guests at the west of the outcasts. Next morning when the Panchdyot is assembled the Elhiydiri shaves the outcasts and pays his sala, and the Elhiyk Bekiri of the Bar by way of purification sprinkles a little cow's urine mixed with a little cowdung on his head. The same mixture will also be sprinkled over his knee. The man thus restored to the community takes a bath and, by way of a token of his restoration to caste, touches the heap of boiled rice which is presently served to the assembled men of the Bar, with whom he then sits down to dinner. When they have finished their meal, they go to some stream or pool to bathe. People from adjoining villages return home the same evening, others go back next morning. The same method of purification is adopted to purify and incorporate into the Panchi community a Gole female who has been kept by a Panchi man, or a man of the Gole caste who has kept a Panchi female.

The Bar Panchdyot is invited in the same manner to a village where a Panchi Elhiyk has died without any son or nephew or

beasties or other male folk. The assembled elders of the Bar divide the deceased's property into halves, one half of which is made over to his widow and daughters (if any), and the other half is taken by the Panchayat who sell all the effects except rice; and the rice, if any, and the sale proceeds of the other property go to provide a feast for them.

Besides these social functions, the Bar Panchayat also attempts to devise means for the relief of any public grievance of the Bar or of the tribe, and take such measures as may be decided upon at each meeting.

A religious bond is supplied to the Bar by the common worship of *Pōt*. A *Pōt* is generally some prominent hill or mountain in the neighbourhood, or, rather, the spirit of such hill or mountain, which is regarded as the tutelary deity of the Bar in the same way as its *Gā-wāl* is the presiding deity of a village. Thus the *Bar-dhappā* Bar including villages *Tibet*, *Khorit*, *Nisat*, *Naot*, *Sawa*, *Bashāl*, *Jala*, *Pajhar*, etc., worship *Huait-Pōt*. Among other *pōt* may be mentioned *Khapit-pōt*, *Jatra Pōt*, *Balawat-Pōt*, *Jatra-Pōt* and many others. The name *Pōt* is not however confined to mountain alone. The *Brūhmā* river, or rather its spirit, is worshipped under the name of *Brahmapōt*. For purposes of worship *Pōt* are represented by stones.

Such are the general features of the social organisation of the *Hindiyas* of the *Poksi* Pargana. The *Hindiyas* of *Kaipa* Pargana follow exactly the same customs and methods in their village organisation and village administration. But instead of different Bars, the whole of the pargana consisting of twenty-nine villages form a single Bar, of which the *Garb-Nash* of *Kaipa* is the leader and *Kumawar Pōt* the presiding deity.

The more advanced Hinduised *Hindiyas* of the lowlands who call themselves *Panch-sāl Hindiyas* and also *Khapit* (*Brūhmā*) *Hindiyas* (because they form the saltila of the state and have the

Hindiyas of the lowlands.

sworn for their *Samaj* or *saddam*;¹ have a larger social and socio-political organisation, although their village organisation agrees on all points with that of the *Potols* and the *Kajri Bhatrys* except in the *nominalities* of the village headmen. *Bhatrys* of the *bedambs* call their village *prant* the "Kilo"; and as for the secular headman of a village, the name "Dish" is still retained in some villages and has been changed for "Ganka" in others. Some of these *Hindulaid Bhatrys* families have also borrowed from the *Hindus* such titles, or *Samajis*, as *Sahra*, *Pot-lar*, *Sakhi*, *Maaji*, *Chakr*, *Bakari*, *Gurtis* and *Pradhan*. These titles however do not indicate any special function in the tribal organisation. With their broadened outlook on society, these *Hindulaid Bhatrys* of the *bedambs* have come to represent a larger tribal association formed of most of the *Hindulaid Bhatrys* not only of the *Bassi* State but also of the adjoining states of *Goggar*, *Bierga*, *Kachhar*, etc. Once in two or three years the chiefs of the tribe all meet in *prantprant* at the invitation of some important personage of the tribe. Such a tribal *prantprant* of the *Pach-sai-guria Bhatrys* is known as a *Galla*. Information is sent to the headmen of different *prants* and villages of the day and place appointed for the meeting. Those who can afford to make the journey also invite other sections of the *Bhatrys*. Such are the *Dargahia*, *Pach-sai-guria* and the *Pach-sai Bhatrys* (mostly found in *Goggar* State), the *Kajri Bhatrys* of *Kachhar*, *Bierga Bhatrys* of *Bassi* and *Kachhar*, etc.

The *Pach-sai-guria Bhatrys* divide the *Bhatrys* into three main sections. They call themselves the *Pach-sai Bhatrys*; the *nominal* Non-*Hindulaid Bhatrys* such as the *Potols* of *Bassi* and *Kachhar*,—the *Baba*, *Daba*, *Mach-dari*, *Nakala*, *Bhatari*, etc.,—as *Dai-Bhatrys* or *Bairam Bhatrys*; and the *mixed Bhatrys* such as the *Bichhari*, etc., as *Budias*.

¹ The *Bhatrys* of the *Kajri* *Prant* have also the word (*Khanda*) for their section and also call themselves *Khanda*. The *Potol Bhatrys* have for their section the *bedambs* or carrying load as they have to supply *bed-carries* to the *King* when required.

At a Gaddi meeting, questions of common interest to the tribe are discussed, and emphatic of grave social offences committed by any member of the Pabai-glanke are heard, discussed and decided and social outcasts are restored to caste. No one is particularly presiding at the meeting, but all must be equal, although the most intelligent amongst the elderly men take the lead in the discussion. On the day when the Bhalays from different parts of the country assemble, those of each separate locality, such as Nural Bhalays, are accommodated in separate *khilaks* (usually, compartments or enclosures) to cook and eat their meals. The provisions are supplied by the man who convenes the meeting. When the discussions are finished and it is decided (as is always done at such Gaddi meetings) to take back into the tribe one or more persons who had been ostracised for some social offence, such as killing a bullock through negligence or otherwise, a grand feast is given at the cost of each person or persons to all the assembled Bhalays. A big dinner for all the Pabai-glanke Bhalays is made ready, the cooking being done at different *khilaks* as heretofore but at one big *khilak* or spot called the *Mala-khilak* (so gunk *khilak*). The other sections of the Bhalays are provided with retines which they cook and eat in their own separate *khilaks*. When the dinner for the Pabai-glanke is ready, the convenor of the assembly requests them to all draw to dinner. The eldest of the *Shaks* (social heads of certain persons), *Shaks* and *Kilbs* are seated at the table. When all have taken their seats and dinner is served to them, the eldest *Shak*, *Nach* and *Kilb*, first eat a morsel or two and then summon one who says, "Hano jao logan?" On their answering in the affirmative, others begin eating. The person mentioned in the table draws with the rest as a token of his restoration.

Although all the Pabai Bhalays of Pabai Pargana, Kairi Pargana¹ and Kairi Pargana do not yet meet in such assemblies

¹ It is worth noting that the more or less distinct portion of the Bhalays of Pabai Pargana were drawn the name of Pabai and all those of Kairi Pargana, Bhalays in addition of the Pabai Pabai Pargana Bhalays. The addition of the word "Pabai" shows that they really belong to the Pabai section of Bhalays. The name "Pabai Bhalays" being applied by the Pabai Pabai Pargana to the Pabai.

For social purposes on the Poch-dal-gharits do in their Gaddis, for the last twenty years or so they have begun to associate together in a common religious festival once in the year in the month of September or October and already at such meetings of the elders of all the Pichri villages certain topics of social interest have begun to be informally considered. In fact, this religious festival of the Pichris is of great social interest as it helps in bringing together not only all the Bhatrys of Pichri Pargana but also other sections of the Bhatrys as well as other castes, high and low, of the Feroi State. Even the Wada Raja of the Boodi State takes a prominent part in this festival which is known as the festival of the deity Kori Kori. The name Kori Kori is applied to a roundish fragment of some old metal object which was dug up by some cultivators and taken charge of by the Pichri Bhatry of village Jala near the Khachdhar waterfall about sixteen miles from Bantigah. The Bhatry keeps the so-called image in some secret spot during the whole of the year and brings it out only on the occasion of this festival which has come to be a tribal festival of the Pichris and a territorial festival for all the castes and tribes of the Boodi State. Pichri Bhatrys even from Kachar may be seen attending the festival. As I had the opportunity of witnessing the festival and accompanying the procession, I shall proceed to give an account of this interesting religious festival.

On some day after the eighth day of the new moon (*Kripal-sree*) and before the following new moon (*soothajit*) day the Bhatry of village Jala comes to the Raja's yard at Boodi when the Raja takes out from his Bhagdar (store-room) one earthen vessel filled with washed rice of a whitish color, seven pieces of turmeric, and a little vermillion, and hands these over to the Bhatry. With these the Bhatry mixes honey. On the following Mahalaya, or new moon day, the Bhatry goes to the hiding-place of the image, and after making the customary offerings (including the rice, turmeric and vermillion received from the Raja), carries the image in a small bamboo box to his own house at Jala, where the headmen of several Pichri villages

assemble. The next day after bathing the image in water, and making offerings of *Jod* rice, fowls, molasses, etc., to the deity, the Dikari of *Jolo* carries the image or symbol of *Kontu Kuntari* in the basket-box in procession accompanied by the headmen of different *Pikpi Bakiya* villages and followed by a band of musicians with their drums and pipes and flutes. That afternoon on their arrival at village *Makkradar*—a *Pach-dai-glar* *Bakiya* village—the *Bakiya* Otaja or headmen of the village smokes the image with turmeric paste and offers sacrifices to it. Then the image is taken to the house of every other villager who may wish to make sacrifice and offerings to the deity. Thence the party proceed to village *Klotiglo* and halt that night at the house of the *Jagirlar* or headman of that place known under the title of the *Mahaguna* who is a Hindulaid Goud. The basket-box containing the image of *Kontu Kuntari* is hung up inside the house.

Next morning the Goud *Mahaputra* sacrifices a goat to *Kontu Kuntari*. From his house the image is taken by the Dikari of *Jolo* to other houses in village *Klotiglo*, and at every house where it is taken either a goat or a fowl is sacrificed to the deity and other offerings are made. As the deity may not spend more than one night at any one village, the party proceed that day to village *Hikampot* where they halt for the night at the public house known as *dud-glar*. Next morning the deity is taken first to the house of the *Nink* of the village who is a *Goud* and thence to other houses of the village where the presence of the deity is sought. At every house either a goat or one or more fowls are sacrificed to the deity and other offerings are made. Thence the party proceed to village *Fliglo* and there they halt for the night at the public *dud-glar*.

Next morning the deity is taken first to the house of the Goud headman (*Nink*) of the village and then to the other houses of which the owners request the Dikari to take it, and receive sacrifices and offerings at each such house. Towards evening they cross the river *Bakhar* and reach village *Jotikela*

where they halt for the night at the house of the Kalo or village priest who is a *Pakow* (pachá) *Shilya*.

Next morning, after sacrifices are offered at the Kalo's house, the deity is taken to other houses in the village where offerings and sacrifices are made to the deity. In the evening the party proceed to village *Naniti* and halt at the *Mangghar* for the night. Next morning after pûk offerings and sacrifices are made to *Kento Kato* at the house of the *Chentik* or headman of the village who is a man of the *Kallia* caste, the image is taken to the house of different villagers who offer sacrifices to the deity. Thence the party proceed to village *Obolya*, and if the *asthanti* *aviti* (eighth day of the moon) has already begun they proceed straight on towards the Raja's palace at *Bonilgach*. If however the eighth day of the moon falls on the next day, they halt for the night at *Obolya* in the compound of the Raja's *Kalindr* or threshing floor where next morning a goat is sacrificed to the deity and then the image is taken to different houses in the village and at each such house sacrifices and offerings are made to the deity. Thence at sunset the party start in procession and at short intervals in the evening reach village *Konmal* about a mile from *Bonilgach*. By the roadside at village *Konmal* an earthen altar has been prepared for sacrifices to the deity, and a canopy has been set up and large mats bespreading and carpets spread under it and seats placed for the Raja and members of his family as also for other respectable visitors.

On the party arriving there, the Raja and his party receive them. The *Dihari* of *Jolo* comes up to the Raja with the image, salutes him, and questions him about the health and welfare, first of himself, then of his *Rajá*, then of his children, then of his servants, then of his elephants, then of his horses, and last of all about the welfare of the land (*Pritel* or *Bath*). The Raja answers "yes" to every question and then in his turn asks the *Dihari* about the welfare of himself and his children and then of the *Pilris* generally, and to every question the *Dihari* replies in the affirmative. Then the *Dihari*

places the image on a new cloth which the Raja has in his hands for the purpose. The Raja then places it on a small silver throne which he keeps in readiness to receive the deity. While the Distant hands over the image to the Raja, he addresses the Raja, saying "Here is your deity (Dental); we kept it in the hills. Examine and see if the image is broken or intact." The Raja says, "It is all right", and hands it over to the Anati, a man of the Soki caste who officiates as the priest of some of the Raja's family deities. The Soki priest or Anati puts down the image on the mat-sitar prepared for the purpose where the Anati worships the deity with offerings supplied by the Raja, and sacrifices two goats supplied by the Raja, both reddish grey in colour and both with horns equal in size and both of the same height. The two goats are made to stand side by side and both are slain with the same stroke of the sword held at their joined necks by the pointed hand of the Soki. After these offerings and sacrifices from the Raja's plate, a number of fowls and goats brought by men of surrounding villages are offered to the deity and offerings of pumpkins, *inashi* (pyramidal shaped cakes made of fried rice or beans and molasses) and sweets are brought by the people and offered to the deity by the Anati. Everyone bringing the offerings and sacrifices feels as if justice were done even from the deity, and it is assumed that the home mentally prayed for at the time by the persons who bring the offerings are generally granted. The image is next taken to a cross-road at Kenjohi, a *hoshi* or quarter of the town of Dantai, and there again several persons of different castes bring offerings and sacrifices which are offered to the deity by the Anati. The image is then carried in procession successively to the house of a man of the Soki (*Yagata* caste) and that of a man of the Katori (*Jessien*) caste, where special offerings are made to the deity. Then the image is taken successively to the seats of the deities *Nijii* and *Kawai* where sacrifices are offered. Finally the image is ceremonially installed in a shed prepared for the purpose in the Raja's palace compound where sacrifices are again offered.

The following morning, which is the ninth day of the moon, after sacrifices of a sheep and a goat, the deity is carried by the Raja himself into the inner apartments of his palace, where the members of his family make offerings of sweetmeats to Kanto Kanti; and finally on an inner veranda of the palace the Anant bathes the image in hygie and makes offerings of rice, sweets, etc., and sacrifices one or more buffaloes, one or more sheep and sixteen or more goats to the deity. After being taken to the Raja's Chhatra-gumbhita room (in which state umbrellas are kept) the image is taken first to the houses of the different kinsmen of the Raja and then to those of other residents of Bonligach and finally to the Anant's house. At every house where the image is taken sacrifices or offerings are made to the deity. The Anant now hands over the image to the DChari of Jala who in his turn carries it from house to house in Bahargach, a quarter of Bonligach, just beyond the immediate vicinity of the palace. Finally it is taken to the bank of the Bakhmagi where the Raja's behat of the unbreakable Pinjara hands over to the DChari a goat and a fowl which the latter sacrifices to the deity, and the Pin Behat who by reason of his being an untouchable is not allowed to touch the image or even offer flowers to the deity with his own hands, offers from some distance seven cakes called *sawa shukla* made of rice-flour and powdered leaves of the *arum* tree. This privilege is allowed to the Pin Behat as it is said that an ancestor of this Pin first discovered the image.

Now the DChari of Jala places the image in the bamboo box and accompanied by the whole body of Palaji headmen crosses over to the other side of the Bakhmagi where they pass the rest of the night at the house of a certain man of the Kola caste. Such is the rigidity of custom with this people that even if in any year the day dawn by the time they reach the Kola's house, the party must lie down in the house for a short while to keep up the practice which has now acquired the force of an inviolable rite. On getting up, the men bathe themselves, and bathe the deity, and the DChari

make offerings of rice, flowers, etc., and when available a goat is sacrificed. Then the Dharu takes the deity in procession from house to house where sacrifices and offerings are made. Thence the party proceed successively to villages Naki, Tadojara and Bihuman-gia, Amityasi, Kurda, Blegro, Gidra, Dharu, Kakhya, Joribaba, Kanta Kadar and finally on the Kojagar Purnima day to Jola. At every village the image is taken round and offerings and sacrifices are made to the deity at different houses.

Arrived at Jola, the image is kept suspended on a tree in the jungle. Almost all the adult Puri Brahmins of the nearby sixty villages of Puri Pargana assemble at Jola on the Kojagar Purnima day with goats or fowls and rice and other offerings. In the course of the day the deity is taken in procession to the Dharu's house and placed in the tanga which has been cleaned with cowdung and water. Thence the offerings and sacrifices brought by all the Puri Brahmins of the country are offered by the Dharu to the goddess. The rice and the meat are then cooked and the people are treated to a hearty feast. They then all depart. Finally the Dharu and another member of his family take the image to its hiding-place which is kept secret even from the other members of the Dharu's family. The reason assigned for taking one member of the family in the Dharu's confidence is that in the event of the Dharu's death the other man may know where to find the image. Like the Amli at Boudi, the Dharu of Jola collects a *danastara* (about twenty to thirty rupees) as fee paid to him for the *pila* at the different houses where the image is taken during the journey to Boudigark and back. Part of this is spent in the feast to the assembled Puri Brahmins on the Kojagar Purnima day and part is *daak* while the assembled Puris wait on the bank of the Batakani opposite Boudigark to take back the image of Kanta Kanti from Boudi to Jola.

This annual tribal gathering although originating in a mere accident, namely, the discovery of a peculiarly shaped piece of metal, with hair to develop in time into a great celebra-

political congress of the tribe. Here by way of a digression, it may be noted that the Kumbh Kumbh festival would seem to show an interesting sidelight on the social history of ancient India. The participation of the Hindu Raja of the Bund State in the worship of Kumbh Kumbh, the goddess of the semi-cavey Pabla, and some other deities of the Raj family, such as the worship of the goddess Andhni and Kumbh, the tutelary deity of the Kumbh Kumbh, is testified to by the Raja's palace and the employment by the Raja of a family priest of the low caste of Suddha to worship these aboriginal deities, and of a Kumbh to worship the day image of a Kumbh spirit at every marriage and auspicious (sometimes with the sacred thread) in the Raj family, and the sacrifice of goats and buffaloes offered by the Raja near his palace to the spirit of an ancient Kumbh hero, Mahabub, all this would seem to give us an insight into the political methods by which the ancient Aryans introduced into India could constitute the overwhelming masses of non-Aryan population and bring them under subjection, and impose their Aryan culture on them, although in this process of the Aryanization of the aboriginals the simple and primitive religion of the ancient Aryans was merged by admixture with the aboriginal religion of the indigenous population, and gave rise to the heterogeneous pantheon of Hindu gods and goddesses that now constitutes Popular Hinduism—as an amalgam of the religion of the Aryans and that of the non-Aryans.

VI.—Weaver Castes and Sub-Castes in Ranchi.

By Rai Sahib Ghose Lal Ray, B.A.

Of the several weaver castes in the district of Ranchi, Chiks are the most numerous, as many as 22,927 having been enumerated at the Census of 1911. They are to be found chiefly in the area to the west of the old Sambalpur Road (the road that runs through Ranchi, Kera, Basia and Kôshikî), weavers in the Mîrâh country to the east belonging mostly to the Pârî or Pôrpâl caste (total number in 1911, 14,798). Muhammadan Solâhis, numbering 22,862 in 1911, are most numerous in Ranchi, Mîrâh, Kera and Lohardâg (thamrî); they, as well as the other weaver castes, Utkâlî, Kôrpâ, Kôshikî and Bîhârî claim to be immigrants from some defined districts in Upper India or Orissa, while Chiks and Pârîs have no tradition of having come from outside.

The Chiks are divided into several sub-castes, of whom the first place is assigned by common consent to what are called Bembâkîrîs (from a village Bembâkî in Basia thamrî close to Kumbhîrî) or Dôlâpâra (from purgana Dôlâ) or Bôngarîs (from purgana Bôngar). It is this sub-caste chiefly that calls itself by the name of Bârâk; and Pîr Bîrâkhar and Bîrâkhar Bârâk are other names which this sub-caste has taken unto itself. Bârâkîs were, it is said, soldiers and palace-guards in the good old days when they and the Kôshikî, Mîrâhî were the only people who inhabited Nagpur; it was only long afterwards, after the country had been flooded with Kôls who came from Hardinger through Pîrâpâlî and Bâkîrâ, and under the stress of adverse circumstances, that Bârâkîs had to take to the degraded profession of the weaver. The following account recorded by P-wa Râm Bârâk and Khach Râm Bârâk of Bera

wish to explain why Tuzila had to take warriors, and give also the history of the first discovery of diamonds in the Nagger Raja's country:—

"In the days of the great king Balisai, a poor Orisa went with his finest *jamboe* *shetrupj* to catch fish, but wherever he wanted to set his *jamai* the owner of the land came forward and protested. The poor man was therefore compelled to get into the bed of the Kool river, and he got no better place than a *gipid* (a pool, place considerably deeper than the rest of the bed of the river) in the river within the boundary of *namu* *Nipika*. The catch there was a most disappointing one, for, instead of fish, there were only a number of stones that stuck to the *jamai*. The poor Orisa in disgust threw all these stones away, except one which was particularly big and bright, and which he exchanged for some tobacco that a passing *Barik*, who knew the stone to be a real diamond, gave him. The *Beris* took the diamond to the *Maharaja* and offered to sell it. The *Maharaja* enquired of the *Barik* how he had got the diamond. The *Barik* would not tell the truth, until the *Maharaja* yielded a pit to be dug and the *Beris* to be buried alive therein. When at last the real fact was given out, the *Maharaja* went for the Orisa with the *jamai*; when the *Nipika* learnt from the Orisa that he had thrown away the stone all about *Nipika*, the *Maharaja* directed that every inch of land in that *namu* was to be searched and he went with his whole retinue to supervise personally the work of the search party.

"The *Maharaja* and his men searched and searched, but without success, till one day the village god *Chintawon* appeared to him in a *jamai* and advised the *Maharaja* to get himself into the *gipid* in the river whence the Orisa had his haul of diamonds. The *Maharaja* acted accordingly, and his men watched in eager expectation. For days, however, the *Maharaja* would not come out; and at last his men gave him up for lost, concluding that he must have been taken up by the fish in the *gipid*. The *Tuzila* and *Koshupitje* then had a conference for the future administration of the country, and decided that now that the *Nagaram* *Nipika*, where they had placed on the throne, had ceased

to be, they would divide the country in equal shares between Bapika and Kotkopita Mihadta.

¹ In the meanwhile, on the evening of the seventh day from the commencement of the search, when there was no one waiting near the pond except the Maharija's eye, a Ghazi by name, who had not given up hope yet, the Maharija came out, a *bird* (diamond) in one hand and a *divi* in the other.² He was very thirsty and called out to his men for a glass of water. The eyes came up with folded hands and, shaking with fear, represented that there was no one present of a caste from whom the Maharija could take water. But the Maharija was very thirsty, and gave peremptory orders to the eyes to bring water, adding at the same time that from that day everyone would take water from the eyes. The eyes brought some water which he gave the thirsty Maharija to drink. He got for this service valued presents and the name of Bihai; and the Bihais, originally Bihais, but a '*jaikhatraijis*' caste³ now, are his descendants. The Maharija sent the Bihai to tell the Bapika and Kotkopita. The Kotkopita said, but the Bapika would not believe the Bihai's assertion about the appearance of the Maharija and refused to stir. The Maharija got extremely angered with the Bapika, and on return to his capital issued orders for the destruction of all Bapika. Most of the Bapika were killed, but some saved themselves by taking refuge with people of other castes. The majority sought shelter with warors, and those men took to the profession of weaving, so that their identity might not be discovered. Another Bapik had saved himself by taking refuge with an Akir. This one alone came forward when at last the Maharija relented, and to him and his descendants, henceforth known as Akir Fak Bapika, was assigned the privilege, upto then enjoyed by all Bapika, of receiving *pis* (gold) and

¹ Tradition in Chitaga. Beggar usually goes to diamonds and daws a distinction between *biras* or male diamonds and *akir* or female diamonds.

² A caste, from members of which Brahmins and other high caste men would fetch drinking water. Bihais are very low down in the caste, and their touch would cause pollution, the acceptance of drinking water from them being altogether out of the question.

pagri (headress) from the Mahant's hand on the day of the Dasera [pola and pagri are given by the Mahant's first to the girl Chhotkoon, then to the Mahant's para and parashet, then to the Kaur and other Nighandis present, and next to the Akh Pak Bapik]."

If the Samhatin Chlo of these Boys—and this is true also of those of the same Hindu, Ehyang, Kauri, Bais, Gwahl, etc.—are content with telling the above or similar stories about their taking to weaving only to save their skin, and with calling themselves Bapiks, their relatives to the east, in the case of the Bapik, Anglik, and Sili go a step further: for they would not on any account call themselves Chlo, and would not easily admit that they, or any of their relatives, are, or ever were, weavers, or had anything to do with weavers. One Manchar Bapik of sucha Kandi in Barchi town got into some prominence in recent times, having served for many years as an elderly peer to the Deputy Commissioner; and many a Bapik when I asked if he was not really a Chik, retorted by the remark that he was related to Manchar Jaudhar, and who in all Nagpur did not know that Manchar was a Bapik, not a Chik? But Hindhar Bapik of Jahl, whom I saw selling at the Bili lot dahi which he admitted to be his own weaving, mentioned that Bhoora Bapik and Riwat Bapik, chachikars of Sili and Jahl, were his relatives; and, on examining these two chachikars, it appeared that they were both related to Manchar Jaudhar of Barchi, Bhoora being a weaver cousin of Manchar's wife. Similarly, at the Talmapa hat (on the Barchi road, 19 miles from Barchi) I saw one Penda Manamant of Almasi (near Jili is the name Kheshi) selling dahi woven by her people, and she testified to her relative Deba Bapik of Almasi having married a granddaughter of Manchar Jaudhar. The Chik Bapiks of Boys also speak of Manchar being their relative, just as relationship with Manchar is claimed by Bapiks in Anglik and Sili; and relationship with Hahir Singh and Jagdeo Singh of Chaudhadas (on the Kauri-Khanti road, midway between Kauri and Khanti) was claimed both by men in Sili who protested that they had nothing to do with weavers and by Pura Bapik of

Wares, these Nisai, whose son Mikhli I saw employed in the act of weaving. It is clear, therefore, that these Bawlis of S&S, Agra, and Hamir are one and the same sub-caste with the Chik Bawlis of Bani, Mandu, Laspang, Kauri, Wari, etc.; although it is not impossible that the Bawlis of the eastern theme, who count among their number a pretty large proportion of well-to-do men, will in course of time come to have anything to do with the Chik Bawlis of the west and indeed much of their own action as we weavers still is give up that pursuit and take to agriculture. The more well-to-do among these eastern Bawlis have taken the surname of Goojhar (e.g. Sahdeo Goojhar and Ania Goojhar of S&S, Nara Goojhar of Jirum and Mahadeo Goojhar of Khagabhar, all in theme S&S), some call themselves Kirji, while at least two families (those of Malur Singh of Chandledara, referred to above, and of Bahadur Singh of Boreti, a village four miles north of Bani on the road to Kauri, who was for some time a *darbari* in the Settlement Department) have assumed the Rajput surname Singh. There are no other sub-castes of Chik living with them in the eastern theme; and if only such of the *chikora* *karahis* as are still *ganyas* can be made to take to some other profession, the very large attempt of these eastern Bawlis to move forward as a higher caste will very likely be crowned with success, and their claim may possibly be recognised at some future census (just as that of Mahiyas in Bengal has been recognised recently).

West of the Bani-Kauri-Bani road the *Banhatas* Chik live in close proximity with other sub-castes of Chik. I did not make very detailed inquiries regarding sub-castes in the S&S and Guria *Bahdivans*; but there was at least one sub-caste besides *Banhatas* which came to my notice. Members of this sub-caste call themselves *Chhotgahis* (the smaller trunk), the other sub-caste being described as *Bargahis* (the bigger trunk). These *Chhotgahis* are to be found in the following villages among others:—

Tham Lokhartagi—Ditru, Chhot Darya, Pithi, Mirdi Topir, Jangali, Kauri, Ghitgahil and Doral.

THAMU SHAM—HERRA, Amsiā, Khatā and Mahidov
Chigvi.

THAMU OORU—Tijo.

THAMU BASH—Kombat, Aothart and Boodama. (Bargob-
kha are, however, the predominant sub-caste in this
last named village, which is in a manner the head-
quarters of the Bargobkha.)

THAMU KOLIKHA—Sashā.

Some of the Bargobkha of HERRA, THAMU SHAM, spoke to me
of a sub-caste called Sashā, named after purgusa Sashā in
tham KOLIKHA. But whether these Sashā are different from,
or are the same as, the Chibogobkha referred to above (it will
be seen that Sashā in tham KOLIKHA is one of the places where
the Chibogobkha are to be found) is more than I can tell;
I had no opportunity for making the detailed enquiry which
the solution of this question required, having been taken away
from testing Jāhā soon after I heard of the Sashā.

In the Sashā Sub-Division and in the adjoining thams of
the OORU Sub-Division, (except at least those sub-castes of
Bargobkha, identified by their relationship with SHAM KAI of
Boashā and Purgu of Bhoosa (names mentioned by many of
the undivided Sashā and Chibogobkha of HERRA and SHAM thams))
there were representatives at

THAMU BASH—SHAM and Damarā.

THAMU PAKOT—Dwarābini and Pajipani.

Purgu, HERRA, THAMU KOLIKHA and Kerdag:—Pāhā,
Kasthā, Pāp Pāhā, Nāsum, Rongā, Korpā,
Gāsum, Damarā near Sashā and Bargobkha.

Of the sub-caste next in the social scale, usually described
as Majwāhā (or intermediates), who sometimes in villages
in which there are no Bargobkha call themselves Bargobkha,
there are representatives at

THAMU BASH—Yotarā and Tetrā.

THAMU PAKOT—Dankā and Sālag.

Purgu HERRA (THAMU KOLIKHA and Kerdag)—Ura,
Kerdag, Kerdā, Sashā, Sāhāpur (near Sashā).

Takhtai, Biam, Higi (near Sawty), Palakhar Takhtai, Boket, Hoiwa, Hengir (near Khak), Koudet and Soroty.

Then there are the Chhotgachis at Krahakht (near Lashy-g sh) and Bamolaya in Tana Biam and at Palakhar, Sawty. Baglogh, Kamejor (near Baglogh), Kojakht Thomjol, Bamhira and Langiptal in Thana Kotaloght.

I could not be quite sure if these were the only sub-castes in Sindaga. On the one hand, I heard of Gandis who were said to be drummers as well as weavers. Ugar and Bochan, Chhotgachis of Sawty, had been described by the Majdharis of that village as thandis, and the Baglogh men had been returned in the census enumeration book as Gandis. But when questioned by me, Ugar and Bochan repudiated kinship with the Gandis who, they said, were a much lower caste; while about the Baglogh men, the Police Sub-Inspector reported, in reply to a reference, that they were Chiks and had been entered as Gandis through mistake. Gandis are numerous in the adjoining Orissa States and in Panchagar (see entry on 184,558 and 81,711, respectively, having been returned at the last census); but within the limits of Ranoh District I did not come across a single individual who would call himself a Gandi. One Palikhi of Bengtli, near Tala, and in Gangpur, who called himself a Gandi, said, however, that he had relatives in Ranoh District, and of these he mentioned Jahan of Kungabakir near Bamsark and Salima of Baglogh. In Baglogh there are Chhotgachis Chiks, and if it could be proved that they were related to Salima, mentioned by the Gangpur man, it could be established beyond doubt that the so-called Gandis of Gangpur and the Chhotgachis Chiks of Bira are one and the same sub-caste. (It has been ascertained in some of the following paragraphs that the identity of the Chhotgachis Chiks of Sindaga with the Gandis has been established.)

If there are the suspected Gandis at the bottom of the scale, I could not be sure also about the position of some near Middle Chik and others of Bamsark, who called themselves

Bargoskhis. Haddi of Karachi, who is undoubtedly a Bargoskhi Bargoskhi, knows Mitho and he told me that Mitho was a Majhataris; this was confirmed also by Mitho's nephew Sankha, who said that he and Mitho were Majhataris and that Dolavans were a higher sub-caste. But on the other hand, Sukri, brother of Akhid of Sawli, who is unquestionably a Majhataris, said that Mitho was of a higher caste than himself. I had at first been led to think that there were two grades of Majhataris, so that there were really four sub-castes in Sindhg (1) the Bargoskhis; (2) the higher Majhataris represented by Mitho, etc.; (3) the lower Majhataris represented by Sukri, Akhid and others, and (4) the Chhotgoskhis alias Gaudas; but subsequently I found that this conclusion was untenable, for Bagis of Karachi was mentioned as a relative both by Mitho and by Sukri. (One is there more than one Bagis in Karachi?) Other relatives mentioned by Mitho were Laksh of Pakarpi, Jodhan of Kochdg and Guran of Pitri; I could not meet them and I cannot say whether they call themselves Majhataris or Bargoskhis.

How the Chhotgoskhis of Lohardaga and Sawli stand in relation to the several sub-castes in Sindhg is another point about which I could not come to any definite conclusion. But I am inclined to think that these Chhotgoskhis are the same as the Majhataris of the south. The Chhotgoskhis of Sindhg are regarded almost as untouchables by the Bargoskhis as well as by the Majhataris of that side. This is not the case with the Chhotgoskhis of Lohardaga and Sawli previously mentioned who receive even the Bargoskhis very much the same treatment as in Sindhg the Majhataris get from the Bargoskhis. The Sindhg Majhataris I had met were mostly from the southern portion of that subdivision, and the southernmost relatives that they knew of were those in south Sindh or south Paket or south Gujra. It is quite possible that if these relatives in the north could be questioned, they would speak of other relatives further north in Sial and Ghagra and Lohardaga, who might turn out to be the same as the Chhotgoskhis of

that side. One of the Majshakuris in Simojgi subdivision told me that his caste was occasionally described as Baslir jand, as suggested in a previous paragraph, it is just possible that the Chhotgoshpis of Lohardaga and Baslir are identical with Baslira. It will be assumed in all references in the following paragraphs that the Chhotgoshpis of Lohardaga and Baslir, the Baslira, and the Majshakuris of Simojgi are identical with one another.

The worship of the spirits of deceased ancestors, supposed to have their habitation near the family hearth, is practised by almost all the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes in Chota Nagpur; and the same practice is observed also by the Chiks. Other principal objects of worship, both with the Bishahans Baggotkris and with the Majshakuris (I have no very definite information on this point regarding the Chhotgoshpis of Baslir and Lohardaga or the Chhotgoshpis of Simojgi), are Barphikri, or the great hill, and Barjanta, or the sun-god; while Devi or Chandi, and the village-gods also receive seasonal offerings. Barjanta, whom must be worshipped in the *dagun* (court-yard) has to be propitiated by a white animal; it is a white goat with the Majshakuris, but a white goat with Baggotkris who, though they have no scruple about eating flesh themselves, have imbibed sufficient Hinduism to consider them unclean food for their gods. To Barphikri a goat alone is offered, and this must be grey or black; the animal must be sacrificed on open fair land. Barphikri is worshipped only at rare intervals—any one in three, five, ten, or even ten years—and at marriages. Barjanta and Minkriti (the deceased ancestors) are worshipped often, at the New or new rice ceremony and at Phagun or spring festival of each year. Devi is worshipped ardently once a year, but there is no hard and fast rule; any season of the year would do, the only condition necessary being that the god must be on a Tuesday or on a Saturday. No points are required for the worship of Minkriti, Barphikri, Barjanta or Chandi. Worship of the village-gods is performed by the *Vahan* who gets a contribution from each family on this account.

The *Bugzghis* of Bors say that they require the services of *Bethmans* at their marriages and weddings, and that *Chasin Pajshak* of *Kadris* is their *Parolai*. It is doubtful if the *Bugzghis* families south are very particular in this respect, and the *Majkhalais* do not certainly employ *Bethmans*.

Although the different sub-castes of *Chiks* do not uniformly intermarry, *Jainath Baskik* of *Burno* (a *Senkatsai*) and the *Majkhalai* in *Siwlogh* who spoke about *Saia* said that *dehdetti* marriages,¹ had taken place between *Senkajatsai* and *Saia* at *Senkatsai* and had been accepted as legal by both communities. *Budhrin Chankhar* of *Burno* (these *Sai*) a *Chhotgashai* of the *Lehrdigh* side also spoke of an ordinary marriage between the daughter of a *Chhotgashai* of village *Saia* and a *Bugzghai* of village *Burnakys* (these *Burn*); he could not, however, give me the names of the parties. This was taken objection to by the *Chhotgashais*, and there was a note annexed to discuss it, held in the house of *Taiji* of *Saia* on the occasion of *Taiji's* brother's wedding in April 1910. What was the result of this conference, *Budhrin* could not say; apparently the *Saia* agreed to overlook the irregularity, for if intermarriage had been decided upon, the *dehdetti* would have been more widely spread, and *Saia* would not have been left in ignorance of it. It would be interesting, however, to know how the *Senkatsai* dealt with the *Burnakys* man who had married a *Chhotgashai* girl otherwise than by the *dehdetti* form of marriage.

The following are the names of the numerous *dehdetti* among *Chiks* that came to my notice :—

| <i>Senkatsai</i> . | <i>Majkhalai</i> . | <i>Chhotgashai</i> of the <i>dehd.</i> |
|--------------------|--------------------|--|
| <i>Tilgashai</i> . | <i>Saps</i> . | <i>Saps</i> . |
| <i>Chikarai</i> . | <i>Chikar</i> . | <i>Chikar</i> . |
| <i>Chik</i> . | <i>Pipdhara</i> . | <i>Chikar</i> . |
| <i>Burn</i> . | <i>Burn</i> . | <i>Chikar</i> . |

¹ A *dehdetti* marriage is a marriage by capture.

whitish-to dirtykhava, however, assumed the name of Sertol; and Chhwa Savetol and Goojha Savetol of Gandharu (thence Tamar, midway between Hupki and Butho) gave me the following list of villages where their *Antwa* Savetol, and not Pato, were to be found.

These Tamars.—Tartol, Upas Pato, Toring (near Pato), Ullar and Sarjandi.

These Savetols.—Jamooling and Sertol (near Jamooling).

These Dandols.—Dandol Majhala, Andol and Edkhita.

But a day or two later I came across one Behan of Farqani who was related to Chhwa and Goojha and also to Gulam Kaji of Kirjandi, mentioned by Chhwa and Goojha as a relative; and he said that Pato and Savetol are identical terms. I got the same evidence from many others, showing clearly that Savetols are so much different from Patos than Pat Savetols or Bhoshar Dapols are from Gondalaki Chhwa.

Several Patos are, however, not the only weaver caste in Tamar. There are also scattered among them a few men calling themselves Singat or Pathman Das-Tastol and also some Arvian Thalis, known locally as Taryat Thalis. The Tho-Tastol claim to have a descent position in their own country (perhaps Pathan in Multan and Singhalana district), where kachas would hire them and even Brahmins would work for them, provided they are rich enough; and in the Multan district at least, they have had their claim sufficiently recognized to have succeeded in getting themselves enumerated at the census as Thalis.¹ But in Tamar so great is the prejudice against weavers generally that a leader in village Soodi who serves Singat Pat has been executed. Singat Patas would not take beef or pork, but they have no objection to both or to vice-hunt. They would take water from Mandla but not die or other food found on the Patya da. Another point of difference with the Tamar Pat which the Singat Patas draw attention to, is the shape of the shawl

¹ No more than 541 persons were recorded in Multan as Pat of the top census, although one source claims to almost every village in the southern half of the district, weavers claiming themselves to be Pat-Ti the Gondalaki Thali or Bhoshar Thali is another name for Tho-Tastol in Multan.

used in rowing. Both are long skiff-like made of wood, and shaped like canoes; but in the skiff of the Tamaric Piro, the side of the spoon is at right angles to the length of the skiff, the same as in the Mahomedan Jolka's skiff; while in the Pao-Tung's skiff the spoon is placed longitudinally, fixed to a spike projecting from one end of the skiff, there being a small iron ring at the other end through which the pole released from the spoon passes. The number of Singat Piro in Ranchi district is very limited, and I could get only the names of

Jagat, Sita and Gopal of Sirjandi, thama Tamar.

Dilraj of Birbi, thama Tamar.

Sitai of Rishabai, thama Barga, formerly of Panch, thama Tamar.

Sitai of Sirjandi, thama Barga.

Gopal of Sirjandi's grandfather Digvijai is reported to have been the first Singat Piro to have come to this side. He married his daughter Sitai to a Tamaric Piro of Sirjandi, by name Phari. But Digvijai never brought his daughter home, nor did he ever take any food at his daughter's place; and this was considered sufficient to keep him within the fold of Singat Piro. Gaur, brother of Dhanaj of Kadi, mentioned above, who is more recent than married a Tamaric Piro girl, daughter of Phari of Sirjandi, was considered to have been guilty of a greater irregularity, and he has been ostracised. Tamaric Piro do not appear, however, to have objected to the union of a girl of their community with a Singat Piro; and when Gaur's first wife Koli eloped with a lover, he could readily get another Tamaric Piro girl, a daughter of Anandram of Burdi (thama Tamar, near Masbura), to marry him. This would seem to indicate that Tamaric Piro acknowledge the superiority of the Singat or Pathua Piro.

The superiority of Avaris Thatta who are believed to be immigrants from Masbura is more clearly recognised. Tamaric Piro, as well as Singat Piro, always speak reverently of the Avaris as men who can move fast, while they

themselves one wears cotton cloth only; and have given to Aewine Taitis the distinctive name of Taitiya Taitis. In Handei, however, Aewine Taitis are not employed in fibre weaving, fibre-cotton being but rare in the district. Aewine Taitis in Handei are mostly agriculturists; while a few weave cotton cloth. They are recognized as one of the *jaiti-korengal* names, being one of the "autogones" mentioned in the *Pandura-annals*. The number of Aewine Taitis settled in Handei, though small, is apparently larger than that of Singa Pina; and Aewine Taiti families are to be found in the following villages among others:—

THANA TUNIC—Sindri and Majhiā.

THANA SONTAPU—Chakabata, Baranā, Mājodī, Rika.

THANA BUNJA—Dunja and Bhakwāl.

THANA KHARJ and TUPA (pargana Sempur)—Pela, Hara, Mahā, Ghaghar, Sāidhā and Doyas.

Taitis are shown in the census tables mixed up with Taitas from Bihar (who, however, are not a *jaiti-korengal* caste, though their position is not quite so low as that of the Thameiya Paipā); and the total number of Taitis and Taitas in 1911 was shown as 332. Taitas are to be found in small numbers mostly near Lohardāgā; and a very large proportion of these are now agriculturists.

Closely connected with these Taitas are a number of men found in a few villages in thana Sind, Bunk, Pēlas and Bina who call themselves Kājyās and who are mostly agriculturists by profession, a few also being weavers. These men speak of Chaja, Gaudhā, Dandāth, Gaudhā and Sakhiā of Maunāsi Thirkupāra (thana Lohardāgā) and of Bāhan and Bāhā of Inja (also near Lohardāgā) as their relatives; but these Lohardāgā men call themselves Taitas, and Bāhā of Inja, although he has settled in Nagā (thana Sind) having married a sister of Anā Kājyā of that village, still calls himself a Taitā. The Kājyās assert that neither they nor their relatives in Lohardāgā have ever weaved originally. The first immigrant of their caste,

who came from Bhajpur, became a *Shastar* (lawyer) in the house of a *Jolahi*, and this is how some members of the caste took to weaving. The ancestors of the *Lufa* people, the Nagas now told me, had come to the district as weavers and dancers; they learnt weaving from Patwa, with whom they married *Jo-Mali*. Patwa were to be found, I was told, at Jhal and Mandla in these Kays; Hansi Patwa of Mandla had married a cousin of Anka Kajiya of Nigari and was living at Shal. Whichever may have been their antecedents before they came from Bhajpur, Tejwie, Patwa and Kajiya clearly form one endogenous group in Hansi. I did not meet any of the so-called Patwa; and I am not in a position to say whether they describe themselves as Tejwas or as Tejwie or as Kajiya.

The Kajiya spoke to me of a very curious custom observed by them, namely, that of their being (treated on the day of their marriage with the *jitra*, or the sacred thread, which is intended to be kept for nine days only and to be thrown away thereafter. A Brahman has, of course, to be engaged for this ceremony, and Him Patih of Bhacha (*ghana* Hansi) was said to be the priest of the Kajiya of Nigari. The sacred thread is worn also for three days after the purification ceremony following the death on the tenth day after a death takes place. For this ritual and the insertion of the sacred thread in that connection also, the Brahman has to be employed. I cannot say whether these activities also call themselves Tejwie, or those who are described as Patwa, have any similar custom.

The chief object of worship with Kajiya is a god named *Pachkhatha* (or the western one), in honour of whom they offer *wakhi* (grain) and a coloured rock on the day following the *Phagun* (the spring festival). *Pachkhatha* is worshipped at marriages also; but for such occasions the offering must be a brown (*hosi*, as they described it) goat. The services of Brahmins are not required for this worship. Other gods believed in by Kajiya are *Devi Ma*, to whose *puja* they pay subscriptions to the village

Fish, and Jhola and Balika, worshipped with home-made cakes on the day of the *Jita* (the eighth day of the dark phase of the moon in September). For the *Jita* a Brahman comes and reads *Jata*; when this is over, the women of the house sing and dance for some time, after which only they can partake of food, having fasted the whole day and part of the night. The *Takris* of Ina worship *Jata* and *Balika* at *Jita* in the same way as the *Kajyas*; but they do not recognise the *Kajya* god *Pashchimā*. The following are some of the places where *Kajyas* may be found:—

THAN BHAI—Nagar and Bani.

THAN BHAI—Kumbhari, Turkhia, Lotwa and Barjoli near Bani.

THAN BHAI—Raiga.

The identity of *Kajyas* with *Takris* was not discovered till a considerable time after the census operations were over; and *Kajyas* were shown as a separate caste in the enumerator's books. They were not shown in the printed tables, having apparently been included under the head "Others".

The only other weaver caste that I came across in Bangla were *Kashyas* and *Dias*, both immigrants from Orissa speaking sonaria. *Dias* are apparently divided into several groups, of which at least one intermarries with *Kashyas*; and I was told by *Kashyas* when I met at Meromajhi in than: *Kashyas* and others whom I met at Dohabon near Raiga is the Ganges State, that *Kashyas* and *Dias* were different names used in different districts for one and the same caste. *Dia* is the name by which the caste is known in Raiga is the Central Provinces; and each family as originally came from Raiga is the Central Provinces; and each family as originally came from Raiga have retained the name *Dia*. Families calling themselves *Kashyas* had, on the other hand, come mostly from Sambalpur, where, however, the caste is known not as *Kashyas* but as *Mahis*.

These *Kashyas*-*Dias* are divided into two religious sects, *Kashyapists* and non-*Kashyapists*, which intermarry freely. The *Kashyapists* do not worship any gods and goddesses; with

non-Kahirpanthi the principal objects of worship are Dalia¹ and Deul-Mai. Dalia is identified with deceased ancestors, and his *puja* (worship) which takes place in Pūjgar and without the aid of any priests, is effected by smirking a brown (kharā) coloured gunk or fuel before the family hearth. Deul Mai is worshipped only when there is a pestilence or a famine or some similar visitation. Kahirpanthi Kachās bury their dead; the body is inevitably kept in a seated position. Non-Kahirpanthi either bury or burn; in case of burial, the body is inevitably placed in a lying position. The family is considered economically useless for ten days, after which the relatives of the deceased share, offer *puja* through a Brahman or Gosāin, and give a feast to the caste. Kahirpanthi Kachās further perform *arati* of their ancestors in Aghas every year; but such *arati* is not deemed to be a *puja*, like the *puja* of Dalia by the non-Kahirpanthi. The following *puja* names of Kachā-Damodars came to my notice: Bigh, Bickhar, Chaudhari, Maak and Songaria.

Of another group of Dams I met three, Bhānū of Lojā near Kachāi is thānā Bānū, his cousin Jānīr's son, Bāhara, who has settled at Būjgar five miles from Bānchi on the Paralia Road, and Phōja of Kachā, thānā Gachā. Bhānū called himself a Panchā. Dā Gachā, while Phōja said that Panchā were a different caste with whom Dams had no concern. But Hārī Dās of Mōrī, thānā Chāpār, was mentioned as a relative by either; and apparently Phōja and Bhānū belong to the same sub-caste whatever its name may be; Bāhara gave the name of his caste to be Bānūji Dās Gachā. Members of this sub-caste, although

¹ The ordinary meaning of the name Dalia is halibut, and the use of this expression to signify deceased ancestors is somewhat unexpected. Strange to say, this very expression is used with the very same meaning by a very different caste, viz., by the Bānūthālī Bāhars of Dams. Kachā. These Bānūthālī Bāhars of Kachā have now very little resemblance with their nominal ancestral-ancestral Khāsas regarding whom a series of articles has been published in Volume II, III and IV of the Journal by Dr. Hans Chamberl. Raj. Bahadur and who are known in Kachā as Chānūthālī Bāhars. Supposed Bāhars have added down to the plain and have adopted the profession of carpenters, woodsees *puja* (pujars for grain, chānūthālī) and other (spinning wheel) being the chief articles that they have lost.

very few in Bahcel, are scattered almost all over the district; and while those in Merli, thence Chaliqua, are still employed as weavers, most of the others are Balstige and serve as spiritual guides to Kowlat, Moudai and Otona.

Of the third group of Dams, also calling themselves *Paulin Dams*, I met only one, Janga Dm of Barli Hark, thence Kardeg, who was a weaver by profession. I should have been inclined to consider him as of the same group as Saana Dm Gauda of Lopa mentioned in the previous paragraph (who also called himself a *Paulin Dm*), but for the fact that Janga distinctly mentioned that the Dms of Merli in Chaliqua (who are Saana Dm's relatives) were a different name from him. Janga said that his family had originally come from Balgark and that his only relatives in the Bahcel District were to be found in Biri and Kadumk (thence Kardeg and in some villages in pargana Barwa (thence Chaliqua and Hahmpar) of whom he will mention only one, viz. Shi Pagark. Janga said that men of his caste were *Kabir-pantia*, and that any member of the caste would take a *jansa* (sacred thread) or *dashti* (umbilico of beads), provided he was prepared to abstain from animal food. Even for those who do not take *jansa* or *dashti*, the only animal food permissible is fish or goat-meat. *Kabir-dia* is the only object of worship; his *paja* has to be performed on the full-moon days in *Palakli*, *Kuruk* and *Magh* with coconut, arumut and milk. Janga's people do not believe in ancestor-worship, nor do they have any annual visit of ancestors like the *Koshia-Dams*. They bury their dead, the body being placed in a lying position. On the 11th, or 13th day after death, the relatives of the deceased shave; and on the tenth day they perform the *dashtara* ceremony which consists of making an image of *Kabir-dia* from rice-pudding and worshipping the same with *slay* consisting of *gha*, jaggery and arumut milk. The arumut must be broken by being dashed against the ground by the priest. The *palata*, styled *Mahant*, are men of their own caste. On the death of a *Mahant*, his eldest son becomes the *Mahant*; when, however,

the Mahant dies childless, some male member of his family is elected by the caste-people as his successor. The following gahar names were supplied by Junga Das—Bhagel, Bhola, Chawit, Kakhil, Patwa, Sarjoh, Sorewal and Thirja.

It is possible that in their original home, the progenitors of the three groups of Dims and of the Kachjats belonged to the same caste or clan, and that the differences now observable between them are indicative only of different degrees of pervasion, with a socio-religious movement that came from outside, or of different ways of being acted on by this external stimulus, in groups that left at different times or from different localities. The Kachja-Dims were probably the first to leave, while the Jaitagi-Dims apparently left at a time when, or from a quarter where, the religious movement had taken a mystic turn. The matter, however, must at present be one of conjecture, and a satisfactory answer to the question how the three groups of Dims stand in relation to one another can be given only after detailed enquiry in some remote Raich, in Ganggar and elsewhere, where the different groups may be found in larger numbers. Within the limits of Raich I did not come across any instance of intermarriage between one group and another although, curiously enough, I got evidence of a marriage having taken place between a Kachjati girl of Jaitaga (thence Kachjati) with Balu Udair of Bajgi (thence Dim), who is a Kachja by caste. Balu was censured by the Kachjas for this irregularity and had to propitiate the panditpriest before he was readmitted into caste. How the Kachjats looked upon the incident I do not know. At the last census persons describing themselves as Dims were shown as Puchhis. Persons who described themselves as Kachjats were shown as such, and were apparently included in the printed tables under "Others". Kachjats had been shown as a separate caste in 1901, when their number in Raich was 1,360.

My information regarding the Mohandasdas weaver caste, Jodha, is comparatively meagre, although Jodhas are pretty numerous in the district. There is a tendency among them also to assume a new caste name which might give them

a higher social position than they can otherwise command ; and large numbers of Jolofs referred themselves at the last census as "Sheikh Nabal" or as "Sheikh" simply.

There is only one other point which I have to note before I conclude. The Koshis of Moombeys told me that Gambia were identical with Pats. I do not know what the value of this statement is, but if this be correct, and also the surmise that Gambia are the same as Chitogonhi Chika of Koombeys and Kariog, the conclusion would seem to be that Pats and Chika are but sub-castes of the same caste. Or, is it the truth that Pats were the indigenous weaver caste of the district, who were crowded out in later times by Chika from the west (who came probably with the Gambia from Rhotangurh side), and while the main body of them moved with the Mandis to the eastern portion of the district, a small section stayed behind in the south-west, the Chika creating in accordance between them and the main group? Under such circumstances, it is not very strange that this isolated section would forget its kinship with the main body of Pats and begin to consider itself, and be considered by others, as but a degraded sub-caste of the Chika. Pats or Patals are ordinarily supposed to be a sub-caste of Fata or Fakhia. With the Fata of Mandim and Singidim they are apparently allied, although the Mandim Fata have succeeded in getting themselves referred as Fakhia. But whether with Fakhia from Orias, the Pats of the Mandi country have any greater affinity than mere similarity in name and in occupation, can possibly be found out only after detailed enquiries in areas where the Singid Fata and the Orias Fakhia meet. There is no scope for such enquiry within the district of Bamsi, where Fakhia Doms [including Kodja-Doms] are separated from Pats and Singid Fata by a broad belt of country in which Chika are the predominant weaver caste.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS

I.—*Sālimnāka* Statues.

By *Śrinidhvan C. Bhattacharyya, M.A.*

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has deservedly earned the recognition of scholars by his striking discovery of the *Sālimnāka* statues in the Calcutta Museum. A scholar of such eminence as Mr. R. D. Banerji has, in the last number of the *Journal*, admitted that "Mr. Jayaswal has really discovered the oldest known Indian statues, and has correctly identified them with two Emperors of the *Sālimnāka* dynasty of Northern India." There is, however, one point relating to this topic, which has evidently occupied the minds of scholars and to which I draw their attention as furnishing a serious paradox.

Mr. R. D. Banerji in his "Note"¹ has observed: "Before the identification of these two specimens, the statue of the Kushan Emperor of Kaniska I. was the oldest known statue in India" and "We do not know any other example of Pre-Mauryan art and consequently we cannot make comparison." I respectfully differ from him on this point in view of the existence of some known statues belonging to the Mauryan or an earlier period. The statues of the Mauryan period already discovered are: a colossal female statue and the Talla statue from Bommagut, a female figure from Sāhāsi and the colossal Parthian statue of Mathura.² The general look of all these pieces of sculpture, in respect of style and design, presents a great similarity to the statue of the *Sālimnāka* Emperors in the Calcutta Museum. Of these sculptures of ancient date, I particularly take the Parthian statue as showing a close resemblance to the *Sālimnāka* statues. The statue was, long ago, described by General Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. XX, pp. 46, 47, which I find necessary to reproduce here:—

The statue is a colossal standing figure of a man not in the round, 7 feet in height from head to feet and 2 feet broad across the shoulders.

¹ *J. R. A. S. B.*, vol. pp. 323, 324.

² [It is noted that Mr. Banerji means a portrait statue.—E. P. J.]

The left knee is slightly bent. Both arms are broken and the feet have been heavily obliterated by repeated mutilations and encroachments with pick and ad. head which have left a very bad and unsightly scar at the end of the breast. The figure is clothed from head to foot in a loose flowing garment, which is mounted by two broad bands, one round the waist and the other round the loins. The whole body is much too bulky, and even from the side the two hands look exactly as if they were intended to support the body.

The statue is made of grey sandstone, and still retains many traces of having been highly polished. The figure is called *Dairiki* or "the God" and has been in its present position for an unknown length of time. All the other statues at Parkham are of red sandstone and comparatively modern. This one being broken off just below the shoulders, it is difficult to say what was the action of the figure. But I suspect that the statue was that of a Yakshi or attendant female god, who carried a chalice over the right shoulder. The dress is very peculiar, and has nothing whatever in common with that of the later figures of the Indus-Sykian period. There is a short garland or necklace round the neck which is ornamented at the back with four dependent tassels.

A comparison between the description of this image and that of the Sakimura statues, as also between their illustrations at once disclose the following points of similarity. Even, in some cases, their very details may be observed to coincide:

(1) The height of the Parkham image is 7 feet; the height of the Sakimura statue is a little over 6 feet.

(2) The statues are moulded out in the round.

(3) The figure of Nandivardhana as well as the Parkham statue carries a *chauri* or fly-whisk over the right shoulder.¹

(4) All these figures are dressed in a loose flowing garment; the body, in each case, is clothed "in a waist-cloth (*dhotti*) held

¹ I am anxious to believe with Mr. Bryant that *chauris* could over have been carried by persons. On the other hand, I am inclined to think that some goddess might have borne such *chauris*, as seated figure. Everywhere we observe that the devotees as well as Dipankara Jains especially Fudo religious had one carry a *chauri*, with which they beat the ground on which they were going to strike the stone being to remove the chance of killing any being below. What was the point of the *chauri* borne by the figure's hand to represent?

[The reproduction of the *Ajanta* *Chauri* statue to which I referred note page 304 was partial and therefore misleading. But where then does one see a *Chauri* statue? Amongst the 200 of the *Jain* *Chauri* Library at least where 1000 paintings are depicted as carrying *chauris*—E. P. J.]

from the loins by means of a flat girdle tied in a knot in front." The rest of the figure bears markings. On each of these figures there is an "upper garment" mantle-like, and beneath it there is a vest, intended to be of diaphanous texture, as is evident by the lace in the waist and the treatment of the navel."²

(4) The overgarment has an undecorated neck, which shows some design on the back.

(5) The girdles of the cloth, the most ornamental knots of the bands and the waves in the gowns belonging to all these figures are designs of an extremely similar type and style.

(6) The statues show a small pot-belly in each case.

(7) The clumsily worked feet of the statues also bear similarity.

(8) All these statues are made of grey sandstone of Hinayana bearing close traces of high polish.

From the above-quoted comparisons, it should seem clear that the *Saivastika* statues and the *Parthian* statues are essentially identical in character. The inscriptions at the pedestal of the *Parthian* figures undoubtedly lead us to assign B.C. a time not later than the Ashoka period. It may even be earlier in date as there is nothing to bar such a conjecture. Various strong grounds have been adduced by Mr. Japaneval to show that the *Saivastika* statues rightly deserved the nomenclature given to them. From its evident identity with these old statues, the *Parthian* statues may as well have a claim to an equal antiquity. There seems to me about a discussion between Maxm. H. D. Darnaj and E. P. Japaneval about the date of inscriptions on the statues and possibly also to their age. The similarity of these statues with the *Parthian* statues, which also bear an inscription of an exact date, may help to solve this problem. For the present purpose it is enough for me to have shown the points which relate to iconography, without touching upon the other topics already in the hands of competent scholars.

² *J. B. O. B. O.*, Vol. V., Part I, p. 302.

II—A Note on an Inscribed Cannon in the Patna Museum.

By J. N. Banerjee, B. A.

This cannon, bearing number 13 in the Patna Museum, Manuscript Catalogue, bears the following inscription. It has been presented to the Museum by Pader Hachhurra Ganguly, Zemindar of Calcutta (Bhagalpore), to whom the Museum is also indebted for a number of sculptures from the alleged site of the Vikramaditya University.

The inscription reads:—

مرحوم نواب نورالدین خان به افغانان مجید شریف در وقت فتح دہلی
سال ۱۰۴۶ هجری اول میرھس نامی غور ۱۰۴۶

Owing to the fact that portions of the inscription have been disfigured, it cannot be read and translated fully but such as it appears may be translated as follows:—

"In the time of Nawab Nuralith Khan, under the supervision of Muhammad Sharif for Malwa (in) A. H. 1074."

In the genealogy of Bengal Kings, as given in the existing histories, no mention is made of any Nawab by the name of Nuralith. At the same time the title of Nawab and the making of cannons evidently imply that he was of some consequence. I suggest that Nuralith Khan related to here was the Doujdar of Jessore who is mentioned both by Riyaz-i-Salatin and (justly following him by Bervat in his History of Bengal). In the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, when he was engaged in fighting with the Marathas and during the Viceroyalty of Nawab Ibrahim Khan, then occurred the rebellion of Subha Singh, Zemindar of Katwa. He was joined by Bahin Khan, an Afghan, and the rebellion assumed a threatening aspect." On

bearing of this Naw-ulah Khan, Farjdar of the Chaklah of Jasse, Hagli, Bardwan and Hadrigan, who was very opulent and had commercial business and who also held the dignity of Subhansai, marched out from Jassore in order to chastise and subdue the rebels."—[Hizam-u-Salatia, p. 116, English Edition]. Although he obtained the help of the Dutch from Chittagong, he could do nothing. "on the contrary—throwing away his treasure, and effects he considered it lucky to save his own life."—(Ibid.)

It seems to me that the Nawab Nurdah referred to in the inscription is the above Farjdar. There is still a gun at Hiranagar, (which does not possess any inscription, however,) where the Farjdar had his place in the district of Jassore (Dangal). The two cannons seem to have been made in the same way. Both are of the same pattern—with three or four eccentric bores of metal.

The date in the inscription is A.H. 1174 which corresponds to 1760 A. C. Salim Singh's rebellion took place in 1759, and it is quite likely that Nurdah who was both rich and powerful was called by ordinary Nawab.

It may be mentioned here that, according to Maish-i-Alangiri, Nawulah Khan, even after his disastrous defeat, was subsequently promoted by Asaf-ud-daula to the post of Deputy Subadar of Orissa.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Ganguly cannot give us any idea about the locality where the cannon was originally found in Bihar.

Agharias of Sambalpur : Tradition as to Their Origin.

By M. N. Sra, B.A.

Agharias [अगरीय] of Sambalpur are a caste of cultivators who claim Rajput descent. Hiley, however, in his book "The Tribes and Castes of Bengal" describes Agharia as "one of the six subdivisions of the Lohar caste who manufacture and smelt iron ore," while his description of "Agaria" or "Angour" agrees with that of the Agharia of Sambalpur, for he writes : "Agaria, Angouras, a collecting caste found in the Tributary Mahals of Chota Nagpur. They claim to be the descendants of certain Kshatriya immigrants from the neighbourhood of Agra who put off the name thereof when they settled in a new country and took to holding the plough." But it has been observed at page 315, Central Provinces Census Report, 1911, Vol. X, Part I "Confusion is also sometimes caused by a similarity of names. Instances are Agarias [अगरीय] (descended from smelters) and Agarias [अगरीय] (Orissa cultivators) * * * * " and in the Caste Table (Table XIII) of the Census Report for that Province the strength of the Agaria and Agarias castes has been separately shown. The same table of the Bihar and Orissa Census Report, however, shows Agarias for Agarias only, the term, following Hiley, having been apparently used for the same caste as the Agharias of Sambalpur. In Sambalpur the Agharias inhabit the northern part of the district, particularly the zamindari of the Sodar Taluk—the portion adjacent to Gangpur State, which formerly belonged to Chota Nagpur and has since been transferred to Orissa, and other Feudatory States; and there can be no doubt that the collecting caste whom Hiley mentions as Agarias are the same people as those who call themselves Agharias in Sambalpur and have been given the

same name in the Central Provinces Census Report. But it is a question whether, owing to similarity of names, confusion has not crept in in the Bengal and Bihar and Orissa Census Tables (Table XIII) particularly in compiling the figures of those districts in which two conflicting sub-castes of Indians bearing similar names exist, e. g., Kayastha, Hamsabagh and Sahasra and the iron smelting sub-castes and the cultivating castes have been classified together. The following table gives the distribution and strength of the "Agharias" in Bihar and Orissa in 1911:—

| Name of District. | Bihar. | | Orissa. | |
|------------------------|--------|----------|---------|----------|
| | Males. | Females. | Males. | Females. |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Bagha | 2 | 0 | Nil. | Nil. |
| Patna | 4 | 3 | Nil. | Nil. |
| Sahab Pargana | 2 | Nil. | Nil. | Nil. |
| Dahra | 1 | Nil. | Nil. | Nil. |
| Sahabpur | 2,121 | 2,270 | Nil. | Nil. |
| Hamsabagh | 180 | 207 | Nil. | Nil. |
| Kayastha | 139 | 94 | 12 | 9 |
| Patna | 942 | 781 | 1 | Nil. |
| Madhura | 124 | 129 | 69 | 70 |
| Bagha | 4 | 3 | Nil. | Nil. |
| Orissa Pargana | 1,814 | 1,811 | Nil. | Nil. |

It will be interesting if at the next census particular enquiries are instituted and differentiation made between the caste of cultivators and the other sub-castes of iron smelters having similar names.

In Sahabpur there is a peculiar but interesting tradition prevalent among the Agharias as regards their origin. They call themselves immigrants from Agra and claim to be Khatris

Epistle. The story of the incident has brought about their expulsion from, or abandonment of, their motherland. It is this: They were a race of sturdy men and were in the habit of saluting their king in the fashion of *samudra* [i. e., joining the palms of both the hands and raising them to the forehead]. But once when there was a change of king—they cannot give any idea of the date of this incident—the new king ordered that they should salute him bowing down their heads low. This order they refused to carry out. When the king saw that these stiff-necked people would not be persuaded to adopt the new form of salutation with bowed down heads while paying respects to him, he devised a means to put them out of their wits. He had a story rapidly revolving saw (which on account of its motion was irresistible) placed at a height of a man's neck when standing erect, across the door leading to the king's throne. The king then went for these people. When the leading men of the caste came with their heads erect and tried to pass through the door they had their heads severed from their necks by the irresistible rapidly moving saw. Frighted by this cruel treatment at the hand of their king, and dreading they would not flock from their remote destination, ten families of these people left the city of Agia for some distant land, where they might live unmolested and with honour unimpaired. They came to Peri and offered their prayers to the god Jagannath at the famous temple there. It is said that the leading member of the party obtained a personal communication—by dream or otherwise—with the god and implored the god to protect him and his homeless brethren. The god placed before him two shrouded vessels, one with a golden lid and the other with a silver lid and asked him to make his choice. The man chose the one with the golden lid and it turned out to be a ploughman's wife "Purusha". So said the god "You are fit now for agriculture; go, and earn your bread by tilling the soil; you work and I shall see that you are not poor men." The party then turned back and made their last place of halt near Lalla in the district of Saachapur which they call their "*Manji nra*" (place of laying down their baggage).

As Khatoiyas they had their sacred throats and knew that they were changing their profession from fighting to agriculture and they had to handle the plough they decided to throw away their sacred throats. But to keep up a reminiscence of their origin, they retained the sacred throats of one family among them and called the members of that family "Dastar" or "Hhai." They all agreed to support this family with their earnings. These Hhai are now the heads of the Aghasias.



Obituary Notice.

Dr. Andrew Campbell, D.D.

It is with deep regret that we have to record the great loss our Society has suffered by the death of the Hon'ble Rev. Dr. Andrew Campbell, D.D., on the 25th July last. Born at Bolton, in Lancashire, in year 1830, he came out to India in 1878 in connection with the Social Mission of the Free Church of Scotland, and up till his death he worked amongst the Santals in Chota Nagpur. From 1874 to 1878 he was stationed at Giridih in the Hazaribagh District, and in 1879 he removed his headquarters to Pakhalia in the Manbhum District where he lived and worked for the rest of his life. Besides his arduous Missionary, Philanthropic and Ethnological work among the Santals, he took an active interest in public affairs. As an Honorary Magistrate, and as a Member of the Manbhum District Board, and of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council he did excellent work. In recognition of his public services, Government was pleased to award him the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal in 1900 and a bar to the same in 1914.

Well known throughout the Province as a great philanthropic and missionary worker, he is more widely known by his valuable Ethnological writings. In fact, his extensive and scholarly Santal-English Dictionary has earned for him an European reputation, and he is regarded as the greatest authority of his time on everything connected with the Santals. Besides his 'Santal-English Dictionary' he published a valuable collection of Santal Folktales in English. He also published several school books in the Santal language with a view to promoting education amongst the Santals,—and for a number of years edited a Journal in Santal named the Dharma (Flory Cross). He was long engaged in the preparation of an elaborate

monograph on the Santals. Portions of the material collected by him for this purpose were published in a series of most interesting articles which appeared in this Journal. It is hoped that the remaining materials for the contemplated monograph will be found among his papers and duly edited and published. When published, the monograph is expected to be the standard work on Santal Ethnography.



**Proceedings of the Council Meeting of
Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
held on the 8th August 1919 at 4 p.m.
at the Society's Office.**

PRESIDENT

The Hon'ble Mr. H. McPherson, C.A., I.C.S., Vice-President,
in the Chair.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Jennings, C.I.S., I.C.S.

G. E. Freeman, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.

Raj Bahadur Shastri Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., General Secretary.

Professor J. N. Sanasidhi, M.A., Honorary Treasurer.

K. N. Dikshit, Esq., M.A.

I.—The following gentlemen were elected as ordinary members
of the Society:—

1. Babu Nihar Narain Shukla, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Patna.
2. Babu Atul Krishna Roy, B.L., Vakil, High Court, Patna.
3. Babu Hira Chandra Bose, M.A., B.L., Public Prosecutor, Monghyr.
4. Maharia Gopalchar Ramamrita Das, Raj Gopal Hall, Puri.
5. K. P. Varma, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Patna.
6. Babu N. G. Majumdar, B.L., 79 Russa Road, Calcutta.
7. Babu Gopall Shukla, 89 Dalgatula Mala Road, Calcutta.
8. Mr. K. G. Sankara Aiyar, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Trivandrum.

9. Babu Guruswami Nath Banerjee, University Lecturer,
107-1 Madras Road, Archery Street P. O.
Calcutta.
10. Mardari Satyid Haidar Belgum, Kuth (Shalabed).
11. Babu Narintha Mousty, M.A., M.L., University
Librarian, Mysore.
12. J. Robinson, Esq., Deputy Director of Agriculture,
Patna.
13. Babu Tirthovan Nath Sanyal, Vakil, High Court,
Patna.
14. The Hon'ble Mr. K. B. Dutt, Advocate-at-Law,
Patna.
15. Mr. Narintha Rao, Deputy Collector, Trichinopoly.
16. The Hon'ble Mr. J. A. Hinchcock, M.C., Patna.
17. W. S. Hinchcock, Esq., Government House, Patna.
18. J. A. Cresson, Esq., Anglo.
19. K. N. Diksh, Esq., M.A., Patna.
20. Babu P. N. Majumdar, Patna.

II.—Purchase of books as per list given below was recorded.

List of books required to be published forwarded.

Resolved that a Book Committee be constituted consisting of the Vice-President, the General Secretary and the Treasurer, and the authority of purchasing books be delegated to them.

III.—The letter of the Registrar, Patna University, dated the 17th June, 1919, was recorded. (See Proceedings of the General Meeting.)

IV.—Letter of Government No. 1088H, dated the 24th June, 1919, granting a further sum of Rs. 500 for the Journal was thankfully recorded. The Council will consider in their next meeting the desirability of raising the subscription of members residing outside the Province from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. The Honorary Treasurer to place on the table a statement showing the cost of publication of the Journal and means to cover that cost.

V.—Considered the proposal of the Anagarika Dharmapala that the Society should edit Pali Texts in Nagri Script. Resolved that a Sub-Committee consisting of the Vice-President, the General Secretary, and Mr. Ditchik be formed to advise on the subject and that the correspondence on the subject received from His Holiness the President be circulated amongst the members of the Council.

VI.—Considered applications of the Curator/Dacca Museum, Rev. Vijaya Dharmasastri, and the Secretary, Galt Public Library, Ranchi, to get the Journal free from the Society. Resolved that the applications cannot be granted, as no rule allows a free distribution of the Journal.

VII.—Resolved that the Society's Journal be exchanged as requested by the Director, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, as per letter of the Librarian, dated the 4th June, 1919 for the publications of the said Museum.

VIII.—Considered the proposal of the Secretary to appoint a Librarian who should also work as Clerk of the Society. The Secretary suggested the name of Daku Karmachar Prasad, who has passed the I.P.C. examination and has already worked as trial in the Society's Office. Resolved that Daku Karmachar Prasad be appointed on a salary of Rs. 35-5-14, and that his starting pay should be Rs. 48 in place of Daku Chandra Lal, resigned.

IX.—Permission was given to Mr. Samadhar to use the sticks of the Hasthigruha inscriptions.

**Proceedings of a General Meeting
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society, held on the 8th August, 1919,
at 4 p. m. at the Society's Office.**

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr H. McPherson, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Jennings, C.I.E., I.C.S.

G. E. Fergus, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.

R. Sene, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.

Rev. Mr. G. J. Datta.

K. P. Jaiswal, Esq., M.A., General Secretary.

Professor J. N. Samaddar, M.A., Honorary Treasurer.

Khan Bahadur Saheb-e-Hind Khan.

Mr. H. Pandey.

Raja Kali Prasad Saha.

Raja Mahommed Ghosh.

Raj Bahadur Shastri Chandra Ray.

Mr. K. N. Datta, M.A.

Raja Nandlal Marmadar.

The following communications, received from the Registrar, Patna University, which had already been circulated with a letter, dated the 11th July 1919, as per copies below, were placed before the meeting :—

Dated the 11th July, 1919.

From—K. P. Jaiswal, Esq., General Secretary to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

To—The Members of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

The Society has been given the right of electing a nominee to represent them on the Senate of the Patna University (vide Resolutions A and B).

Under the regulations framed in that behalf the nominations should reach this office fourteen days before the date fixed

for election [vide Enclosure C]. The date for election this year is the 8th of August next. The election will take place at a meeting to be held on that date at the Office of the Society, High Court Buildings, Patna, between the hours 4-5 p.m. and 4-55 p.m.

Enclosures :—

A.—Copy of a letter, No. 4644-46, dated the 17th June, 1919 from the Registrar of the Patna University to the Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

B.—Copy of a communication numbered 628P, dated the 10th June 1919, from the Private Secretary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to the Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.

C.—Copy of a communication numbered 735E, dated the 9th June, 1919, from the Additional Under-Secretary to the Government to the Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.

D.—Letter No. 5154-5159, dated the 22d July 1919, from the Registrar, Patna University, to the Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

A.

Patna University, No. 4644-46, dated the Patna, 17th June, 1919.

From—B. SINGH, Esq., M.A., Registrar, Patna University.

To—The Secretary, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

I have the honour to enclose copies of two letters from Government on the subject of election of Fellows by Associations or Public Bodies. From these letters you will see that your Association elects one member. You will note from the Rules which are embodied in letter No. 735E, dated the 9th June 1919, that no person shall be qualified to vote or to be elected at any election unless he be a member of the Association or Public Body and his name be registered before 30th June in the year of election. Consequently only those members of your Association whose names are registered before 30th June of this year are eligible to vote or for election.

2. The elections this year will take place on 25th August. I am therefore to request you to intimate this date to all qualified members together with a notice that a meeting will take place on 5th August for the election. It would be as well to send each member a copy of the rules. If you wish for any further information on the subject I shall be obliged if you will be so good as to write to me at once.

H.

Ms. 1037, dated the 12th June 1912.

From—The Private Secretary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

To—The Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.

In reply to your letter No. 113-277, dated the 18th January 1912, I am directed to say that His Honour the Chancellor is pleased to empower, under sections 7(3) (i) (d) of the Patna University Act, the Association of Public Bodies named below to elect Ordinary Fellows of the Senate of the University:—

| Association or Public Body | No. of Fellows to be elected. |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Bihar and Orissa Research Society | — 1 |

I.

Ms. 7212, dated Ranchi, the 6th June 1912.

From—R. E. ENGLISH, Esq., T. 56, 22 (Ranchi) Under-Secretary to the Government, Bihar and Orissa, Education Branch.

To—The Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.

In reply to your letter No. 2084, dated the 14th April 1912, I am directed to say that the Local Government are pleased to sanction under section 14(3) of the Patna University Act the following additions to the University Regulations:—

CHAPTER XIII-A.

Electors of Fellows by Association or Public Bodies.

The following provision shall be adopted in the election of the Ordinary Fellows by Associations or Public Bodies under section 7(3) (i) (d) of the Patna University Act:—

"(1) Once in every year, or such date as the Chancellor may appoint in this behalf, there shall, if necessary,

be an election to fill any vacancy among the Ordinary Fellows to be elected by Associations or Public Bodies.

- (5) No person shall be qualified to vote or to be elected at any election held under Regulation 1, unless he be a member of the Association or Public Body concerned, and his name be registered as a member before 31st June in the year of election.
- (6) Information of the date fixed for election shall be sent by the Registrar to the Secretary of the Association or Public Body at least thirty-five clear days in advance and the Secretary shall inform this date to all qualified members forthwith together with a notice that a meeting shall take place on the said date fixed for election. Each member of the Association or Public Body shall be entitled to propose the name of one person for appointment as a Fellow. Such proposals must reach the Secretary fourteen clear days before the date fixed for election. The election shall take place at the meeting.
- (7) Each voter shall have only one vote for each vacancy which is to be filled up, and can give only one vote to any one candidate.
- (8) Those who obtain the highest number of votes shall be declared elected. In the event of there being any tie between two or more candidates necessitating further election, the tie shall be decided by drawing lots.
- (9) If, upon the election of an Ordinary Fellow by an Association or Public Body, objection is taken that the election has not been held in accordance with the Regulations framed for the purpose, written notice of such objection shall be given to the Registrar within three days after the election. Such notice shall specify the grounds upon which the

validity of the election is questioned. The Registrar shall place the notice before the Vice-Chancellor or the Senior Member of the Syndicate or the one may be who shall thereupon convene a meeting of the Syndicate for the consideration of the matter on as early a date as practicable. The Syndicate shall report on the matter to the Chancellor who, under section 15(1) of the Act, shall decide the dispute."

D.

No. 1194-1908, dated 18th July 1919.

From—R. SNOW, Esq., B.A., Registrar, Pains University.

To—The Secretary, Elton and Orlan Research Society, Pains.

In response to enquiries I am directed to state that it is open to Association concerned, at their meetings convened under Chapter XIII A of the Pains University Regulations (copy forwarded) for the purpose of electing Fellows to represent Associations in the University Senate, to conduct the proceedings of meetings according to their own respective rules except in so far as they are contrary to the express regulations of the University.

The nominations which had already been notified to the members by the Secretary's letter, dated the 10th July 1919, as per copy below, were also placed before the meeting:—

Pains, 18th July 1919.

From—H. F. LARSEN, Esq., General Secretary to the Elton and Orlan Research Society.

To—The Members of the Elton and Orlan Research Society.

In continuation of the letter from this office, dated the 12th July 1919, on the subject of electing a representative of the Society to the Senate of the Pains University, I beg to inform you that the following nominations have been received.

It may be further noted that the election is to be decided by the suffrage of the Members present at the meeting on the 1st August next (4-15 p.m.) at the Office of the Society.

NOMINATIONS.

L. K. P. Jajawal, Esq. — Professor Farnham, Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, S. Sinha, Esq., R. Shaw, Esq., The Hon'ble Mr. J. Jennings, Mr. H. Pandey, Babu Keshi Mita, M.A. and Pandit Haver-sath Rai.

The names of Babu Keshi Mita, Mr. H. Pandey and Dr. Hari Chand had been sent in by Dr. Gangorath Jha, Babu Kailaspati Sahay and Babu Barnhi Chandra Shukla, respectively. In each case the gentleman proposed has not approved of the nomination.

Letters from Babu Keshi Mita, Mr. Pandey and Dr. Hari Chand declining to stand for election were read by the President.

Mr. L. K. P. Jajawal was unanimously elected as the Society's representative to the Senate of the Patna University.

LIST OF BOOKS PURCHASED AND OTHERWISE RECEIVED DURING THE MONTHS OF
MARCH TO JULY, 1915.

| Date of receipt. | Number of volumes. | Name of books. | | Number of pages received. | Remarks. |
|------------------|-----------------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------------------|----------|
| | | 1. | 2. | | |
| 2nd March 1915 | — | 1—6 | Vols. 1 to 6. | 6 | 6 |
| 1915 | — | 7 | Vols. 7 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 8 | Vols. 8 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 9 | Vols. 9 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 10 | Vols. 10 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 11 | Vols. 11 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 12 | Vols. 12 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 13 | Vols. 13 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 14 | Vols. 14 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 15 | Vols. 15 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 16 | Vols. 16 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 17 | Vols. 17 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 18 | Vols. 18 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 19 | Vols. 19 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 20 | Vols. 20 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 21 | Vols. 21 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 22 | Vols. 22 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 23 | Vols. 23 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 24 | Vols. 24 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 25 | Vols. 25 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 26 | Vols. 26 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 27 | Vols. 27 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 28 | Vols. 28 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 29 | Vols. 29 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 30 | Vols. 30 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 31 | Vols. 31 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 32 | Vols. 32 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 33 | Vols. 33 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 34 | Vols. 34 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 35 | Vols. 35 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 36 | Vols. 36 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 37 | Vols. 37 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 38 | Vols. 38 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 39 | Vols. 39 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 40 | Vols. 40 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 41 | Vols. 41 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 42 | Vols. 42 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 43 | Vols. 43 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 44 | Vols. 44 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 45 | Vols. 45 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 46 | Vols. 46 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 47 | Vols. 47 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 48 | Vols. 48 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 49 | Vols. 49 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 50 | Vols. 50 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 51 | Vols. 51 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 52 | Vols. 52 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 53 | Vols. 53 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 54 | Vols. 54 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 55 | Vols. 55 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 56 | Vols. 56 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 57 | Vols. 57 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 58 | Vols. 58 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 59 | Vols. 59 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 60 | Vols. 60 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 61 | Vols. 61 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 62 | Vols. 62 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 63 | Vols. 63 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 64 | Vols. 64 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 65 | Vols. 65 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 66 | Vols. 66 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 67 | Vols. 67 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 68 | Vols. 68 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 69 | Vols. 69 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 70 | Vols. 70 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 71 | Vols. 71 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 72 | Vols. 72 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 73 | Vols. 73 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 74 | Vols. 74 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 75 | Vols. 75 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 76 | Vols. 76 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 77 | Vols. 77 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 78 | Vols. 78 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 79 | Vols. 79 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 80 | Vols. 80 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 81 | Vols. 81 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 82 | Vols. 82 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 83 | Vols. 83 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 84 | Vols. 84 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 85 | Vols. 85 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 86 | Vols. 86 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 87 | Vols. 87 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 88 | Vols. 88 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 89 | Vols. 89 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 90 | Vols. 90 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 91 | Vols. 91 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 92 | Vols. 92 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 93 | Vols. 93 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 94 | Vols. 94 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 95 | Vols. 95 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 96 | Vols. 96 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 97 | Vols. 97 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 98 | Vols. 98 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 99 | Vols. 99 to 10. | 4 | 4 |
| 1915 | — | 100 | Vols. 100 to 10. | 4 | 4 |

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----|--|---|-----|------|
| 1930a | 14 | sublancea, <i>Tricorymbus</i> | — | 1 | 100m |
| 1930b | 15 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 2 | 100m |
| 1930c | 16 | <i>Homoglyphus</i> | — | 3 | 100m |
| 1930d | 17 | <i>Edgwayi</i> sp. <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 4 | 200m |
| 1930e | 18 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 5 | 100m |
| 1930f | 19 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 6 | 100m |
| 1930g | 20 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 7 | 100m |
| 1930h | 21 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 8 | 100m |
| 1930i | 22 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 9 | 100m |
| 1930j | 23 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 10 | 100m |
| 1930k | 24 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 11 | 100m |
| 1930l | 25 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 12 | 100m |
| 1930m | 26 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 13 | 100m |
| 1930n | 27 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 14 | 100m |
| 1930o | 28 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 15 | 100m |
| 1930p | 29 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 16 | 100m |
| 1930q | 30 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 17 | 100m |
| 1930r | 31 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 18 | 100m |
| 1930s | 32 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 19 | 100m |
| 1930t | 33 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 20 | 100m |
| 1930u | 34 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 21 | 100m |
| 1930v | 35 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 22 | 100m |
| 1930w | 36 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 23 | 100m |
| 1930x | 37 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 24 | 100m |
| 1930y | 38 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 25 | 100m |
| 1930z | 39 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 26 | 100m |
| 1930aa | 40 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 27 | 100m |
| 1930ab | 41 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 28 | 100m |
| 1930ac | 42 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 29 | 100m |
| 1930ad | 43 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 30 | 100m |
| 1930ae | 44 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 31 | 100m |
| 1930af | 45 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 32 | 100m |
| 1930ag | 46 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 33 | 100m |
| 1930ah | 47 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 34 | 100m |
| 1930ai | 48 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 35 | 100m |
| 1930aj | 49 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 36 | 100m |
| 1930ak | 50 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 37 | 100m |
| 1930al | 51 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 38 | 100m |
| 1930am | 52 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 39 | 100m |
| 1930an | 53 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 40 | 100m |
| 1930ao | 54 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 41 | 100m |
| 1930ap | 55 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 42 | 100m |
| 1930aq | 56 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 43 | 100m |
| 1930ar | 57 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 44 | 100m |
| 1930as | 58 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 45 | 100m |
| 1930at | 59 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 46 | 100m |
| 1930au | 60 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 47 | 100m |
| 1930av | 61 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 48 | 100m |
| 1930aw | 62 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 49 | 100m |
| 1930ax | 63 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 50 | 100m |
| 1930ay | 64 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 51 | 100m |
| 1930az | 65 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 52 | 100m |
| 1930ba | 66 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 53 | 100m |
| 1930bb | 67 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 54 | 100m |
| 1930bc | 68 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 55 | 100m |
| 1930bd | 69 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 56 | 100m |
| 1930be | 70 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 57 | 100m |
| 1930bf | 71 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 58 | 100m |
| 1930bg | 72 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 59 | 100m |
| 1930bh | 73 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 60 | 100m |
| 1930bi | 74 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 61 | 100m |
| 1930bj | 75 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 62 | 100m |
| 1930bk | 76 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 63 | 100m |
| 1930bl | 77 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 64 | 100m |
| 1930bm | 78 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 65 | 100m |
| 1930bn | 79 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 66 | 100m |
| 1930bo | 80 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 67 | 100m |
| 1930bp | 81 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 68 | 100m |
| 1930bq | 82 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 69 | 100m |
| 1930br | 83 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 70 | 100m |
| 1930bs | 84 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 71 | 100m |
| 1930bt | 85 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 72 | 100m |
| 1930bu | 86 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 73 | 100m |
| 1930bv | 87 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 74 | 100m |
| 1930bw | 88 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 75 | 100m |
| 1930bx | 89 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 76 | 100m |
| 1930by | 90 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 77 | 100m |
| 1930bz | 91 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 78 | 100m |
| 1930ca | 92 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 79 | 100m |
| 1930cb | 93 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 80 | 100m |
| 1930cc | 94 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 81 | 100m |
| 1930cd | 95 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 82 | 100m |
| 1930ce | 96 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 83 | 100m |
| 1930cf | 97 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 84 | 100m |
| 1930cg | 98 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 85 | 100m |
| 1930ch | 99 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 86 | 100m |
| 1930ci | 100 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 87 | 100m |
| 1930cj | 101 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 88 | 100m |
| 1930ck | 102 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 89 | 100m |
| 1930cl | 103 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 90 | 100m |
| 1930cm | 104 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 91 | 100m |
| 1930cn | 105 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 92 | 100m |
| 1930co | 106 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 93 | 100m |
| 1930cp | 107 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 94 | 100m |
| 1930cq | 108 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 95 | 100m |
| 1930cr | 109 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 96 | 100m |
| 1930cs | 110 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 97 | 100m |
| 1930ct | 111 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 98 | 100m |
| 1930cu | 112 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 99 | 100m |
| 1930cv | 113 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 100 | 100m |
| 1930cw | 114 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 101 | 100m |
| 1930cx | 115 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 102 | 100m |
| 1930cy | 116 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 103 | 100m |
| 1930cz | 117 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 104 | 100m |
| 1930da | 118 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 105 | 100m |
| 1930db | 119 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 106 | 100m |
| 1930dc | 120 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 107 | 100m |
| 1930dd | 121 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 108 | 100m |
| 1930de | 122 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 109 | 100m |
| 1930df | 123 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 110 | 100m |
| 1930dg | 124 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 111 | 100m |
| 1930dh | 125 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 112 | 100m |
| 1930di | 126 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 113 | 100m |
| 1930dj | 127 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 114 | 100m |
| 1930dk | 128 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 115 | 100m |
| 1930dl | 129 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 116 | 100m |
| 1930dm | 130 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 117 | 100m |
| 1930dn | 131 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 118 | 100m |
| 1930do | 132 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 119 | 100m |
| 1930dp | 133 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 120 | 100m |
| 1930dq | 134 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 121 | 100m |
| 1930dr | 135 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 122 | 100m |
| 1930ds | 136 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 123 | 100m |
| 1930dt | 137 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 124 | 100m |
| 1930du | 138 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 125 | 100m |
| 1930dv | 139 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 126 | 100m |
| 1930dw | 140 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 127 | 100m |
| 1930dx | 141 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 128 | 100m |
| 1930dy | 142 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 129 | 100m |
| 1930dz | 143 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 130 | 100m |
| 1930ea | 144 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 131 | 100m |
| 1930eb | 145 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 132 | 100m |
| 1930ec | 146 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 133 | 100m |
| 1930ed | 147 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 134 | 100m |
| 1930ee | 148 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 135 | 100m |
| 1930ef | 149 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 136 | 100m |
| 1930eg | 150 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 137 | 100m |
| 1930eh | 151 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 138 | 100m |
| 1930ei | 152 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 139 | 100m |
| 1930ej | 153 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 140 | 100m |
| 1930ek | 154 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 141 | 100m |
| 1930el | 155 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 142 | 100m |
| 1930em | 156 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 143 | 100m |
| 1930en | 157 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 144 | 100m |
| 1930eo | 158 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 145 | 100m |
| 1930ep | 159 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 146 | 100m |
| 1930eq | 160 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 147 | 100m |
| 1930er | 161 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 148 | 100m |
| 1930es | 162 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 149 | 100m |
| 1930et | 163 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 150 | 100m |
| 1930eu | 164 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 151 | 100m |
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| 1930ex | 167 | <i>Myoporum</i> sp. | — | 154 | 100m |
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1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | |
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| Date of receipt. | Monthly serial numbers. | Name of books. | Number of copies received. | Remarks. |
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| 3 | 9 | 6 | 8 | 5 |
| 28th June 1878 | 10 | Journal des Eux Noirs, 1878, 2000 | 1 | Purchased from Isaac & Co. |
| 18th | 11 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 12 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 13 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 14 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 15 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 16 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 17 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 18 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 19 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 20 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 21 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 22 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 23 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 24 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 25 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 26 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 27 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 28 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 29 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 30 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 31 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 32 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 33 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 34 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 35 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 36 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 37 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 38 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 39 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 40 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 41 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 42 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 43 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 44 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 45 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 46 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 47 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 48 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 49 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 50 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 51 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 52 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 53 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 54 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 55 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 56 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 57 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 58 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 59 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 60 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 61 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 62 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 63 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 64 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 65 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 66 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 67 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 68 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 69 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 70 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 71 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 72 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 73 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 74 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 75 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 76 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 77 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
| 18th | 78 | 1878, 1878, 1878 | 1 | 1878, 1878, 1878 |
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| 131 | 132 | 133 | 134 | 135 | 136 | 137 | 138 | 139 | 140 | 141 | 142 | 143 | 144 | 145 | 146 | 147 | 148 | 149 | 150 | 151 | 152 | 153 | 154 | 155 | 156 | 157 | 158 | 159 | 160 | 161 | 162 | 163 | 164 | 165 | 166 | 167 | 168 | 169 | 170 | 171 | 172 | 173 | 174 | 175 | 176 | 177 | 178 | 179 | 180 | 181 | 182 | 183 | 184 | 185 | 186 | 187 | 188 | 189 | 190 | 191 | 192 | 193 | 194 | 195 | 196 | 197 | 198 | 199 | 200 | 201 | 202 | 203 | 204 | 205 | 206 | 207 | 208 | 209 | 210 | 211 | 212 | 213 | 214 | 215 | 216 | 217 | 218 | 219 | 220 | 221 | 222 | 223 | 224 | 225 | 226 | 227 | 228 | 229 | 230 | 231 | 232 | 233 | 234 | 235 | 236 | 237 | 238 | 239 | 240 | 241 | 242 | 243 | 244 | 245 | 246 | 247 | 248 | 249 | 250 | 251 | 252 | 253 | 254 | 255 | 256 | 257 | 258 | 259 | 260 | 261 | 262 | 263 | 264 | 265 | 266 | 267 | 268 | 269 | 270 | 271 | 272 | 273 | 274 | 275 | 276 | 277 | 278 | 279 | 280 | 281 | 282 | 283 | 284 | 285 | 286 | 287 | 288 | 289 | 290 | 291 | 292 | 293 | 294 | 295 | 296 | 297 | 298 | 299 | 300 | 301 | 302 | 303 | 304 | 305 | 306 | 307 | 308 | 309 | 310 | 311 | 312 | 313 | 314 | 315 | 316 | 317 | 318 | 319 | 320 | 321 | 322 | 323 | 324 | 325 | 326 | 327 | 328 | 329 | 330 | 331 | 332 | 333 | 334 | 335 | 336 | 337 | 338 | 339 | 340 | 341 | 342 | 343 | 344 | 345 | 346 | 347 | 348 | 349 | 350 | 351 | 352 | 353 | 354 | 355 | 356 | 357 | 358 | 359 | 360 | 361 | 362 | 363 | 364 | 365 | 366 | 367 | 368 | 369 | 370 | 371 | 372 | 373 | 374 | 375 | 376 | 377 | 378 | 379 | 380 | 381 | 382 | 383 | 384 | 385 | 386 | 387 | 388 | 389 | 390 | 391 | 392 | 393 | 394 | 395 | 396 | 397 | 398 | 399 | 400 | 401 | 402 | 403 | 404 | 405 | 406 | 407 | 408 | 409 | 410 | 411 | 412 | 413 | 414 | 415 | 416 | 417 | 418 | 419 | 420 | 421 | 422 | 423 | 424 | 425 | 426 | 427 | 428 | 429 | 430 | 431 | 432 | 433 | 434 | 435 | 436 | 437 | 438 | 439 | 440 | 441 | 442 | 443 | 444 | 445 | 446 | 447 | 448 | 449 | 450 | 451 | 452 | 453 | 454 | 455 | 456 | 457 | 458 | 459 | 460 | 461 | 462 | 463 | 464 | 465 | 466 | 467 | 468 | 469 | 470 | 471 | 472 | 473 | 474 | 475 | 476 | 477 | 478 | 479 | 480 | 481 | 482 | 483 | 484 | 485 | 486 | 487 | 488 | 489 | 490 | 491 | 492 | 493 | 494 | 495 | 496 | 497 | 498 | 499 | 500 | 501 | 502 | 503 | 504 | 505 | 506 | 507 | 508 | 509 | 510 | 511 | 512 | 513 | 514 | 515 | 516 | 517 | 518 | 519 | 520 | 521 | 522 | 523 | 524 | 525 | 526 | 527 | 528 | 529 | 530 | 531 | 532 | 533 | 534 | 535 | 536 | 537 | 538 | 539 | 540 | 541 | 542 | 543 | 544 | 545 | 546 | 547 | 548 | 549 | 550 | 551 | 552 | 553 | 554 | 555 | 556 | 557 | 558 | 559 | 560 | 561 | 562 | 563 | 564 | 565 | 566 | 567 | 568 | 569 | 570 | 571 | 572 | 573 | 574 | 575 | 576 | 577 | 578 | 579 | 580 | 581 | 582 | 583 | 584 | 585 | 586 | 587 | 588 | 589 | 590 | 591 | 592 | 593 | 594 | 595 | 596 | 597 | 598 | 599 | 600 | 601 | 602 | 603 | 604 | 605 | 606 | 607 | 608 | 609 | 610 | 611 | 612 | 613 | 614 | 615 | 616 | 617 | 618 | 619 | 620 | 621 | 622 | 623 | 624 | 625 | 626 | 627 | 628 | 629 | 630 | 631 | 632 | 633 | 634 | 635 | 636 | 637 | 638 | 639 | 640 | 641 | 642 | 643 | 644 | 645 | 646 | 647 | 648 | 649 | 650 | 651 | 652 | 653 | 654 | 655 | 656 | 657 | 658 | 659 | 660 | 661 | 662 | 663 | 664 | 665 | 666 | 667 | 668 | 669 | 670 | 671 | 672 | 673 | 674 | 675 | 676 | 677 | 678 | 679 | 680 | 681 | 682 | 683 | 684 | 685 | 686 | 687 | 688 | 689 | 690 | 691 | 692 | 693 | 694 | 695 | 696 | 697 | 698 | 699 | 700 | 701 | 702 | 703 | 704 | 705 | 706 | 707 | 708 | 709 | 710 | 711 | 712 | 713 | 714 | 715 | 716 | 717 | 718 | 719 | 720 | 721 | 722 | 723 | 724 | 725 | 726 | 727 | 728 | 729 | 730 | 731 | 732 | 733 | 734 | 735 | 736 | 737 | 738 | 739 | 740 | 741 | 742 | 743 | 744 | 745 | 746 | 747 | 748 | 749 | 750 | 751 | 752 | 753 | 754 | 755 | 756 | 757 | 758 | 759 | 760 | 761 | 762 | 763 | 764 | 765 | 766 | 767 | 768 | 769 | 770 | 771 | 772 | 773 | 774 | 775 | 776 | 777 | 778 | 779 | 780 | 781 | 782 | 783 | 784 | 785 | 786 | 787 | 788 | 789 | 790 | 791 | 792 | 793 | 794 | 795 | 796 | 797 | 798 | 799 | 800 | 801 | 802 | 803 | 804 | 805 | 806 | 807 | 808 | 809 | 810 | 811 | 812 | 813 | 814 | 815 | 816 | 817 | 818 | 819 | 820 | 821 | 822 | 823 | 824 | 825 | 826 | 827 | 828 | 829 | 830 | 831 | 832 | 833 | 834 | 835 | 836 | 837 | 838 | 839 | 840 | 841 | 842 | 843 | 844 | 845 | 846 | 847 | 848 | 849 | 850 | 851 | 852 | 853 | 854 | 855 | 856 | 857 | 858 | 859 | 860 | 861 | 862 | 863 | 864 | 865 | 866 | 867 | 868 | 869 | 870 | 871 | 872 | 873 | 874 | 875 | 876 | 877 | 878 | 879 | 880 | 881 | 882 | 883 | 884 | 885 | 886 | 887 | 888 | 889 | 890 | 891 | 892 | 893 | 894 | 895 | 896 | 897 | 898 | 899 | 900 | 901 | 902 | 903 | 904 | 905 | 906 | 907 | 908 | 909 | 910 | 911 | 912 | 913 | 914 | 915 | 916 | 917 | 918 | 919 | 920 | 921 | 922 | 923 | 924 | 925 | 926 | 927 | 928 | 929 | 930 | 931 | 932 | 933 | 934 | 935 | 936 | 937 | 938 | 939 | 940 | 941 | 942 | 943 | 944 | 945 | 946 | 947 | 948 | 949 | 950 | 951 | 952 | 953 | 954 | 955 | 956 | 957 | 958 | 959 | 960 | 961 | 962 | 963 | 964 | 965 | 966 | 967 | 968 | 969 | 970 | 971 | 972 | 973 | 974 | 975 | 976 | 977 | 978 | 979 | 980 | 981 | 982 | 983 | 984 | 985 | 986 | 987 | 988 | 989 | 990 | 991 | 992 | 993 | 994 | 995 | 996 | 997 | 998 | 999 | 1000 | 1001 | 1002 | 1003 | 1004 | 1005 | 1006 | 1007 | 1008 | 1009 | 1010 | 1011 | 1012 | 1013 | 1014 | 1015 | 1016 | 1017 | 1018 | 1019 | 1020 | 1021 | 1022 | 1023 | 1024 | 1025 | 1026 | 1027 | 1028 | 1029 | 1030 | 1031 | 1032 | 1033 | 1034 | 1035 | 1036 | 1037 | 1038 | 1039 | 1040 | 1041 | 1042 | 1043 | 1044 | 1045 | 1046 | 1047 | 1048 | 1049 | 1050 | 1051 | 1052 | 1053 | 1054 | 1055 | 1056 | 1057 | 1058 | 1059 | 1060 | 1061 | 1062 | 1063 | 1064 | 1065 | 1066 | 1067 | 1068 | 1069 | 1070 | 1071 | 1072 | 1073 | 1074 | 1075 | 1076 | 1077 | 1078 | 1079 | 1080 | 1081 | 1082 | 1083 | 1084 | 1085 | 1086 | 1087 | 1088 | 1089 | 1090 | 1091 | 1092 | 1093 | 1094 | 1095 | 1096 | 1097 | 1098 | 1099 | 1100 | 1101 | 1102 | 1103 | 1104 | 1105 | 1106 | 1107 | 1108 | 1109 | 1110 | 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1397 | 1398 | 1399 | 1400 | 1401 | 1402 | 1403 | 1404 | 1405 | 1406 | 1407 | 1408 | 1409 | 1410 | 1411 | 1412 | 1413 | 1414 | 1415 | 1416 | 1417 | 1418 | 1419 | 1420 | 1421 | 1422 | 1423 | 1424 | 1425 | 1426 | 1427 | 1428 | 1429 | 1430 | 1431 | 1432 | 1433 | 1434 | 1435 | 1436 | 1437 | 1438 | 1439 | 1440 | 1441 | 1442 | 1443 | 1444 | 1445 | 1446 | 1447 | 1448 | 1449 | 1450 | 1451 | 1452 | 1453 | 1454 | 1455 | 1456 | 1457 | 1458 | 1459 | 1460 | 1461 | 1462 | 1463 | 1464 | 1465 | 1466 | 1467 | 1468 | 1469 | 1470 | 1471 | 1472 | 1473 | 1474 | 1475 | 1476 | 1477 | 1478 | 1479 | 1480 | 1481 | 1482 | 1483 | 1484 | 1485 | 1486 | 1487 | 1488 | 1489 | 1490 | 1491 | 1492 | 1493 | 1494 | 1495 | 1496 | 1497 | 1498 | 1499 | 1500 | 1501 | 1502 | 1503 | 1504 | 1505 | 1506 | 1507 | 1508 | 1509 | 1510 | 1511 | 1512 | 1513 | 1514 | 1515 | 1516 | 1517 | 1518 | 1519 | 1520 | 1521 | 1522 | 1523 | 1524 | 1525 | 1526 | 1527 | 1528 | 1529 | 1530 | 1531 | 1532 | 1533 | 1534 | 1535 | 1536 | 1537 | 1538 | 1539 | 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JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY.

VOL. VI.]

[PART IV.]

LEADING ARTICLES

I—Secret Messages and Symbols Used in India.

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Anthropologists in India have hitherto devoted little attention to the methods of secret transmission of messages and information and of signalling in various parts of the country. The question has been investigated with interesting results by some American anthropologists,¹ and we have some information on the subject from Peris.² It is notorious that in India important news is often spread in the bazaars in advance of the information supplied from official sources. Much of this news is doubtless spread by wandering Pargis and other travellers along great highways like the Grand Trunk Road or the railways. But many other means of secret signalling are in use of which the origin is obscure. For instance, no satisfactory explanation seems to have been given of the "tree-climbing" which was noticed in northern India in recent times. This paper aims only at collecting some examples from widely

¹ D. Hallow, *Sign Language among the North American Indians*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, 1881; *Handbook of American Indians*, 2, 306.

² *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, II, 188.

accessible sources, is the hope that it may lead to further investigation.

First comes the use of secret jargons or slang. The classical example of this is the message received by the Maratha Poethra after the fatal battle of Panipat in 1556: "Two ponds have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold anchors have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be put up"—the two "ponds" being the generals in command, Bahadur and Tukumsar.¹ Some commercial centres have a secret language of their own—the Chettis and Nattokketal Chettis, the Komatis and Patankirams of Madras,² and some classes of metal workers in northern India³ with the Mahachari Vaidas of Gujarat.⁴ Secret jargons of this kind are most common among the criminal and vagrant tribes. That of the Thugs was collected by General Sleeman in his *Khashtaras*; for the criminal tribes of western India several vocabularies have been collected;⁵ some have been noted in Mysore,⁶ and in Bahadurpur that of the Loris.⁷

One special form of such systems of communication is the letter or message stick of the natives of Australia.⁸ This method seems to be unknown or very rarely used in the Indian peninsula, but it is found among the Veddahs of Ceylon.⁹ Among the Kachchiaras, a class of cattle-breeders and cultivators in North

¹ David Toft, *History of the Marathas*, vol. vi, 223.

² R. Thondar, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, II, 228, III, 228, v, 270f, vi, 126.

³ Sir H. M. Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary*, 1882, 245.

⁴ *Reading Glossary*, 2nd part, 60.

⁵ H. Kinship, *Notes on the Criminal Classes of the Reading Provinces*, Bombay, 1906.

⁶ Thondar, II, 45, 46, 4622.

⁷ Census Report, 1901, 189, cf. The Jargons of Persian Cyprus, *Journal, Royal Anthropological Institute*, XLII, 262ff; Cyprus, *Alphabet of the Bektas*, 1914, 207ff.

⁸ W. B. Smith, *Anthropological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*, 1908, 122f, 124f; A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 186; R. Spencer, F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, 141.

⁹ C. G. and R. S. Seligman, *The Veddahs*, 119f.

and South American information is sent in relatives and cousins by two boys carrying little sticks in their hands.¹¹ But these do not seem to be inscribed in any way and they may be classed with the use of sticks and leaves which is common among the hill and forest tribes.

In 1888 the Dombos of Vinagayatan sent round as a signal of revolt a branch of the jack tree, which was fortunately interrupted by the police.¹² During the Bontal rebellion of 1884 the all (Bontal) revolted branch, the national emblem of war, was circulated, like the very cross, in their villages; and slips of paper, supposed to belong to some sacred book, were sent round in the same way; a notice of a similar kind announced that the doors of the temple of Jagannath had been closed, and that a bull with snakes hissing all over him would go thence: "Keep your streets well cleared and clear that he may pass through your village without obstruction. Send him on to the next four villages, or you will be smitten with disease and die within a year."¹³ Among the Kappers, an aboriginal tribe in the Central Provinces, a twig of the elm (*Melia azadirachta*) greatly selected because it is the tree sacred to the Hindu goddesses, or that of the goddess, is circulated as a notice to attend the caste conference.¹⁴ The Orissas used to summon the tribesmen to attend the annual hunt by sending round twigs of the all tree or of other trees; but this is now fallen into disuse, and the summons is circulated by beat of drum, but for this the phrase "circulating the twig" is still employed.¹⁵ Among the same tribe, when a claim for divorce is made, the president of the council hands a stil leaf to the party desiring separation, who tears it in half to signify dissolution of the marriage.¹⁶

¹¹ Thurston, II, 202.

¹² W. Francis, *District Record of Vinagayatan*, 1887, I, 204.

¹³ F. E. Smalley-Dick, *The Story of an Indian Uprising*, 1871: E. G. Han, *Bontals and the Bontals*, 125, 126.

¹⁴ Census Report, 1881, I, 227.

¹⁵ *Ind. Asiatic Soc. Charles Div. The Orissas*, 293.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 465.

Among the forest tribes another favourite method of sending signals is by circulating an arrow. The Khonds used to collect their fighting men by sending round "the arrow of war."¹¹ Among the Kols an arrow, passed from village to village, is a summons to arms, and if sent to any one in authority it is an open declaration of war, as was the case in 1831.¹² A Ho who is unable to write makes his mark or sign manual with a rude representation of an arrow, and the women use it as a tattoo mark, it being the national emblem.¹³ The Rajpoots of the Central Provinces have the arrow as their tribal symbol: they brand their cattle with it, and use it instead of a signature.¹⁴ The Mîl Paharias of Bengal, after the bride-price has been fixed, send the matchmaker to the bride's house bearing an arrow with a yellow thread tied in as many knots as there are days to the date proposed for the wedding.¹⁵ As a coincidence, it may be noted that in Africa the Ba-Hal Bantus send messages by means of an arrow, on which certain marks have been cut.¹⁶ This procession does not appear in the Indian examples of the procession.

A more gruesome form of notice during a rebellion is the sending round of parts of the corpse of one of the first victims as a call to arms: in 1855 the Khonds of Viragupatan sent round the head, fingers, hair, and other parts of an early victim of the disturbances.¹⁷ It may be noted as a parallel that in Papua a pig is killed and the body is sent round; every village that accepts and eats of the pig is bound to join in the fray.¹⁸

To collect his people or to authenticate any order the Iashai chief sends his spear from village to village; should the message be hostile the messenger carries a fighting *dao*, to which a piece of red cloth is attached; in other cases

¹¹ E. C. Mowbray, *Memoirs of Service in India*, 41.

¹² E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 175.

¹³ E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 178.

¹⁴ E. T. Dalton, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, 2, 208.

¹⁵ So E. Dalton, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 2, 22.

¹⁶ *Journal Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1901, 4th.

¹⁷ W. F. Fitch, 1, 93.

¹⁸ J. B. P. Murray, *Papua or British New Guinea*, p. 21.

a peculiar woad shaped like a cross made of strips of padded lardine is circulated; and if the tips of the woad pieces are beset with a demand for blackmail is indicated, a rope to be laid for every knob; if the end of one of the cross pieces be severed, it implies urgency, and that the people must come even by torchlight; if a capstone is attached to the woad, it means that disobedience will entail punishment as hot as the capstone is; if the cross pieces be made of cane, it means that disobedience will entail corporal chastisement.¹⁷

The best example of the use of knotted strings as a form of signal is found in the case of the Guipus.¹⁸ In India knotted strings are often used for this purpose. Among the Hill Bhuiyas of Koojhar "a knotted string passed from village to village throws the entire country into commotion, and the order which is usually communicated in connection with it is implicitly obeyed as if it emanated from the most potent despot. The *ghardi* or knotted string of the chief has during the recent disturbances in Koojhar been in active operation. The last one I heard of was a forgery. An villain of the Raja captured by the Ponds ingeniously fabricated a *ghardi* and having effected his escape from his grasp, it passed him unperceived through the remainder of the Bhuiya country to our camp."¹⁹ In the Khond outbreak in 1862 the signal was given by passing a knotted string from village to village; other signals were a bent arrow and a branch of the malua tree (*Boeris latifolia*); when the leaders were assembled each of them gave an *am* and to join in the rising and to support his fellows.²⁰ The Kharis, a forest tribe in Travancore, when summoning a caste meeting, used round a knot of fibre of a creeper as a *sal*.²¹ In

¹⁷ J. Malins, *The Indian Hill Tribes*, 46.

¹⁸ E. B. Tylor, *Early History of Hindia and the Development of Civilization*, ed. 1895, p. 164 B.

¹⁹ Dalton, 146. [Among the Ponds or Puhel Bhuiyas of Pond, knotted *am*s are sent round to the leaders of the different villages, the number of *am*s indicating the number of combatants each village has to supply, and the messenger who communicates the demand for men also brings a knotted string made of the *Bipinda* creeper, the number of knots indicating the number of days within which the men must be required to assemble at the appointed place.—E. C. Tylor.]

²⁰ E. V. Rieu, *B. 490*.

²¹ Thacker, *B. 175*.

the same way, knotted strings are often used as a record. At Saurastri marriages a knotted string which shows the interval between the betrothal and the wedding is kept as a *manomandam*.¹⁹ We may compare with this the attired or knotted birthday cord of the Mussulims which marks the age of a child.²⁰ Coland Teli tells how the Chinese conductor of a *survas* marks every stage of the journey by tying a knot in the end of his talisman.²¹

At the beginning of the *Meliny* in 1887 cakes or *chupdi's* were circulated in parts of northern India, and in the Punjab hills and in eastern Gujarat a parish dog was passed from village to village. Sir J. Campbell suggested that the cake was sent as embodying the spirit of the three golden Kall, and that any one tasting the food was thus admitted to communion with the deity and his worshippers. In a similar way he identified the dog with the attendant on Khandoba, the Maratha cured god, as a symbol of wit. He gives some evidence in support of this theory from the statements of witnesses during the trial which followed the outbreak, but this does not carry full conviction.²² It may be noted that in 1878 the Kayis of the Godavari district sent round by village panch about twenty fowls and ordered that they should be circulated through the country. It was said that the cholera goddess was selecting her victims in the villages further south, and that these villages had sent the fowls as offerings; they were to be passed as far as possible before being sacrificed in the hope that the goddess would follow them and leave the district.²³ This seems to be a case of the scape animal familiar to students of folklore.²⁴

¹⁹ Dalton, *MSB*.

²⁰ *Mani Puri, Allah, Allah Allah*, from Rochester, 1, 107 note; Mrs. Mac Donnell M., *Cheruvuwa in the Mountains of India*, ed. 1913, p. 212; *North Indian State and Queens*, II, 320; N. Mazon, *Etica de Mazon*, II, 222.

²¹ *Journal of Sociology*, ed. 1913, II, 192B.

²² T. E. H. Rickett, *History of the Indian Meliny*, Vol. II, 10; *Journal of Sociology*, I, 1911, 422.

²³ *Thacker, 17, 37*.

²⁴ W. Crook, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, Vol. II, 1, 1041.

In 1818, just after the Pindari war, a sudden agitation was caused by a number of *corcoras*, sometimes accompanied by small pieces of copper money, being passed from village to village, from Jaipur in the north to the Deccan in the south, from Gujarat to Bhopal. The village *Pandits* or headmen passed them on in order to avoid a curse denounced on all who impeded or stopped them for a moment. In spite of careful enquiry, the passing of these symbols, which lasted for a month, remained a mystery. Some thought it to be a sign of the complete establishment of British power; others said that a holy Brahmin in Jaipur had started it to announce the birth of a son; others that it was done in the interest of Bajirao the Peshwa. Sir John Malcolm, in accordance with a custom current in western India, had those which were brought to him broken and distributed at the foundation-laying of a house which he was then building.¹⁷

The use of signs as marks of certain castes and tribes, or as personal emblems, is not uncommon. The use of the *dhvaja* as tribal crest, in inscriptions and coins, or as devices on banners, was common in western India and elsewhere during the medieval period.¹⁸ In the United Provinces the sign manual of the Mughls is a representation of the *tribhanga* used in marking cattle; the *Rajputs* make the sign of the dagger beside their signatures, as did, or does, the chief of Salween, the leading noble of Meitei; the *Bhainsas* use the bow as a signature and as a cattle brand.¹⁹ Cattle in the Vedic age were marked on the ear and elsewhere as a mark of the tribe or family to which they belonged, or as a magical device to ensure fertility.²⁰ At the present day in the United Provinces and elsewhere cattle are branded in various ways, the most common being the trifling of fire on the flanks of the so-called "Brahman" bulls. It might be worth while making enquiries into the meaning of other marks of a similar kind. We may compare the tribal

¹⁷ Sir J. Malcolm, *Memoirs of Central India*, Ind. ed., II. 1171.

¹⁸ *Journal Asiatique*, 1. Part. I. 299-306.

¹⁹ *Journal*, II. 228, 236, II. 119; Ind. I. 265, 354.

²⁰ A. A. Haddad, *Public Index of Names and Subjects*, I. 65, II. 35, 72.

mark known as *was* in Arabia by which every Bedawi knows his own cattle; and similar marks are often painted on rocks to indicate the frontier of the tribe's territories.²²

Drum-busting used as a mode of summons back in India the peculiar which it possesses in Africa and elsewhere.²³ The Halls beat the drum at both ends for joyful news, for news of evil only at one end, that end being previously marked by rubbing it with contained flour of the craft palm; in case of an alarm it is beaten at both ends, a continuous note being emitted, while screams often add to the commotion; this note is at once picked up by the next village, and in an incredibly short time the whole district is aroused, all the tribesmen collecting at the place where the first alarm was sounded.²⁴ Among the same tribe in Gujarat, the Dholi instrument makes his drum give out a peculiar musical note at the sound of which the people of the neighbourhood gather to the funeral.²⁵ The Marja Gonds in the Central Provinces beat a drum to announce a death.²⁶ The Orons are awakened by the beating of the great drum which has iron sides and a cover of buffalo hide.²⁷ It was to the sound of the drums that the Vello warriors moved to battle or to rouse their herds; but in the Malabaratta this is replaced by the much-shell of war, which the Aikins in the Nigroba used to sound when they drained their chase of the booty after a battle.²⁸

Special signs are often used to define the trail in the jungle. In Sikkim the trail is marked by a bundle of freshly cut twigs; when these are laid lengthwise on one of the diverging tracks they signify that the one so marked is that which the traveller should choose; if laid crosswise they mean that there is no

²² *Geographical Gazetteer of India*, I, 325; W. Schuchert Smith, *Barbarians and Slaves in Arabia*, 2nd ed. p. 11. *Barbarians in Arabia*, 3rd ed. p. 11.

²³ L. Pichon, *The Gazetteer of Madras*, II; W. Schuchert Smith, *The East of Africa*, I, 35.

²⁴ G. E. Taylor, *Geographical Survey Central India*, Monograph 188, 30.

²⁵ *Madras Gazetteer*, IX, 361, 1, 361.

²⁶ *Madras*, II, 36.

²⁷ *East Indian Survey Gazetteer*, The Gazette, 111.

²⁸ *Geographical Gazetteer of India*, I, 325.

passage this way.⁴⁰ Such devices are often used by the criminal or vagrant tribes. The Chhapparbands, well-known collectors of false money in northern India, who wander all over the provinces, make a mud heap on the side of the road with an arrow mark pointing in the direction which other members of the gang have taken.⁴¹ The Bhangpans, pickpockets and railway thieves, when they wish to indicate to others following, where they have gone, bring together the tops of the straws used to make a cooking-fire place, and scrape a mark with the side of the foot in the direction they propose moving, or they leave the impress of a naked foot on the earth which they have scraped together, pointing in the direction they have taken.⁴² The Khatiks of the Doon break off a spray from the bough of a tree and lay it upon the cooking-stones with the broken end pointing in the direction taken by the gang, a footprint being impressed at right angles to the spray; when two roads meet a circle is drawn with a straight line intersecting it, the free end indicating the direction; side tracks are marked by strutting leaves along that which should be avoided.⁴³ Bhangpans from Marwar get a member of the gang, usually a woman, to trail a stick in the dust along the selected route, or leaves are placed at intervals under stones for the same purpose.⁴⁴ The Uja Mins adopt similar practices, or the jumar or leader of the gang establishes the same on the walls of rock-caves, temples, or other prominent places.⁴⁵ Andhrys draw two segments of a circle on the roadside to indicate that the gang has halted in the vicinity.⁴⁶ Sitrays make a few small heaps of earth along the road they have chosen, and mark paths across country by leaves strewn on the ground.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ L. A. Walcott, *Among the Bhangpans*, 206.

⁴¹ Kennedy, 497; Denton, I, 18.

⁴² Kennedy, 34.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 295.

J. C. Hutton ¹⁰ reproduces a map drawn by an English tramp which indicates houses which may be visited with advantage or those which it is well to avoid. Such rude maps are often found drawn for general information on the walls of lodging-houses and other resorts of the fraternity. It has been stated that English Gypsies practise similar methods. Rev. P. O. Ashurst, ¹¹ Secretary of the Gypsy Lore Society, kindly informs me that "Gypsies have various ways of laying a trail to show their own people which road they have travelled. Usually a handful of grass is laid on the roadside, or a mark, known as *patteras* or *petras*, is sown in the dust. This is used for giving information, but not about houses and their inhabitants. Then, when travelling with a Gypsy, two members of our Society often lingered behind to explore the country, to look at interesting buildings, and the like. The Gypsy always laid a *patteras* at cross roads so that they should not make mistake in following his route. He was much annoyed when he found that they did not destroy or remove the bunch of grass after leaving his message. He said it might bring other Gypsies after him. Probably different families use different methods of giving such signs, but the one and only purpose of the *patteras*, a word meaning 'a leaf', is to show which road the main or advanced party has travelled." *Patteras* is clearly the Hindi *petra*, 'a leaf.'

The language of signs is used in love-making all the world over. The classical instances are found in the stories of the "Arabian Nights", "Anis and Anisa" and "Kunar-al-Zaman and the Jeweller's Wife".¹² It also appears in India. Pans and lotus are universally eaten by the Khyangtha, and they are not infrequently used as a means wherewith to make amatory propositions. Thus, a leaf of pans with lotus and sweet spices inside, accompanied by a certain flower, means "I love you". If such spice is put inside the leaf and the owner turned in

¹⁰ *Dictionary of Modern History, Past and Future* (1904), 1179.

¹¹ Letter dated 12th March, 1919.

¹² Sir H. Dutton, *The Book of the Thousand Nights and A Night*, ed. 1908 & 1909, v. 213-14.

a peculiar way, it signifies "Come". The leaf being touched with termite means "I cannot come". A small piece of charcoal inside the leaf means "Go, I have done with you".⁴¹

Similar signs are also employed in marriage negotiations. Khonds make a marriage proposal by placing a brass cup and three arrows at the door of the girl's father. He will remove these once to show his reluctance, and they will be again replaced. If he removes them a second time, it signifies the definite refusal of the match; but if he allows them to remain, the bridegroom's friends go to him and say "We have noticed a beautiful flower in passing through your village and desire to pluck it".⁴² The Mundas send a number of clay marbles to the guardians of the bridegroom to signify the number of rupees making up the bride-price. A number of oil barrels, each rolled up and tied with a coloured thread signify the number of women's cloths which the bridegroom must present to the relatives of the bride.⁴³

The criminal tribes have many ways of giving information by means of signs to other members of the gang. When Sindurs returned to their camp after a thieving expedition, when about a mile away they used to call "Cockoo", to ascertain if any misfortune had happened during their absence; if they thought all was well, they went on and imitated the call of the partridge; and, finally, when close to the encampment, made a hissing noise like a snake.⁴⁴ The Bhilwars warn another by first coughing and then clearing his throat; this is done quietly if police are about, or noisily if the person to be warned is at a distance and the coast is clear; they are believed to possess certain secret signs, made with the eyes and fingers, by which they can communicate with each other when necessary.⁴⁵ Among some Mlecch kachars it is the practice for the confederate outside to keep up a quiet and regular tapping, by flicking the first finger from the thumb on a window or door to assure the men

⁴¹ T. H. Lentin, *The Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, III.

⁴² Russell, II. 405.

⁴³ Raj Bahadur Nath Chandra Ray, *The Mundas*, 441.

⁴⁴ Russell, IV. 493.

⁴⁵ Kennedy, III.

inside the house that there is no danger; the meaning of this signal means that they must be cautious or escape while they can.⁵⁷ Pathans have a system of intercommunication by using words and phrases in a sense different from the ordinary meaning. Chondawadi pick-pockets make signals to the boy thief whom they employ by raising the elbow and moving their hands in various ways.⁵⁸

Lastly, I may refer to the custom of Dandi Bader, and particularly in horse-dealing, where the parties to the bargain arrange the price by manipulating their fingers under a cloth. The practice has been described by old travellers, like Yuthamas, Tavernier and Pons, and by many later observers.⁵⁹

The use of secret words and signs is thus of considerable interest as a contribution to the study of oriental symbolism, and it deserves the attention of anthropologists working in India who have opportunities for throwing light on the methods, some of which have been described in this paper.

⁵⁷ Kennedy, 114.

⁵⁸ Kennedy, 103.

⁵⁹ Yuthamas, *Travels in Egypt, Syria, Persia, India and Ethiopia*, 110; Tavernier, *Travels in India*, ed. v. Ball, 2, 30; *History of the Account of East India and Persia*, ed. 1788, 1, 241; P. G. F. Robinson, *The Great Trade*, 1904; Mac, 111, 112.

[—An Examination of Fifty-eight Silver Punch Marked Coins found at Gorho Ghat.]

By E. H. C. Walsh.

The fifty-eight silver punch-marked coins which are described in the present paper were found in July 1917 at Gorho Ghat in the Bungen (‘‘ Buggeng ’’) Thana of the Bhagalpur District of the Province. They were found by some labourers who were digging earth to repair the road in a garden. At ‘‘ knee-depth ’’ below the surface they found an earthen pot which contained the coins and a copper *krishna* covered over with gilded, and some beads. They stated, as reported in the Police Report, that they found ‘‘ a portion of brick etc. surrounded by brick wall under the ground having a gap in the middle for putting some pot.’’ It would therefore appear that the coins formed part of a deposit in a well or repository.

The coins have been deposited in the Patna Museum.¹

The result of the examination of the coins entirely confirms the conclusions to which I came from the examination of the punch-marked coins found at Golsahpur in Patna City,² namely, ‘‘ An examination of the marks on them shows that they occur in certain constant and regular groups on the obverse;....and although other varying symbols were added to these constant groups, the above regular combinations, which cannot have late formations, shows that the theory that these marks were affixed by priests and moneyers through whose hands the coins passed cannot be maintained, and that the present coin in fact constitutes a coinage.’’³

¹ The coins are Nos. 512 to 550 in the General Register of the Bihar and Central India Museum.

² An Examination of a Plot of Punch Marked Coins in Patna City with references to the subject of Punch Marked Coins generally. By E. H. C. Walsh. I.E.O.R.S., Vol. V, p. 16.

I do not propose to repeat in this paper the grounds for the conclusions arrived at in the former paper. This paper should therefore be read in confirmation of it.

The examination of the present coins further shows that oval, round, and square coins were not only current at the same time, but, as is shown by the occurrence of the same group of marks on the coins of these different classes, were minted at the same time, and that, consequently, no conclusion as to the comparative age of the present smaller type of punch-marked coins can safely be drawn from their shape.

The coins were classified by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his Treasury Exchequer Report according to their shape as "circular thin", "circular thick", "square thin" and "square thick" and these classes were divided according to the number of marks on the reverse into "one mark", "two marks" and "three marks". This distribution between "thick" and "thin" as regards the present coins is only comparative. None of them are of the really thin type of the Golakhpur coins, as can be readily seen from the comparison of their respective size and weight.

The number of marks on the reverse, also, forms no basis for classification where, as already noted in the case of the Golakhpur coins, there is, with few exceptions, no uniformity amongst the groups of reverse marks. This will be clearly seen from the coins on which the reverse marks occur; which will be found in column 3 of Table II against Figs. 55 to 57.

The present coins appear to be considerably later than the Golakhpur coins. This would appear to be the case from the fact that the Golakhpur coins were found at a depth of 15 feet below the surface, whereas the present coins were found "knee-deep" below the surface, which, even allowing for the more rapid rise of the surface in a town than at a village, the site of which has long been abandoned, would indicate a considerably greater age. The present coins would also appear to be later from the greater deliberateness of some of the marks on them.

It will be interesting if further evidence should become available to fix the approximate date of the village in which they were deposited.

They support the conclusion that the large thin type of punch-marked coins, such as the Golakpur coins, may be earlier than the smaller and thicker oval, round, and square type of coins. Also, as previously noted in the paper on the Golakpur coins, the square form would appear to be later and to have been current when the later cast copper coins were introduced, from the fact that the cast coins were of that shape and contained the symbols found on square punch-marked coins.

The age of the present coins may also, possibly, be found from the fact that some of them (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8) have on the reverse the "Taxila Mark," *Fig. 55*, referred to by Cunningham¹, which occurs on the reverse of coins found at Taxila, and four others (Nos. 2, 4, 18 and 28) have on the reverse a mark, *Fig. 56*, which appears to be an imitation of the Taxila mark.

The only evidence from the coins themselves which might indicate their age is a very small mark, *Fig. 57*, on the reverse of coin No. 19 which resembles and may, perhaps, be the Bactrian letter *ka*.

The weights of the present coins, including one coin, No. 48, which weighs 46.66 grains, vary from 22.67 grains to 44.75 grains. Only two (Nos. 2 and 12) are over 50 grains; three others (Nos. 25, 29 and 50) are over 51 grains; seven others weigh from 54 to 55 grains; eight others over 40 but under 50; and the remaining 35 are all under 40 grains, 5 of them being under 45 grains. As noted in regard to the Golakpur coins, the theoretical weight of 68 grains for silver punch-marked coins, estimated from the system of weights given in *Maas VIII*, 138 *et seq.*² is very rarely attained, and it is uncommon to find these coins weighing more than 52 grains.

It would therefore appear that the estimated weight of the *cast* or *ganga* *hary*³, on which they are based, requires to be revised.

¹ Cunningham: *Coins of Ancient India* (C.A.I.) p. 18.

² C.A.I. and *Harper's Indian Coins*, p. 2.

³ *Allegro praestolatus*.

As already noted, the marks on the obverse of the present coins occur in certain groups and there are certain marks which are common to a number of coins.

Proceeding from this basis, as in the case of the Goldkoper coins, the present coins fall into certain distinct classes. Regarding coins Nos. 57 and 58, on which the marks are indistinct and which therefore cannot be classified, the remaining 58 coins are of three entirely distinct kinds, which would appear to come from entirely different areas and governments.

Coins Nos. 1 to 33 are of one kind and all bear the "Troy Mark" in different variants, Coins Nos. 34 to 49 in the form of *Fig. 1* and coins Nos. 41 to 56 in the variants of this form, *Fig. 1(a)* to *1(c)*. They all also bear the Sun mark, *Fig. 2*.

They all bear five marks, neither more nor less.

The "Troy Mark" on the present coins is only another variety of the same mark, *Fig. 1* of the Goldkoper coins, with three bars above alternately with the three pillars instead of three ovals alternately with the three pillars in the Goldkoper coins, which, coins, also, all bear the Sun mark, *Fig. 2*. Assuming that this prevailing mark was the Empire mark (like Britannia on the English coins), these coins would be coins of the same Empire as the Goldkoper coins.

Coins 54, 55 and 56 are of an entirely different kind. They bear only three marks, instead of five, and do not bear either the Troy mark, or the Sun, which are the constant marks on all the other coins, Nos. 1 to 53.

One of the three marks on these three coins, the "Cotton balls" mark or "Cadmium," *Fig. 4*, occurs on 11 of the other coins. It is, however, a common mark on postmarked coins from various localities. Marks which appear to be a portion of another of the three marks (dog or other with torse and fimbria) *Fig. 15*, also occur on these other coins, viz. *Fig. 15* on coin No. 45 and *Fig. 15* on coins Nos. 9 and 10. But the third mark (three human figures in a row), *Fig. 54*, is peculiar to these three coins.

The third kind is represented by one coin only, No. 88. This coin is distinct from coins Nos. 1 to 52 in bearing only four marks, not five, and does not bear either the Troy mark or the Ben, the two most marks on those coins. It also differs in the number of marks from coins 89, 94 and 95, which have three marks only. Also, the marks on this coin, *Fig.* 51, 52, 53 and 54, only occur on this one coin and on none of the others.

The marks on the first kind of coins (Nos. 1 to 52) fall into certain classes, each of which bear a common group of marks. On this basis I have classified the coins as shown in the List of Coins and in Table I.

Class A. [Nos. 1—52] bear three constant marks, *Figs.* 1 and 2, and the usual form of the Hill mark, *Fig.* 3.¹ The remaining two marks fall into different groups, sub-classes 1 to 11, as shown in Table I. One coin (No. 36) bears, instead of *Fig.* 3, a variety of that mark, *Fig.* 3(a), and consequently I have placed it as another class, class B; coin No. 34 bears another variety of the Hill mark, *Fig.* 3(b) and has consequently been entered as a separate class, class C; coins 45 and 46 bear another variety, *Fig.* 3(c), and consequently have been entered as a separate class, class D; coins 87 to 93 while bearing *Figs.* 1 and 2 do not bear the Hill mark, and consequently have been placed together as class E. Six coins [Nos. 41—46] bear a variety of *Fig.* 1, viz. *Fig.* 1(a). Of these, five (Nos. 41—45) also bear *Fig.* 2, and consequently have been called class P, and one (No. 46), which does not bear that mark, has been called class Q. Three coins (Nos. 42—44), class H, bear another variety of the Troy mark, *Fig.* 1(b), and the three remaining coins [Nos. 53 to 55] bear respectively the varieties *Figs.* 1(c), 1(d) and 1(e) and, consequently, have each been entered as a separate class, classes I, J and K.

It would appear, however, that these are merely varieties of the same mark, and that classes A. to K. may therefore be considered as belonging to one general group, or kingdom of coins.

¹The reason for modifying the mark is to be the Hill mark, and not a *Stylis* or *Chalys*, as has been sometimes done here given in reference to the Goldberger coins, and such not is repeated. J.E.C.E.S., Vol. V., pp. 30, 31.

As in the case of the Golakpur coins and of every new find, the present coins bear a number of new marks which are not amongst those figured by Theobald.¹ Of the 44 obverse marks on Plate III. only 33 correspond to marks figured by Theobald, and only three of the reverse marks.²

Still fewer of the marks on the present coins correspond with those on the Golakpur coins. Although the two constant marks of the present coins, *Figs.* 1 and 5, correspond with the two constant marks, *Figs.* 1 and 2, of the Golakpur coins, only one of the remaining obverse marks on the present coins corresponds, namely, *Fig.* 42 with *Fig.* 13 of the Golakpur coins; and only one of the reverse marks, namely, *Fig.* 37 with *Fig.* 63 of the Golakpur coins.

A complete record of the obverse marks occurring on punched coins is needed, from which it may eventually be possible to assign these coins to definite areas and governments.

Although the classification of the coins has been made in reference to the obverse marks only and the reverse marks have not been taken into consideration, it will be seen from Table II, *Figs.* 55 to 57, that in some cases the same reverse marks are found on those coins which the obverse marks show to form one class, and not on the other coins, a fact which, on the supposition that the reverse marks are the marks of struffs or moneyers through whose hands the coins passed, supports the presumption that those coins bearing one group of marks on the obverse passed through the hands of the same moneyers, as would be the case if they were the coins of one locality.

As an example of this, the "Tanila Mark," *Fig.* 55, occurs on the reverse of two of the four coins, Nos. 1—4, in class A.1,

¹ Notes on the SymbolicBrahmī or Punched Marked Coins of Hindustan and their relationship to the Indian Symbolism of other races and distant lands. By W. Theobald, M.R.A.S., I.A.S.R., Part I., 1900, p. 102.

² *Fig.* 1 corresponds to Theobald's *Fig.* 24, 2 to 31, 3 to 39, 4 to 40, 5 to 50, 6 to 100, 7 to 59, 8 to 130, 9 to 26, 10 to 115, 11 to 20, 12 to 19, 13 to 101, 14 to 102, 15 to 122, 16 to 7, 17 to 5, 18 to 59, 19 to 170, 20 to 12, 21 to 7, 22 to 12, 23 to 12, 24 to 12, 25 to 12, 26 to 12, 27 to 12, 28 to 12, 29 to 12, 30 to 12, 31 to 12, 32 to 12, 33 to 12, 34 to 12, 35 to 12, 36 to 12, 37 to 12, 38 to 12, 39 to 12, 40 to 12, 41 to 12, 42 to 12, 43 to 12, 44 to 12, 45 to 12, 46 to 12, 47 to 12, 48 to 12, 49 to 12, 50 to 12, 51 to 12, 52 to 12, 53 to 12, 54 to 12, 55 to 12, 56 to 12, 57 to 12, 58 to 12, 59 to 12, 60 to 12, 61 to 12, 62 to 12, 63 to 12, 64 to 12, 65 to 12, 66 to 12, 67 to 12, 68 to 12, 69 to 12, 70 to 12, 71 to 12, 72 to 12, 73 to 12, 74 to 12, 75 to 12, 76 to 12, 77 to 12, 78 to 12, 79 to 12, 80 to 12, 81 to 12, 82 to 12, 83 to 12, 84 to 12, 85 to 12, 86 to 12, 87 to 12, 88 to 12, 89 to 12, 90 to 12, 91 to 12, 92 to 12, 93 to 12, 94 to 12, 95 to 12, 96 to 12, 97 to 12, 98 to 12, 99 to 12, 100 to 12.

and on both the coins, Nos. 3 and 6, in class A.2, and the variety of this mark, Fig. 14, occurs on the remaining two coins of class A.1; and the triangle, Fig. 58, and the caduceus, Fig. 65, come together on the reverse of all the coins Nos. 53, 54, 55, which form the distinct class, class I. Other examples will also be found in Table II.

Another fact which supports the conclusion that the reverse marks are those of shroffs or moneyers and are not the recognized marks constituting the coinage is that in some cases the same mark occurs punched more than once on the reverse of the same coin; for example, Fig. 90 is punched in two places on the reverse of coin No. 43, and Fig. 84 is punched in two places on the reverse of the No. 45.

The reverse marks on the present coins, as in the case of reverse marks on punch-matched coins generally, differ from those on the obverse and are smaller and are punched less deeply into the coin. When they are of the same design as obverse marks they are smaller than the corresponding obverse mark.

Only five of the 42 marks which occur on the reverse of the present coins are similar to marks on the obverse, namely, the HIL mark, Figs. 63, 68(a) and 68(b) which resembles obverse Fig. 2; the peacock on HIL, Fig. 64, which resembles obverse Fig. 2(c); the caduceus, Fig. 65, which resembles obverse Fig. 4; the humped bull, Fig. 20, which resembles obverse Fig. 8; and the four turrets round central base, Fig. 70, which resembles obverse Fig. 18. In every case of these cases the reverse marks are *considerably* smaller than the similar marks on the obverse. This is particularly noticeable where the similar mark occurs on the obverse and reverse of the same coin; as the HIL-mark on the obverse and reverse of coins No. 33; the peacock on HIL on the obverse and reverse of coins Nos. 39 and 41; the caduceus on the obverse and reverse of coins Nos. 3, 13, 46, 53, 54, 55; and the humped bull on the obverse and reverse of coin No. 43.

The reason for the reverse marks being punched so much less deeply into the coin may possibly be due to the fact that

the squares or disks of metal were heated before the coinage marks on the obverse were punched on, while the shaffs or moneys would punch their marks on to the obverse of the coin.

In some cases the reverse marks are hardly more than the outline of the design and have the appearance of having been partly obliterated by having been partly pressed or immersed out from the other side. An example of this is the mark *Fig. 12* on the reverse of coin No. 57. A possible explanation of this may be that in some cases people brought their silver to the minting authorities to have the government and other official marks minted on them, ready prepared in the form of the bars in which they would be cut in lengths to the authorized weight, and be stamped, and, before doing so, placed their own private marks on one side of the bars to secure getting their own silver back again in coins when paying the *Saxpa* or *sigpaxpa* for minting.





J. B. & C. Co.

GIVEN:

The Numbers on the Plate are the Numbers of the Coins in the Box.

Photographically printed at the Office of the Survey of Maps, California, 1900.



Motto in the Obverse.



Motto in the Reverse.



LIST OF PUNCHED-MARKED COINS FOUND AT
GORHO GHAT.

C.N.—Circular Thin; C.T.—Circular Thick; O.N.—Oval Thin
O.T.—Oval Thick; S.N.—Square Thin; S.T.—Square Thick.

| No. | Weight and size | Obverse. | Reverse. |
|---|-----------------------|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| CLASS A. | | | |
| Figures composed of three oblique and three horizontal strokes, slightly curved at central, slightly with a dot in the middle, <i>Fig. 11</i> , <i>Fig. 12</i> , marked somewhat all by a central stroke, based on two other strokes, <i>Fig. 5</i> . | | | |
| —SUB-CLASS I. | | | |
| With two additional marks, besides being slightly with horizontal lines, <i>Fig. 13</i> and two with horizontal, <i>Fig. 14</i> . | | | |
| 1 | C.T. 40-48 40 × 38 | Five marks, as noted above, <i>Fig. 5</i> , <i>6</i> , <i>7</i> and <i>17</i> . | "Tails mark", <i>Fig. 15</i> . |
| 2 | S.N. 40-51 38 × 47 | Four | — <i>Fig. 22</i> and probably, <i>Fig. 14</i> . |
| 3 | S.N. 51-58 40 × 50 | Three | — Facing of the "tail's" mark, <i>Fig. 18</i> . |
| 4 | S.N. 49-60 38 × 44 | Three | — <i>Fig. 20</i> and probably, <i>Fig. 21</i> and probably, <i>Fig. 22</i> and probably, <i>Fig. 23</i> . |
| —SUB-CLASS II. | | | |
| With two additional marks, <i>Fig. 1</i> or above, and another mark. | | | |
| 5 | S.N. 49-60 40 × 54 | <i>Fig. 1</i> , <i>6</i> , <i>7</i> and part of an oblique mark on the right. | "Tails mark", <i>Fig. 16</i> . |

| No. | Height, weight and sex | Diagrams. | Remarks. |
|--|------------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 5 | K.C. 4545 54 x 30 | Figs. 1, 2, 3, 7 post showing and enlarged tail showing right, <i>Fig. 3</i> . | <i>Fig. 15</i> , and <i>orbicula</i> (showing 10 and 11) <i>Fig. 16</i> or <i>Fig. 17</i> and many of smaller faint marks. |
| NEW-CLASS 3 | | | |
| With two additional marks, <i>Fig. 15</i> , and smaller mark. | | | |
| 7 | C.E. 4575 55 x 47 | Figs. 1, 2, 3, 10 and the plant showing right, <i>Fig. 11</i> . | Variety of "Tree's mark" <i>Fig. 12</i> . |
| 8 | O.E. 4576 42 x 33 | Figs. 1, 2, 3, 10 and 11 showing a "flow-de-ice" on a "mark" of the back, <i>Fig. 13</i> . | <i>Fig. 14</i> . |
| NEW-CLASS 4 | | | |
| With two additional marks; the "orbicula" or "orbicula" in <i>Fig. 4</i> , and <i>orbicula</i> with <i>orbicula</i> (posterior showing) <i>Fig. 16</i> . | | | |
| 9 | C.E. 4575 53 x 32 | <i>Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 10</i> | Position of "orbicula" or mark, <i>Fig. 15</i> , and position of smaller mark. |
| 10 | S.E. 4576 55 x 42 | None | <i>orbicula</i> , <i>Fig. 16</i> . |
| NEW-CLASS 5 | | | |
| With two additional marks; the "orbicula" or "orbicula" <i>Fig. 4</i> , and smaller mark. | | | |
| 11 | C.E. 4575 54 x 33 | Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, and four marks, (mark a central mark, <i>Fig. 5</i> . | Three most prominent by marks with enlarged orbicula between them, <i>Fig. 15</i> . |

| No. | Size, weight and sex. | Observations. | Remarks. |
|-----|------------------------|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 13 | G.E. 46/52 -50 x 92 | Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and five leaves in a somewhat linear row on each side of the central leaf, <i>Ap. 33</i> . | Tarsus of these walked phalaris grasses. The surface of the reverse of this scale has been scraped out in five places. |
| 24 | G.E. 53-57 -58 x 48 | Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and eleven flying right, with twelve above and two beneath in back, <i>Ap. 18</i> . See- <i>Figure 6</i> . With two additional markings, these spiracles with squarish, and half-circular heads and two curved lines, <i>Ap. 11</i> and another mark. | "Cuticular" mark, <i>Ap. 33</i> , and last line, <i>Ap. 34</i> . |
| 14 | G.E. 47-57 -50 x 52 | Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and four or other small, linear right, <i>Ap. 33</i> . | See isolation mark. |
| 15 | G.E. 48-58 -52 x 48 | Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and four or other small with two spiracles above the back, <i>Ap. 18</i> . | Tarsus, several large circular holes, <i>Ap. 33</i> , and lower of two half-circular marks. |
| 16 | G.E. 49-51 -48 x 58 | Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and other, possibly broad and long right, <i>Ap. 18</i> . | In isolation mark is circular incision. |
| 27 | G.E. 49-52 -50 x 44 | Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and portion of an isolation mark. | "Tarsus" mark", <i>Ap. 33</i> , and <i>Ap. 34</i> . |
| 28 | G.E. 48-51 -50 x 48 | Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and portion of an isolation mark. | Tarsus of "Sticks" mark", <i>Ap. 33</i> , and <i>Ap. 34</i> . |
| 30 | G.E. 50-48 -48 x 48 | Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4 and five, with tail, <i>Ap. 33</i> . | Sticks mark which may be the Tarsus of <i>Sticks</i> , <i>Ap. 33</i> . |

| No. | Shape, weight and size. | Obverse. | Reverse. |
|--|-------------------------------|---|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Sub-Class 1. | | | |
| With two additional marks; two series with a punch on the top, superimposed on three other series, <i>Sp.</i> <i>31(c)</i> and another mark. | | | |
| 22 | S.E. 57-61 42 x 42 | <i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 3(c), and 3(d)</i> , and punch with hole and hole, <i>Sp. 34</i> . | Two series with a punch on the top superimposed on three other series, <i>Sp.</i> <i>31</i> , also same as <i>31(c)</i> , on the obverse, but smaller. |
| 23 | S.E. 49-51 42 x 42 | <i>Figs. 1, 3, 4, 3(c) and 3(d)</i> , punch with hole, <i>Sp. 32</i> . | <i>Fig. 35</i> . |
| Sub-Class 2. | | | |
| With two additional marks; hole of four series, <i>Sp.</i> <i>34</i> , and another mark. | | | |
| 24 | S.E. 47-51 51 x 51 | 1, 2, 3, 31, and four-pul hole having eight, <i>Sp. 3</i> . | Three <i>Sp. 32</i> , and punch hole, surrounded by four incisions, <i>Sp. 11</i> . |
| 25 | S.E. 51-53 53 x 51 | <i>Figs. 1, 2, 3, 31 and 34(c)</i> . | <i>Fig. 36</i> . |
| Sub-Class 3. | | | |
| With two additional marks; other than the preceding Sub-Class marks. | | | |
| 26 | S.E. 53-54 52 x 51 | 1, 2, 3, hole with hole, <i>Sp.</i> <i>30</i> , and three of four punch and four straight lines, <i>Sp. 45</i> . | Top of a punch or line <i>Sp. 34</i> . |

| No. | Shape, weight and size. | Design. | Remarks. |
|---|-------------------------|---|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| <p>First-Class 1b.</p> <p>With two additional marks, one of which is indicated.</p> | | | |
| 16 | O.E. 46-51 54 x 57 | L, R, & A. school with horns or long horn facing right, fig. 14; and portion of an indicated mark. | "TEN mark" fig. 65a; usually, fig. 10; and fig. 32. |
| 17 | O.E. 47-54 55 x 59 | L, R, & A. head portion of dog or other animal facing right, fig. 12; and portion of an indicated mark. | Variety of "Tad's mark" fig. 56; and likewise fig. 22. |
| 17 | S.X. 48-55 55 x 55 | L, R, & A. woodpecker with tail, fig. 49; and portion of an indicated mark. | Toward facing right, fig. 16; and portion of an indicated mark. |
| 20 | O.E. 51-56 55 x 55 | Figs. L, R, & A, which is part of a mark and is even parallel with another indicated mark. | Fig. 75. |
| <p>First-Class 11.</p> <p>With two additional indicated marks.</p> | | | |
| 16 | O.E. 49-58 55 x 54 | Figs. L, R, & A. and two indicated marks. | "Horse-glass" mark, fig. 52, and portion of two indicated marks. |
| 20 | O.E. 49-58 54 x 55 | None | "Horse-glass" mark, fig. 53, and portion of another mark. |
| 21 | S.E. 50-55 57 x 52 | None | Portion of an indicated mark. |
| 22 | S.X. 49-58 52 x 52 | None | Crest of two long marks and double crossbar, fig. 63; and portion of another mark. |

| No. | Drawn weight and size | Claims. | Remarks. |
|-----|-----------------------|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 22 | S.E. 40 21 42 x 42 | <p>CLAIM B.</p> <p>Figs. 1, 2, and variety of the full mark; a double arch supported by a central, rectangular or, two other arches, Fig. 2 (a); with two other marks.</p> <p>Figs. 1, 2, 3 (a); and similar as set, Fig. 21; and an isolated mark.</p> | Three of an isolated mark. The reverse of this coin has been proved with several lines. |
| | | <p>CLAIM C.</p> <p>Figs. 1, 2, 3, and a variety of the full mark; a single arch supported by a triangular, Fig. 3 (b); with two other marks.</p> | |
| 23 | S.E. 40 21 42 x 42 | Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and portion of an isolated mark. | Three of three full marks. |
| 24 | S.E. 40 21 42 x 42 | <p>CLAIM D.</p> <p>Figs. 1, 2, and a variety of the full mark; three arches in a row, the center one higher than the others, Fig. 3 (c) and two other marks.</p> | Two isolated marks. |
| | | Figs. 1, 2, 3 (d), 4 (upper left), and portion of an isolated mark. | |
| 25 | S.E. 40 21 42 x 42 | Figs. 1, 2, 3 (e); four arches in right hand, a central one, Fig. 22, and a portion of an isolated mark. | Four of an isolated mark. |

| No. | Shape, width and dia. | Elements. | Remarks. |
|-----|-----------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| | | CLASS E. | |
| | | Figs. 1 and 2, not not the HLL marks; with three other marks. | |
| | | FIG-CLASS E. | |
| | | With three distinct addi- tional marks. | |
| 37 | C.E. 4594 21 x 55 | Figs. 3 and 4; four distinct marking marks within space, Fig. 30; (portion of mark) notched with two laminae above it, and a portion of laminae extend- ing to right side, Fig. 31; and four white and black at the left, and another black and white, Fig. 4. | Modulation of nerve type Fig. 34. |
| | | FIG-CLASS E. | |
| | | With three additional marks, one or more of which are indistinct. | |
| 38 | C.E. 1073 41 x 61 | Figs. 1, 2; distinct right, Fig. 1; Fig. 44; not portion of an indistinct mark. | HLL mark, Fig. 35. |
| 39 | C.E. 4703 41 x 61 | Figs. 1, 2; broken right, with laminae, Fig. 7, a segment of a portion of a mark with a ridge on each side, Fig. 44; not portion of an in- distinct mark. | Portions of three indistinct marks. |
| 40 | C.E. 1071 55 x 61 | Figs. 1, 2; "indistinct" mark, Fig. 4; and portion of two indistinct marks. | Distinction, Fig. 36; smaller than the other mark on the element. |

| No. | Shape, width and den. | Character. | Remarks. |
|-----|-----------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 48 | 0.35, 44-72 .15 x .05 | <i>Fig. 1(a), 2, 3</i> ; four distinct resembling marks in a square, <i>Fig. 45</i> ; and four within circular ring, sym- metrical of a circle, and a vertical, <i>Fig. 42</i> . CLASS 3. <i>Fig. 1(d)</i> , variety of <i>Fig. 1</i> ; even, <i>Fig. 8</i> ; and three other marks. | "Elli mark," <i>Fig. 45</i> , and an indifferent mark. |
| 49 | 0.35, 40-70 .05 x .10 | <i>Figs. 1(a), 2</i> ; oblique right, <i>Fig. 11</i> ; long or short oblique being right with vertical stroke and below, <i>Fig. 39</i> ; and two pointed towards and over lower obliquely round a large central line, <i>Fig. 46</i> . CLASS II. Variety of <i>Fig. 1</i> , with ob- lique like a (but I is place of vertical; <i>Fig. 1(d)</i> , even, <i>Fig. 8</i> ; and three other marks. Sub-Class 1. With additional marks, variety of "Elli mark", from section 11 & 179, <i>Fig. 43</i> ; and two other marks. | Eight marks. Cross in circular ring, <i>Fig. 44</i> ; branch of wavy cross, <i>Fig. 45</i> ; two branches under the central line, <i>Fig. 47</i> ; and portion of two incomplete or indifferent marks, <i>Fig. 44</i> repeated in two places. |
| 50 | 0.35, 40-65 .15 x .05 | <i>Figs. 1(d), 2, 3(d)</i> ; branch oblique point, <i>Fig. 23</i> ; and an oblique of square meeting, <i>Fig. 42</i> . | Two indifferent marks. |

| No. | Shape, weight and size. | Obverse. | Reverse. |
|-----|-------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 48 | S.S. 49/58 9½ x 10 | Figs. 113, 1, and 2; <i>cut-out hole</i> mark, Fig. 4; and <i>clap or other symbol</i> with double mark thereon, Fig. 25. | "Hill mark," Fig. 31; and an <i>indefinite</i> mark. |
| | | <p>SEE-CLASS B.</p> <p>With additional marks: "cut-out hole," Fig. 4; <i>line or glass</i>, Fig. 20; and an <i>indefinite</i> mark.</p> | |
| 49 | C.E. 43/75 12 x 12 | Figs. 114, 1, 4, 20 and <i>indefinite</i> mark. | Family of "Hill mark" has <i>vertical</i> with <i>pinpoint</i> as the top, Fig. 31, and an <i>indefinite</i> mark. |
| | | <p>CLASS C.</p> <p>Family of Fig. 1, with "line glass" to and in place of <i>vertical</i>, Fig. 1; and <i>top</i>, Fig. 2, with above additional marks.</p> | |
| 50 | S.S. 49/54 12½ x 10 | Figs. 115, 2; <i>Pyramid of old</i> mark, Fig. 3/4; "cut-out hole" mark, Fig. 4; and <i>clap or other symbol</i> with <i>double</i> with <i>date</i> round it, Fig. 26. | "Hill mark," Fig. 31; <i>vertical</i> with <i>curved</i> <i>arrow</i> pointing left, Fig. 31, <i>vertical</i> having <i>right</i> over a <i>cross</i> , variety of the "Hill mark," Fig. 31, and an <i>indefinite</i> mark. |
| | | <p>CLASS D.</p> <p>Family of Fig. 1, with <i>two</i> <i>claps</i> in place of <i>vertical</i>, Fig. 1; and <i>top</i>, Fig. 2; and <i>line</i> <i>other</i> marks.</p> | |

| No. | Wing, length and area. | Obverse. | Reverse. |
|-----|------------------------------|---|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 61 | S.E. 100 91 x 16 | <p>Figs. 11d, 1, two (anale broad wings, Fig. 11, two with tail, Fig. 10, tail, with body over them brightly with variation on the right, Fig. 1).</p> <p>CLASS E.</p> <p>Variety of Fig. 1, partly showing with a vertical between two of the side- lines, Fig. 11f; likewise, Fig. 11, and three other marks.</p> | <p>Figure in a square, Fig. 70.</p> |
| 62 | S.E. 4975 92 x 16 | <p>Figs. 1, 1d, 2, "cutting hole" mark, Fig. 4; animal re- sembling a hawk, facing right, with wings, and a point above its head, Fig. 11, and part of a mark including an "inset"</p> <p>CLASS E.</p> <p>"Cutting hole" mark, Fig. 4, one or other with triangle, and tail, Fig. 10, and three lower figures, one with oblique, Fig. 1d.</p> | <p>Three oval objects and three smaller, resembling the "inset" mark, Fig. 1d.</p> |
| 63 | S.E. 4949 92 x 16 | Figs. 4, dorsal 1d. | <p>Trochila, Fig. 10; "Cutting hole" mark, Fig. 10, and the line the double mark on the chest; and, horizontally, Fig. 10.</p> |
| 64 | S.E. 100 92 x 16 | None | None |

| No. | Obverse weight and size | Obverse | Reverse |
|-----|-------------------------|--|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 65 | S.Y. 50-7 51 x 50 | <p>Figs. 4, 15, 54.</p> <p>CLASS K.</p> <p>Three marks which appear to be intended for "horns." Figure, one with three dots over the head; Fig. 51, one with a dot on either side of the head; Fig. 52, and one without dots; Fig. 53, instead, being a solid Fig. 51; and an indistinct mark.</p> | <p>Figs. 60 and 61; and solid obverse on two upright lines, Fig. 60.</p> |
| 66 | C.T. 11-28 50 x 50 | <p>Figs. 51, 72, 53, 54 and position of an indistinct mark.</p> <p>CLASS K.</p> <p>Excluded, as the marks are indistinct.</p> | <p>Reverse, Fig. 60; and position of an indistinct mark.</p> |
| 67 | S.E. 48-20 50 x 50 | <p>Fig. 5, partly showing and four indistinct marks, a triangle forming part of one.</p> | <p>Six hole round central dot (partly showing), Fig. 72 and trace of an indistinct mark.</p> |
| 68 | S.S. 49-15 50 x 50 | <p>Fig. 57 and four indistinct marks.</p> | <p>Circle surrounded by four marks, with crescent below, Fig. 71, and an indistinct mark.</p> |

TABLE I.

The Classification of the Colors.

| Class and Sub-class. | Distinctive marks of each class. Figs. in Plate III. | Distinctive Additional marks of each Sub-Class. Figs. in Plate III. | Number of colors in each class and sub-class. | Serial number of the color in the list of colors. |
|----------------------|--|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Class A | Figs. 1, 2, 3 | — | 26 | 1—26 |
| Sub-class 1 | — | Figs. 6, 12 | 4 | 1—4 |
| Do. 2 | — | Figs. 8 | 2 | 5, 6 |
| Do. 3 | — | Figs. 11 | 4 | 7, 8 |
| Do. 4 | — | Figs. 4, 10 | 2 | 9, 10 |
| Do. 5 | — | Figs. 4 | 2 | 11—12 |
| Do. 6 | — | Figs. 1 | 2 | 13—14 |
| Do. 7 | — | Figs. 2(1) | 2 | 15, 16 |
| Do. 8 | — | Figs. 41 | 2 | 17, 18 |
| Do. 9 | — | Figs. 20, 41 | 1 | 19 |
| Do. 10 | — | Varying marks and the other mark indicated. | 6 | 20—25 |
| Do. 11 | — | Each mark indicated. | 4 | 26—29 |
| Class B | Figs. 1, 2, 3(1) | Figs. 30 | 1 | 30 |
| Do. C | Figs. 1, 2, 3(1) | Figs. 8 | 1 | 31 |
| Do. D | Figs. 1, 2, 3(1) | Varying marks | 2 | 32, 33 |

TABLE I—*contd.*

| Class and sub-class | Indicative marks of each class Fig. in Plate III. | Exclusive additional marks of each sub-class Fig. in Plate III. | Number of marks of each class and sub-class | Total number of the coins in the list of coins. |
|---------------------|--|--|---|---|
| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
| Class I ... | Figs. 1, 2 ... | ... .. | — | — |
| Sub-class 1 ... | ... .. | Three clear marks ... | 1 | 87 |
| Do. 2 ... | ... .. | Two varying marks, (1st) not one in detail. | 2 | 38—40 |
| Class II ... | Figs. 1(a), 7, 8 ... | ... .. | — | — |
| Sub-class 1 ... | ... .. | Figs. 10, 11 ... | 2 | 41, 42 |
| Do. 2 ... | ... .. | Varying marks ... | 6 | 43—48 |
| Class III ... | Figs. 1(a), 2 ... | Three other marks ... | 1 | 49 |
| Do. E ... | Figs. 1(a), 3 ... | ... .. | — | — |
| Sub-class 1 ... | ... .. | Figs. 2(a) ... | 4 | 47, 48 |
| Do. 2 ... | ... .. | Three other marks ... | 1 | 49 |
| Class IV ... | Figs. 1(a), 4 ... | None ... | 1 | 50 |
| Do. F ... | Figs. 1(a), 5 ... | None ... | 1 | 51 |
| Do. E ... | Figs. 1(a), 6 ... | None ... | 1 | 52 |
| Do. G ... | Figs. 4, 13, 14 ... | No other marks ... | 2 | 53—55 |
| Do. H ... | Figs. 6, 15, 16, 21 ... | None ... | 1 | 57 |
| Do. I ... | Unmarked, as the marks are indistinct. | ... .. | 4 | 47, 58 |

TABLE II.

Description of the Marks on the Coins as Illustrated on Plate III.
MARKS ON THE OBVERSE.

| Figure on Plate. | Description of Mark. | Name and Notation. | Number of coins on which the mark appears. | Number of the coins in the lot. |
|------------------|---|--------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1 | Three oblique and three horizontal oblongs, forming a central cross with a dot in the center; a variety of the "Dry Mark". | A—E | 40 | 1—40 |
| 2a | As Fig. 1, but with an oval round each of the horizontals. | F—H | 3 | 41—43 |
| 2b | As Fig. 1, but with a figure like a double T in place of the horizontals. | H—J | 3 | 44—46 |
| 3a | As Fig. 1, but with a figure like an hour-glass, probably the diamond (small double bond down) in place of the horizontals, each enclosed in a cross. | L | 1 | 46 |
| 4a | As Fig. 1, but with two ovals, one above the other, in place of the horizontals. | J | 1 | 47 |
| 5a | As Fig. 1, but with an oblong (long or peaked T) over one of the horizontals. | K | 1 | 48 |
| 6 | The rev. A circle with cross round it and a dot in the center. | A—E | 40 | 1—40 |
| 7 | As rev. with a cross on the top, perpendicular on the others; the H—mark. | A | 40 | 1—40 |
| 8a | Like Fig. 7, but with a double cross round with a cross on the top, perpendicular on the two others. | B | 1 | 41 |
| 8b | A single cross with cross on the top. | C | 1 | 42 |

TABLE II.—*continued.*

| Figure on Plate. | Description of Mark. | Class and Sub-class. | Number of values in which the mark appears. | Numbers of the values in the list. |
|------------------|--|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3c | Three scales in a row, the middle one higher than the others. | D II. 1 | 2 3 | 85, 86 47, 48 |
| 3d | As with superimposed on two which are superimposed on three other scales. | I | 1 | 59 |
| 3e | Two scales with a pencil on the top, superimposed on three others. | A. 7 | 3 | 85, 86 |
| 4 | Three scales, one above another with a straight line opening through them; the "Outline" mark, or Chakmat. | A. 4 A. 5 B. 2 II. 1 II. 2 I E L | 2 3 1 1 1 1 1 2 | 3, 20 11, 13, 15 40 45 49 32 33 88, 89, 90 |
| 5 | Three uprights with round-head and half arrow-heads with curved line on either side. | A. 5 C D | 5 1 1 | 14-28 34 85 |
| 6 | Four diamonds total & central line. | A. 8 A. 2 A. 1 | 1 2 1 | 71 6, 9 2-4 |
| 7 | Double facing right with jagged sides. | B. 2 | 4 | 89 |
| 8 | Double bell facing right — | A. 3 F | 1 5 | 8 41-42 |

TABLE II—*contd.*

| Figure in Plate. | Description of Mark. | Class and Sub-class. | Number of values in which the mark appears. | Number of the values in the lot. |
|------------------|--|------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9 | Flanged tail facing right with barbed above. | A. 3 | 1 | 32 |
| 10 | Flanged tail grotesque facing left, with two barbed above and two below. | F. 1 F. 2 | 2 1 | 61, 43 42 |
| 11 | Elephant facing right — | A. 3 B. 4 E. 1 F. 2 G. | 1 1 2 1 1 | 7 50 61, 43 44 46 |
| 14 | Elephant facing right, with barbed above and in front. | A. 3 | 1 | 12 |
| 15 | Figure which may perhaps be a portion of an animal with horns, facing right. | A. 3 | 1 | 19 |
| 16 | Figure resembling (Fig. 12) but with the "horns" more raised from the head, and with a dot below the head. | A. 3 | 1 | 39 |
| 17 | Animal with horns or large ears, facing right. | A. 13 | 3 | 45 |
| 18 | Animal, perhaps a dog or an ox, facing right, with two arches above its head. | A. 3 | 1 | 12 |
| 17 | Animal facing right, with projection and two arches above its head. | E. 1 | 1 | 40 |
| 18 | Animal (dog or other (?) facing right, with a barbed below and three barbed in front. | L | 3 | 53, 54, 55 |

TABLE II—contd.

| Figure or Plate | Description of Mark. | Class and Sub-class. | Number of articles in which the mark appears. | Symbol of the class to the list. |
|-----------------------|---|----------------------------|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19 | Animal facing right, with horns above and below. | G | 1 | 28 |
| 20 | Antenna, with part of a torus; Sub-appears to be a portion of Fig. 15. | A. 4 | 2 | 8, 13 |
| 21 | Upper portion of animal facing right; but with no horns or other object above it. | A. 8 | 1 | 14 |
| 22 | Head, which appears to be the head portion of a dog or other animal facing right, but the figure above that is not a portion of Fig. 15. | A. 20 | 1 | 16 |
| 23 | Animal facing right. | M | 1 | 16 |
| 24 | Animal (dog?) facing right, inside a torus with dots around it. | T | 1 | 23 |
| 25 | Animal, resembling a goat, facing right, wearing goggles, with horns above its head, and figure resembling a goatlet above its back. | H | 1 | 22 |
| 26 | A bird; resembling an owl. | B | 1 | 22 |
| 27 | Tree with branches. | A. 1 | 6 | 3-4 |
| | | A. 8 | 2 | 5, 6 |
| 28 | Tree of different design from Fig. 27, or grass. | H. 2 | 1 | 40 |
| 29 | Detail of screw point. | H. 1 | 1 | 47 |
| 30 | Tree with cell. | A. 6 | 1 | 29 |
| | | A. 9 | 1 | 24 |
| | | 2 | 1 | 31 |

TABLE II—*Contd.*

| Figure on Plate | Description of Model | Class and Sub-class | Number of copies on which the model appears | Number of the total in the set |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------------|--|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| 31 | Head of a four degree, within a square. | A. 8 | 4 | 32, 33 |
| 32 | Head part and hair | A. 7 | 1 | 31 |
| 33 | Portion of study part and hair | A. 10 | 1 | 37 |
| 34 | Portion of study part, with hair, and circle | A. 7 | 1 | 30 |
| 35 | Five leaves in segmental series, with a dot on each side above the central one. | A. 5 | 1 | 18 |
| 36 | Four objects which may be leaves, within a square. | B. 1 | 1 | 37 |
| | | B. 2 | 1 | 36 |
| 37 | Two "leaves", one on either side of a straight line with a line, in oval leaves. | 2 | 1 | 32 |
| 38 | (Portion of a small) central leaf, with two branches above it, and portion of a branch showing on either side. | B. 1 | 1 | 37 |
| 39 | Five leaves in right, round a central leaf. | D. | 1 | 36 |
| 40 | Line within a ring, portion of a circle, and twelve. | F. 2 | 1 | 40 |
| 41 | Twelve with oval knots at the center, with oval dot on each side. | B. 1 | 1 | 37 |
| 42 | Figure resembling a four- leaf clover, on the "back" of the vertical line. | A. 5 | 1 | 9 |

TABLE II.—*contd.*

| Figure of Plate | Description of Mark. | Class and Sub-class. | Number of coins on which the mark appears. | Number of the coins in the lot. |
|-----------------|---|----------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 40 | Flower of four petals and four straight lines alternately round central boss. | A. 9 | 1 | 38 |
| 41 | (Portion of mark) semi-circle, and a straight line. | E. 9 | 1 | 60 |
| 42 | Figure as illustrated, the lines show that it is a single mark, and it appears to be complete. | H. 1 | 1 | 47 |
| 43 | Cross or plus represented by a crack, with barbs on either side. | K. 2 | 1 | 50 |
| 44 | Thick wavy line. | F. 2 | 1 | 60 |
| 45 | Large circular boss with five pointed, transverse and oval bosses alternately round it. | G. | 1 | 60 |
| 46 | Figure as illustrated. | A. 10 | 1 | 60 |
| 47 | Small figure shows three vertical lines, with barbs on right; similar to the right hand portion of Theobald's Fig. 15. | J. | 1 | 52 |
| 48 | Probably a human figure with three subdivisions. | M. | 1 | 50 |
| 49 | Probably a human figure with two subdivisions. | N. | 1 | 50 |
| 50 | Small human figure. | O. | 1 | 38 |
| 51 | Three human figures in a row, the two to the left facing each other, with hair in ringlets. The head of the right hand figure not complete. | L. | 6 | 60, 54, 65 |

TABLE II—*contd.*
MARKS ON THE REVERSE.

| Figure on Plate. | Description of Mark. | Class and Sub-class. | Number of coins on which the mark appears. | Number of the coins in the lot. |
|------------------|--|----------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 33 | "The Turtle mark" (C. A. T. p. 55). Central dot with a line on each side and a forked object above and below. | A. 1 | 8 | 1, 2 |
| | | A. 2 | 2 | 5, 6 |
| | | A. 3 | 1 | 8 |
| 34 | A variety of the above "Turtle mark". | A. 1 | 4 | 3, 4 |
| | | A. 5 | 1 | 10 |
| | | A. 12 | 1 | 26 |
| 35 | Six-pointed figure of cross-like shape on each side and blunt pointed above and below, with horizontal straight lines projecting on each side; with small circular lines in center. May be a variety of Fig. 34 as it contains the similar compound marks. | A. 6 | 1 | 27 |
| 36 | Central line with a cross on each side, joined above and below by an object, only partly showing, seated on its lower side. Appears to be a variety of Fig. 35. | A. 4 | 1 | 7 |
| 37 | Trident on a short round central line. | A. 8 | 1 | 9 |
| | | A. 9 | 1 | 16 |
| | | A. 10 | 4 | 22, 27 |
| | | B. | 8 | 33, 34, 35 |
| 38 | Trident on a short round central line. | A. 1 | 1 | 6 |
| | | A. 4 | 1 | 13 |
| 39 | Trident pointing left. | A. 1 | 1 | 9 |
| | | A. 8 | 1 | 12 |

TABLE II.—*Contd.*

| Figure on Plate | Description of Mark. | Class and Sub-class | Number of corals on which the mark appears | Position of the sides to the left. |
|-----------------|--|------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 62 | Irregular with several arms pointing left. | L. | 1 | 30 |
| 63 | Three arms one above another with straight line passing through them; the "center hole" mark, as "subclass." | A. 4 A. 2 B. 3 C. | 1 1 1 4 | 8 12 40 54, 55 |
| 64 | Three figures one above another, the prominent appearance of which resembles the "center hole" mark. | E. | 1 | 12 |
| 65 | An arch surrounded by a circle, irregular as to other sides. The "Hill mark." | B. 2 F. 1 B. 3 G. 1 | 1 1 3 1 | 30 42 42, 43 45 |
| 65(a) | "Hill mark" similar to Fig. 65, but the arch is higher in comparison to their width. | A. 10 | 1 | 35 |
| 65(b) | A similar variety of the "Hill mark," with the arches still. | L. | 1 | 40 |
| 66 | Variety of "Hill mark." Two arches surrounded by a circle, facing right, irregular as to other sides. | A. 7 B. 2 | 3 1 | 35, 36 45 |
| 67 | An arched facing right over a cross. A variety of "Hill mark." | L. | 1 | 30 |
| 68 | Triangle facing left, but no arch. | A. 13 | 1 | 37 |
| 69 | Object of the shape of an hour glass; probably a diamond (double hour-glass). | A. 11 F. 2 L. | 3 1 3 | 35, 36 40 37, 38 |
| 70 | Circle has surrounded by four lines pointing right. | A. 9 | 3 | 35, 36 |

TABLE II.—*contd.*

| Figure on Plate. | Description of Mark. | Class and Sub-date. | Number of copies on which the mark appears. | Number of the volume in the 1895. |
|------------------|--|---------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 71 | Circle surrounded by two concentric pointing left, with concentric lines. | H. | 2 | 58 |
| 72 | Six dots round a central dot. | H. | 2 | 57 |
| 73 | Dot within a square — | I. | 2 | 51 |
| 74 | Double — — — | A. 5 F. 1 | 1 1 | 58 41 |
| 75 | Three rows surrounded by concentric with radial stripes between them. | A. 6 | 1 | 51 |
| 76 | Three upright lines, two intersecting in three points, and the right hand one with a projecting line on each side. | F. 1 | 1 | 42 |
| 77 | (Incomplete). Faintly portion of an almost halting left. | A. 5 | 1 | 58 |
| 78 | Winged bull? facing left (Similar to Fig. 77). | A. 6 | 1 | 57 |
| 79 | Figure as described; may be intended for winged bull facing left. | A. 13 | 1 | 59 |
| 80 | Incomplete, apparently a portion of Fig. 78. | I. | 1 | 55 |
| 81 | Winged mark, which may be the hindmost letter K. | A. 6 | 1 | 59 |
| 82 | Oblique which may possibly be a line with its ends showing. | A. 13 | 1 | 60 |
| 83 | A group of two long oval and shorter circles. | A. 11 | 1 | 52 |
| 84 | Small oval of seven rays — | H. 1 | 1 | 57 |
| 85 | (Incomplete). Detail of five points; appears to be part of a larger branch or tree. | A. 6 | 1 | 54 |

TABLE II—*continued.*

| Figure or Plate | Description of Mark. | Class and Sub-class. | Number of cobs in which the mark appears. | Number of the cobs in the lot. |
|-----------------------|--|----------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 66 | Sketch of five points in oval form. | H. 1 | 2 | 10 |
| 67 | Two squares placed diagonally, with some slight bulks there. | F. 2 | 1 | 66 |
| 68 | Cross with a line in the center. | F. 1 | 1 | 46 |
| 69 | Straight line bisecting in a half and another shape within an oval ring. | F. 1 | 1 | 41 |
| 70 | Therapal ball having eight . . . | H. 2 | 1 | 42 |
| 71 | Chassis object, as illustrated . . | F. 3 | 1 | 66 |
| 72 | Corn, represented by an object resembling an antenna, also having a dot, would appear to be a variety of Hill mark. | F. 3 | 1 | 46 |
| 73 | Sketch of a flower of eight petals, round a circle with a line in the center. | F. 4 | 1 | 66 |
| 74 | A cross within a circle . . | G. | 1 | 46 |
| 75 | Sketch of seven oval leaves . . | G. | 1 | 46 |
| 76 | Disc above an oval, perhaps a variety of the "Hill mark". This mark might be a function as in Fig. 14, but the oval and the leaf are separate. | F. 2 | 1 | 46 |
| 77 | Two function under two crossed lines. | G. | 1 | 46 |

III—Contributions of Bengal to Hindu Civilization.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri.

M.A., C.S.E.

Sixth Contribution.

Ships and Boats.

Bengal abounds in large rivers, and so there can be little doubt that the people in very ancient times knew how to build boats. The boats built were of various kinds — Deas, Daul, Dingi, Bhola, Kanki, Baitia, Chip, Marbhawli, etc. All these however were small boats and could be found everywhere. What contributed to Bengal's special glory was the fact that she built her ships too.

There was a king in Valiganagara, according to the Buddhist tradition, in Bengal even before Lord Buddha's time. He married the daughter of the king of Kalinga and had a beautiful daughter by her. She was a naughty girl. She fled from her home and joined a party of merchants who were going to Magadha. When they arrived near the frontier of Bengal they were attacked by a lion. The merchants fled for their lives, but the princess followed the 'lion,' and pleased him so much that he married her. In course of time she had a son and a daughter. The arms of the son resembled those of the lion, and for this reason he was named Sitahakha. Sitahakha, when he grew up, fled with his mother and sister from the lion's cave. When they reached the frontier of Bengal, the king's brother, who was the Sitabhadra or frontier officer, sent the princess with her son and daughter to Valiganagara. The lion returning to the cave missed his son and daughter and was very unhappy. He began a diligent search everywhere and at last came into Bengal. His appearance scared the villagers who ran to the king to apprise him of the danger. The king, alarmed by host of drums, the offer

of a large reward for the capture of the lion. He said to Shikabhin "If you can capture the animal I will make you king." Shikabhin killed the beast, became king and married his own sister. He had a large number of children by the marriage, the eldest being named Vijaya. Vijaya was very wicked. He oppressed the people very much. The latter, thus provoked, came to the king and asked him to kill Vijaya. The king sent him in a boat to the sea with seven hundred followers. His children and those of his followers were sent in another boat, while their wives in a third. The males landed in one island, called Nagadvipa, and the females in another, named Nirdhiva. Finding thence Vijaya reached Saperdita situated near modern Bombay—now called Supari. Here, too, he began to oppress the people. The latter chased him and he fled in a boat to Luthadvipa. On the day he landed here, Lord Buddha left himself down between two tall trees in the city of Kashi and was attempting to obtain Nirvana. Addressing Indra he said "To-day Vijaya has landed in Luthadvipa; kindly protect him; he will preach my religion there."

The three boats in which Shikabhin sent Vijaya, his sons and their wives, were very large. They were ships, for each of them could accommodate seven hundred persons. Two thousand five hundred years ago boats of this description used to be built in Bengal. There is engraved on the Ajanta cave, a picture of the ship in which Vijaya sailed to Luthadvipa. It appears from this that the ship had its mast and sail and everything which a ship required before the successful application of steam power for the purpose of navigation. There are many, however, who are sceptical about the ship. But the picture in the Ajanta cave is still there and the evidence it furnishes cannot be disallowed. The picture is fourteen hundred years old. When it was engraved nobody thought it had been overdone.

Even before Lord Buddha's time there were large boats in other parts of India. There was a big port near Bombay, called Bhamburda or Borech, from which ships sailed to Babru or Babilon. From Supari, too, ships sailed to different parts of

the world. We hear of ships capable of carrying seven hundred passengers.

But we have not heard of such ships sailing from Tansuipiti or Bengal before or after Lord Buddha's time. Nevertheless it is supposed by European scholars that Tansuipiti was a busy port in Buddha's time. This conjecture is strongly corroborated by the *Artha-Shastra*, in which Chanakya says that the officer in charge of ships supervised navigation in the sea. Hence there can be little doubt that in that age ships sailed from Bengal and Magadha. But with the exception of Tansuipiti, Bengal and Magadha had no port.

The *Dashasamra Carita* is an ancient work. Professor Wilson says it was composed in the seventh century A.D. Other scholars, equally competent to form an opinion, however, think that its date preceded the birth of Christ. This book gives an account of Tansuipiti. We are told that many ships sailed from this port across the Bay of Bengal. One of the ten Kurumra embarked from here for a distant voyage. His ship was sunk by that of a Tarana, named Bharva.

"Nannay" is the *Dashasamra Carita* reminds us of Bannay of Egypt. It would seem that the country of Bannay existed at the time the work was written.

We learn that ships sailed from Tansuipiti to Japan and China even after this date. Four hundred years after Christ Fa-hien sailed from Tansuik. There were men of all nationalities in the ship. It met with a storm in the boisterous Chinese sea. The ship was on the point of sinking, but Fa-hien prayed to Buddha and the storm ceased. At a still later time, Indians emigrated to Sumatra, Java, Bali and other islands, and spread in each of those countries Waisa, Vaishnava or Buddhist religion. But they probably embarked from Bharukachha, although there is nothing to preclude the supposition that they sailed from Tansuipiti. There is however no evidence available on the point.

We learn from the ancient accounts of Burma that the people of Magadha conquered the country many times and

spread Indian civilisation there. It appears from the *Burma Archaeological Report* that in very ancient times the Magadhis entered Pagan and preached there the religion of India.

Kālidāsa says that the king of Bengal had sailies fully equipped. There can be little doubt that the Pala Kings fought naval battles. It is distinctly written in a copper-plate belonging to Dharmapala (which has been discovered at Khallimpore) that the said king had many ships always ready for naval fights. It is written in Kālmāsurin that Dharmapala crossed the Ganges in a bridge of boats. It also appears in a stone engraving in the city of Kalyāṇi that in A.D. 1279 some Buddhist Bikkhus embarked from Tāmarāṇi and on arriving at Pagan reformed the Buddhist religion there.

It is from Bengali works on Harsha and Maṅgalaṃpālī however that we derive glowing and perhaps somewhat exaggerated accounts of sea voyages in times gone by. We are told that a certain merchant in Bengal used to undertake perilous voyages. On one occasion he equipped fourteen to sixteen vessels, put them under the charge of a single Majhi, and passing through the Ganges, entered the sea. Crossing the sea he proceeded to Ceylon, and sailing thence, visited various islands in the ocean after a voyage of fourteen or fifteen days. The principal ship of Chāṇi Saṅgār was called *Madhukara*. In *Harsha Bhāṣā*, composed by Dvija Vāṇśana, it is stated that starting from Ceylon and after a voyage of thirteen days, Chāṇi Saṅgār encountered a severe storm. Waves of both and foam rushed on board his ship. He went through fear and being unable to trace the whereabouts of his other vessels cried out in black despair : "These vessels contain my all. I do not see any one of them. My life too is in danger." He retreated the pilot to devise some means of safety. The latter tried to quiet his fears, and failing to do so, dragged out a number of oil casks from the ship and threw them into the sea. In an instant the crash of waves ceased and the sea became tranquil. The other ships were discovered at a distance and Chāṇi Saṅgār was now full of joy.

Even after the date of these books, we find that when Kōṭis

Bay and Pratihāṣṭra became very powerful, they fought naval battles and often undertook distant voyages. It must be confessed indeed that they were in a great measure helped by the Portuguese pilots. At a subsequent time, however, the Raja of Aukar, aided by the Portuguese, aided Bengal, inaugurating there a reign of terror. Salata Khan punished them with the help of Bengali Majlis and exterminated piracy from the Bay of Bengal.

Sanskrit Civilization.

Bandha Śikhadhra.

In the introduction to a work entitled "Abhidharmakośa Vyākhyāna" the author Vaachandha is stated to be like a second Buddha. If this was true of India, there can be little doubt that Yuan Chwang was a second Buddha in all Asia. Of the Buddhist scholars born in China, he was the greatest. At one time his disciples and their followers spread over Japan, Korea and Mongolia. Yuan Chwang came to India to derive a first-hand knowledge of Buddhism and Yoga. But he learnt a great deal more than he came to learn, and it reflects no small glory upon Bengal that the man at whose feet he learnt was a Bengali. Śikhadhra was the son of the king of Samatapa. He was the head of Nalanda-Vihāra at the time when Yuan Chwang visited India, and as such was regarded with awe and respect by kings, including even the Emperor Harshavardhana himself. This was however owing to the position he held and not due to his personality. But the glory of his wisdom and learning surpassed even the dignity of his high office. Yuan Chwang was a man of wide experience. He received his guru like a god and gratefully acknowledged that Śikhadhra had dispelled from his mind all doubts which could not be cleared up by instruction received from the guru of various other masters on the subject of Buddha, Dharma Śāstra and Buddhist Yoga. The mists and clouds which the chief Pandita of Kashmir could not with all their erudition remove were all scattered away by Śikhadhra and without crackle-fact. Śikhadhra was a Mahāyāna Buddha, but he had studied the religious literature

of all the other sects. This of itself did not indeed mean much, for all heads of Malaya Viharas were reported to possess such versatility. What conferred upon him special glory was the fact that he had also thoroughly mastered the *Śāstras* of the Brahmanas. He thoroughly studied *Piṅgala* and taught Yama Chwang all the commentaries upon it which were then in existence. He also instructed him in the *Yogas*—the fundamental religious works of Bhaktas. It is so generally doubted whether India ever had a professor who versed like him in all the *Sāstras*. His scholarship was so great as the liberality of his views. When attracted by the wisdom and learning of Yama Chwang, the other Buddhist *Pandits* insisted upon his settling in this country. Śikhadeva said, "China is a great country. Yama Chwang must preach Buddhism there and you should not stand in his way. If he goes there, Buddhism will flourish; but if he stays here, no good will come of it." When again, Kumārajña Śikhara Yama repeatedly requested Yama Chwang to go to Kāmarūpa and the latter refused, Śikhadeva said, "Buddhism has not as yet found the way into Kāmarūpa. If Yama Chwang's going helps to spread the religion there, it will be a great gain." All these facts go to show Śikhadeva's foresight, his policy, and his valuered attachment to the religion he professed.

A few words about his childhood. I have said already that he was the son of the king of Samatapa and was a Bhakta by caste. From childhood he had shown a predilection for learning and his fame was great. He travelled all over India in furtherance of the cause of learning, and in his thirtieth year came to Nālanda. Here Buddhist Dharmapala was at the head of the Buddhist organisation. Śikhadeva became his pupil and in a few days mastered everything which his guru had to teach. Just at this time a *Pandit* who had gained laurels in religious controversies came to the king of Magadha and challenged a discussion with Dharmapala. The King chose him for Dharmapala. When the latter was making preparations for his departure Śikhadeva said, "Why should you go?" Dharmapala

replied, "The glory of Buddhism is on the wane. Intelligence is spreading among us like a dew. Unless we succeed in sustaining it, there is no hope for the progress of Buddhism". Shakkhadev said "You had better stay here. Let me go". When Shakkhadev met the Pandit, the latter chuckled with a smile, "Is this the boy who is to engage me in controversy?" In a short time however he realized his mistake, for he was completely beaten. Unable either to meet the arguments of his young adversary or to answer his questions he felt himself discomfited and hurriedly left the place. Shakkhadev's learning and high scholarship filled the king with admiration and he bestowed upon him a city. Shakkhadev however said, "What shall I do with wealth when I have entered the Holy Order?" The King replied, "The light of Lord Buddha's wisdom has long disappeared. Unless therefore we worship, much how can we hope to save true religion? So please don't refuse my offer." Shakkhadev then accepted the property and from its income built a large Sāghihāsa.

Yuan Chwang says that in piety, learning, wisdom as well as in love of religion, Shakkhadev surpassed even the early Buddhists. He wrote a large number of books. His notes and commentaries were brief and their language simple. There were few scholars versed like him equally in all the Eastern *Sipitā Contributions*.

Saṅgi Deva a Buddhist Writer.

The great Saṅgi Deva who has left an indelible mark upon the Buddhist religious literature was, I think, a Bengali. But I find Thien-shih holding a different opinion. He says Saṅgi Deva was an inhabitant of Samatpa. I have got a life of Saṅgi Deva and with its help I hope to clear up this point. Unfortunately, however, the place which contained the name of his birthplace has been hopelessly erased by somebody and it is impossible to decipher it. Nalanda as well as the capital of Udaya were the spheres of his activities. When he left home his mother gave him the following instruction:—

"In order that you may acquire merit you should make *Mahā Vajra Saṅgīd* your spiritual guide".

Now, Mallhar was somewhat out of place in Samastra. Buddhism was not much prevalent there.

There is another reason for supposing that he was a Bengali. In Nalanda he had a *laji* or cottage. He was seen to be always cheerful, either when he ate his food, or when he lay down to sleep or sat in his *dhobi*. Hence the lines :—

सुखीति प्रभाकरः

बुद्धीति प्रभाकरः

बुद्धी मनीति प्रभाकरः

This was why he was called "Bhanka." When he lived in the capital of Magadha he did the work of a "Rishi." Now, there are certain Bengali songs ending with the *shapiti* "राखु भणख कख, भुखु भणख" The question is whether Ranta, Bhanka and Sinti Deva were one and the same person. The probability is that they were so.

It further appears that Sinti Deva was the author of three books—

(1) *Sitra Samuccaya*.

(2) *Sinti Samuccaya*.

(3) *Poliharyavastha*.

The last two have been discovered and printed, but the first has not yet been traced. But we have got another book which bears the name of Bhanka which was written by him. This work, too, like the two books which have been discovered, is written in Sanskrit and contains in places passages in Bengali. Again, in the two books aforesaid and especially in *Sitra Samuccaya*, there are portions written in a language which is not Sanskrit.

It may be urged however that the two books mentioned above deal with the doctrine of the Vishayana School, but the other, *Sitra Samuccaya*, belonged either to the Vajrayana or Sakajayana. How could the same man, it may be asked, write books of two different Yanas? I would refer in this connection to the opinion of Bendall who says that even in *Sitra Samuccaya*, Tantric doctrines are to be found here and there. We have

also was that Vajrayana, Sahajayana and Kalacharayanana are not independent of Mahayana. All these sects regarded themselves as being part and parcel of Mahayana. They thought they had only simplified its complexities and ensured its advancement. The Nepales who belong either to the Vajrayana or Sahajayana School call themselves Mahayana Buddhists.

In Bodhisattvacharya, Santi Devi frequently was towards his opponents an abusive spirit which cannot be met with in any language but Bengali. It is *বুদ্ব বদ্ব*, which, as every Bengali knows, is very common in our language.

There is also a current song which throws some light on the question. It is this—

“কাম বুদ্ব তু ভেটি বদ্বাচী
বিশ বদ্বাচী বদ্বাচী বদ্বাচী”

“To-day Khamku you have truly become a Bengali, etc.”

For all these reasons I regard Santi Devi as our eighth glory. The Tongus works say that he was an inhabitant of Jahara. I do not know where the place is situated but I think it should be traced.

Buddhist Contributions.

Natha Panthis

The Yogis in this country bear the title of Nathas. They say “we were the spiritual guides of kings, but the Portuguese have ousted us from our offices.” Accordingly they have set on foot a movement for wearing the sacred thread. The manners and customs of the Nathas however do not resemble those of the Portuguese. For many years past I have been trying to inform myself about their origin. On reading an article on “Mahayana-Nath and a few others” by Hodgson which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, I was first impressed with the belief that a religious school called Nathism held for many centuries unbroken sway in Bengal and Eastern India. It was formerly believed that the fourteen Nathas mentioned in the Hatha-Yoga-pradipika of Gorakshanatha belonged to Kavi's time. The Kavi-panthis have indeed a work which contains a dialogue between Kavi and Gorakshanath. This led to the

supposition that they were contemporaries. But Waddell has proved from Tibetan books that Gorkhismah belonged to ninth century A.D. It is the prevailing belief among the Buddhists of Nepal that all the Nathas were Buddhists and that it was Gorakhanatha only who forsook Buddhism and became a Shaiva. As long as he was a Buddhist he was called Ramayajña or Anantayajña. In the course of my research I came across a Tantra, entitled "Kashajñana Vaidya" brought to light by Mayayandranātha or Manoharanātha. It is written in the character of the ninth century A.D. It does not contain the remotest reference to Buddhism. There is an ancient Buddhist work which, quoting a Bengali passage of Manuṣṭha, says it belongs to Pandanana, or a Neo-Buddhist School of thought. There are many other reasons for supposing that the Nathas professed a religion which was neither Hindu nor Buddhist.

Shiva was the god of the Nathas. Their religious books are written in the form of Hata Pitradi Saṁgraha in the Tantras. It was they who were responsible for the Hata-puja system. Their religion consisted in the practice of Yoga by means of various postures. The fundamental principles of the religion have not as yet been discovered, although it would seem that they favoured renunciation. They did not care much for letters or law, their efforts being mainly directed towards the attainment of Siddhi. This Siddhi has subsequently degenerated into conjurer's tricks; it is difficult to say what had been the objective of the early Nathas. At the present time many Nathas have taken to begging with the help of these conjuring tricks. The Nathas have no objection to indiscriminate indulgence in sensuality. The Mahamandir of Jodhpur is now the principal place of their pilgrimage. Here dwells their religious head who is called Nathji. He is a rich man. His Mahamandir is a large town surrounded on all sides by walls. A visit to this place enabled me to learn that the Nathji worships the Eastpoint of his palace and he himself is regarded by the people as a god. The Nathjis do not marry, but they have no objection

to begotten children. Neither do they entertain any prejudice against him at present. In view alone they locate numerous legends.

I have come across a passage of Minurthita (written in pure Bengali) which proves conclusively that the Nāthas were inhabitants of Bengal or at least of Eastern India. Bengal was generally the scene of Goraipandita's activities. His disciple Hridyā was the hero of the song of Mayurānā. When Minurthita forgot his own religion, it was Goraipandita who reminded him of the fact. Matyendra Nātha is often called Maṇḍaghara Nātha which shows that he was a Brahman by caste. If this be true, he must in all probability have been a Bengali.

When the Nāthas became a powerful sect, both Hīnakas and Eśāvikas stooped to worship them. It is somewhat curious that though the work of Maheśwara Nātha makes no mention of Buddhism, he is now the principal god of the Buddhists in Nepal. The Bāhuyānī festival of Maheśwara Nātha is celebrated there with a pomp unsurpassed in the case of any other god. As to Goraipandita it may be said that although all the Buddhists in Nepal are not quite pleased with him, there can be no doubt that his followers worship him as a god. He is likewise worshipped in Tibet.

For all these reasons I hold that the Nāthas were formed the sixth glory of ancient Bengal.

Fifth Contribution. Dipankara Vajrasana.

Dipankara Vajrasana was the tenth glory of Bengal. He was an inhabitant of Vīrāṇagiriya in Eastern Bengal. He became a Bhikṣu and sought shelter in Vīrāṇasā Vihāra. Here, within a short time he came to be regarded as a profound scholar. The Adhyakṣa of the Vīrāṇasāṭhān to Goraipandita where he obtained much celebrity by reforming the abuses which had crept into Buddhism there. After his return he himself became the Adhyakṣa of Vīrāṇasā. This was at a time when Vīrāṇasā was into greater importance than even

Nalanda. For it then became the training ground of many great scholars who afterwards preached Buddhism in India and abroad. Sauti, the jewel of this Matha, was a sharp and benevolent Nalayaika. Panjsharavasi, Jhinnet Hihon and various other distinguished writers and scholars also contributed to the fame and glory of Vikramaditya.

It conferred no small glory therefore upon the person who stood at the head of such an institution. Dipakara frequently engaged in controversy with great Brahmins scholars and also with those who belonged to the several Yamas, and beat his opponents successfully. At this time Buddhism was declining in Tibet and a sect called Vasava was becoming powerful there. Frightened at this, the king of Tibet sent a messenger to India inviting Dipakara to his Court. Dipakara was at first unwilling to go; afterwards however realising the gravity of the situation he accepted the invitation. The king sent a large retinue who accompanied him to Tibet. During the journey he remained for several days at Suvassathastira in Nepal. Starting thence he crossed the ice-clad peaks of the Himalaya and reached the Tibetan kingdom. The capital of the king was situated in Western Tibet. The Vikings in Tibet in which he had stopped during his sojourn are even now regarded by the Tibetans as sacred. In his Archaeological Report, Frazer has pointed out the places of his activity in Tibet. He was in his seventieth year at this time. Here he worked hard and succeeded in converting many Tibetans to Buddhism. Since this time many different sects of this religion have sprung up in Tibet so that no approximation is now entertained as to its possible disappearance from that country at any time. In Tibet Dipakara preached the Mahayana doctrine. But convinced that the Tibetans, habituated to the worship of Deities and Demons, were not fully prepared for the pure doctrine, he translated also many Vijayana and Kishoreyana books and wrote many prayers pointing out many different modes of worship. The Tangut catalogue mentions his name almost in every age. He is worshipped as a god to this day by

many thousands of people. Many suppose that the learning and culture of Tibet were all due to his efforts.

Eleventh Contribution.

Jagaddala Mahavithara and Vikhiti Candin.

Mr. Wright picked up a few manuscripts from Nepal and presented them to the University of Cambridge. Among these is to be found one which is called *Shri Devi's Shri Saṃsaya*. It is written on paper and contains hand-writing which is mostly Bengali. When Beadell catalogued it he said that it had been written in A.D. 1460 or 1500. When it was printed, he put the date one hundred years back, doubting whether paper could have been older. Beadell is a good scholar. I may perhaps boast of a private friendship with him. On one occasion he and I went to Nepal together. But I cannot persuade myself to agree with him on this point. I have seen in Nepal manuscripts written on paper much older than that used in *Shri Saṃsaya* and have brought with me one or two such specimens. I am not prepared to hold that any manuscript is so old simply because it is written on paper. Dr. Hoare has shown that in very ancient times "Kappal" was in extensive use in Nepal. The word "Kappal" is Chinese. It has come to us through Muhammadans who got it direct from the Chinese and corrupted it into "Kagut".

Towards the end of the manuscript we find the words :—

इत्येवमेतत्तन्त्राचार्याचार्योऽयं महाप्रज्ञो विदितवान् नमः,

Beadell says he does not know who this Malaytan Panchi Jagaddala Panchi Vikhiti Candin was. In 1897 when I renewed my visit to Nepal, I found in several manuscripts mention of the name of Jagaddala (and not Jagadala as in Beadell's Mahavithara). At that time I, too, was ignorant of everything connected with this institution. I became acquainted also with the name Vikhiti Candin at this time. It was he who had written a commentary on *Nyāsiyogīti* called *Aṣṭa Karmika*. The commentary was written after the death of Kalacharyapa.

When after this I published *Rāmasūtra*, I came to know that Jagaddala was situated near the city of Rāntauti founded

by Rangpoh. It stood just at the confluence of the Ganges and Karnaby. The Karnaby does not now flow into the Ganges but discharges its contents into the Jamma. The Ganges stream thus passed through the Doldrigts. This has helped me to suppose that Rinsirall and Jagaddala must have been situated near the village Rangpoh in Arankiganj. Since I expressed the opinion, many have been diligently trying to make out where Jagaddala was. Some are attempting to find it in Bogra and others in Malak. The place however still remains to be discovered; but it cannot be denied that its discovery is of the utmost importance. For when Nalanda was to Magadh, Kanjish Vihara to Peshawar, Dydantana Bihar to Cutch, Jagaddala was to Bengal, or (as it would be more proper) to Eastern India.

Then Jagaddala was an important source of Buddhist doctrine. It does not appear that Rangpoh established it, but it is certain that many well-known Buddhist lived here and that Vajra Candra was the greatest of them all. Vajra Candra wrote notes and commentaries on many Buddhist Buddhist books. He also rendered valuable assistance at the time when those works were being translated in the Tibetan. He made one or two machines himself. There was another Maandala of the Jagaddala institution whose name was Maandala. He also assisted in those translations. From these facts it would appear that the Tibetan relied mainly on Jagaddala Bikkhus in building their religious literature.

Recently Babu Bahadur Das Banerji has purchased a work belonging to the Tenger collection and presented it to the Society. The name of the Society says it is not printed from woodblock types, but is a manuscript. It was written 1,200 years ago and Maandala translated it. Now, if this Maandala be the identical one who was a Bikkhu in Jagaddala, the inference is inevitable that this translation as well as Maandala Candra finished in very ancient times. The note assigned to that Maandala by Banerji shows, in that case, to be about three or four centuries back. For all these reasons I hold that Jagaddala and Vajra Candra did have upon our past.

*Two/rd Contribution.**Lalpada and his Siddhantaryya.*

Lalpada and his Siddhantaryya constitute the twelfth glory of ancient Bengal. Of Lalpada I have had occasion to mention in one or two places. He was the earliest Siddhantaryya. He has been described in many places as the Adi-Siddhantaryya. He was a Bengali. In Bengal he is even now worshipped, a goat being sacrificed in his honour. In Mayurbhanja too he is worshipped. In Tibet he is worshipped as a Siddhantaryya. He wrote many Bengali songs and many compositions in Sanskrit Buddhistic works and was the founder of a sect which is called Sahajayana or any of its sub-sects. We are in possession of manuscripts which show that the Siddhantaryyas at one time established their influence in Bengal and Eastern India. In A.D. 1400 a Bagharajpal named Hari Singh became king of Mithila. He at one time invaded Nepal and carried terror into the hearts of Musalmans in Bengal and Delhi. After him many of his descendants sat on the throne of Nepal. Hari Singh had a minister named Cagdevara. The latter wrote a number of works in Bengali. In Hari Singh's Court there was a poet who wrote good verses in Sanskrit. He was called Jyotirmara Karishak-santaryya. Perhaps this saint was used to write verses in Bengali. He has left a curious work entitled "Vargana Ratnakara," written in a language which seems to be a strange compound of Sanskrit and Bengali. The object of the book was to impart instruction as to how persons and things should be described in poetry. He enumerated the names of 76 out of 84 Siddhas he intended to mention. Among the names he mentions, we find those of most of Lal's disciples. The fact, that this sect was in existence down to the time of Hari Singh, shows unmistakably that Lal was an extraordinary man.

It is written in Tenger that Lal was called Matyavanda. It means that he was fond of the entrails of fish (which by the way is considered a delicacy by every Bengali). The same authority takes care to point out that he should not be that

account be confounded with Matsyendrasakta, who was the son of Mithanidha, while Lci was Mahayogisava.

Of the Siddhacryyas, the Kirtans or Caryatpadas of the following have come down to us:—Lci, Kakkuri, Biru, Dhopdhan Dika, Bhada, Goudri, Catta, Hranthi, Kiden, Kamsi, Dandi Mahidara, Rathi Barara, Ajadva, Tujin. All these Kirtans became unintelligible even before the Mahomedan conquest, and hence it became necessary to write Sanskrit notes on them according to Sahajya School. Besides these there was a large number of Dohas which had also their commentaries in Sanskrit. All these have been translated into Hindi or Tibetan. The works of the Siddhacryyas named above have been also translated into the same language. So, if we carry our researches into the Hindi literature and the Tseger collections, we will not only find the ancient religious opinions of Bengal but also elaborate materials for writing a history of her literature. The Bengali knows very little of his own ancestors whose accounts have been preserved by their Hindi disciples. This is indeed a reproach to us, but there can be no doubt that it will do the glory of our nation.

IV.—Chastana's Statue and Date of Kanishka.

A young scholar, Mr. Shyamsu Bhattacharya, B.A., a son of Mahatmayajidhyaya Harprasad Shastri, has made an important contribution to the Saka period of history by reading the name on the third statue found along with that of Kanishka's at Mathura. It is "Shastana". Dr. Vogel missed this identification by reading the first letter incorrectly (he read "Mastana")¹.

The fact that Chastana's statue is found in the same village or *Devakula*, to borrow the word of Hsiao and of the inscription on the first statue of the Kanishka group, proves that Chastana was a near relative of Kanishka and evidently belonged to the same family. Chastana's date is fixed by the known date of Plotany, the geographer, who mentions the capital of "Tian-shan." Kanishka's date is now impossible to be placed in the first century A.D. His time must be about A.D. 125, the time of Plotany. The statue of the seated King in my opinion is that of his father, for it is here that the foundation of the statue temple (*Devakula*) is mentioned. His name which is read as *Wama Kshyama*, and his description *Kshyama* probably denotes nearness to the original founder of the family (taking *Kshama* as a personal name). Remains of one more statue were found in the ruins of the same *Devakula*. This in all probability was a son of Kanishka. Chastana was a contemporary of either Kanishka or his son, assuming that his father's power did not extend up to Ujjala, the capital of Chastana. We would not be far from the mark in assuming the period of Kanishka to fall between A.D. 75 and A.D. 125 on the evidence of this new datum, brought to light by Mr. Bhattacharya.

K. P. J.

¹ It is hoped that Mr. Bhattacharya will publish the results of his journey to the *Devakula* before long. I have examined it and I accept his reading very much willingly.

V.—“Salemnaka Statues.”

Joint Meeting of Asiatic Societies held in London. The
abstract of Dr. Vincent Smith's remarks on September
5, 1898.

(I)

DR. V. A. SMITH.

Alleged Portrait Statues of Salemnaka-Kanda Kings.

Dr. Vincent A. Smith invited attention to the (supposed) identification of two statues in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, found at Patna about a century ago, which are in the round, and of life size, or a little larger. Each bears a short inscription of eight characters, cut on the stuff passing over the back. The characters are exceptionally difficult to read because the script is peculiar and the forms of the letters are obscured by the parallel grooves marking the folds of the scarf. The only letter repeated is a, which appears in a curiously late shape, most resembling that found in certain Kuru inscriptions of the first or second century B.C., a date quite impossible for the statues, which undoubtedly are extremely ancient and probably pre-Maurya. The inscriptions have been studied carefully for the first time by Mr. K. T. Jayawala, whose work has been criticised by Mr. R. D. Banerji of the Indian Museum. Both the scholars agreed, who had the advantage of examining the statues at leisure, have published their results in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for 1910, Vol. V. Both agree that the statues are pre-Maurya, the oldest known in India, and that they are portraits of the two kings, Aja or Udaya, and his son, Varta Nandak or Nandak (Nandak) Varidhara, who reigned in the fifth century B.C. That result, if established, would revolutionise the history of Indian art. Hitherto the assumption that stone sculpture began with Ashoka has been generally accepted. If the Patna statues and their inscriptions are as old as supposed it must be admitted that

The art of sculpture in stone was well matured two centuries before A.D. 600. The execution of the images is such that it presupposes a long prior development of plastic art.

Dr. Smith was much impressed by the fact that both Japaneval and Banerji agree in the reading of the inscription on the later or B. statue as being *Koku Koku Fata Koku*, which is interpreted as meaning "Vasta Mark of universal dominion". The reading seems to be certain. Japaneval read the second syllable as *pa*, but Banerji points out that on the stone it is *ku*. The accretion does not affect the interpretation. The word on the older or A. statue is more difficult to read. Banerji feels doubt about three of the eight characters, while agreeing with Japaneval that the inscription refers to King Aja, also called Udaya or Udayita. Time did not permit full examination of the many disputable points raised, but Professor Banerji and the other scholars who spoke in the course of a brief discussion were unable to believe that the records are nearly as old as Mr. Japaneval alleges them to be. The general opinion seems to be that the script is that of about 100 A.D., more or less. Dr. Smith, while assenting to discussion, was and is of opinion that the statues are pre-Maurya, that probably they were executed not later than 100 B.C., that the inscriptions are contemporary with the statues, and that the appearance of comparative modernity in the script is not conclusive. For the present the problem must be regarded as not yet definitely solved.

(II)

Dr. Barnett.

Professor Barnett makes the following observations:—Mr. K. V. Japaneval by his learned and able paper on "Statues of Two Śaśvataka Emperors" (J.B.O.R.S., V, pt. I, p. 366) has rendered much service to the study of history and antiquities that I feel the utmost diffidence in expressing any opinions at variance with his theories. But as I have been honoured by a request to contribute some notes on the important subjects which he has raised, I do so with the prayer *dehantvā* *śiddhataḥ*.

1. Mr. Jayasval seems to be wrong in his contention that the lines denoting the folds of the diaperies were incised after the inscriptions were cut. The plate showing the relief side of the inscriptions (facing page 20) and the ink impressions appear to point to the opposite conclusion, for we can clearly see on them several letters (e.g. the last letter of A, and the second and the last of B.) of which the shafts rise up in relief above the cross-lines of the diaperies, thus suggesting that the letters, being more deeply cut than the cross-lines, were incised *after* the latter. The accurate way in which the letters are placed upon the cross-lines also leads to the same conclusion.

2. If we accept Mr. Jayasval's readings of the inscriptions as correct, we are at once faced by several serious linguistic difficulties. He reads A. as *Ḥaḡḡt Aśḡt aśḡḡaśḡḡ*, interpreting it as "His gracious Majesty Aśḡ, king of the land". Here we have three masculine stems in *a* in the nominative case, two of which end in *t* and one in *ś*, which is manifestly impossible. Perhaps Mr. Jayasval is mistaken in the vowel of *Aśḡ*, for the ink-impressions do not confirm his reading of *a*. An even greater difficulty arises in the supposed change of *t* to *ś* in the name *Aśḡ*, while on the other hand the soft consonants are retained in *Ḥaḡḡt* and *aśḡḡ*. The alteration of soft to hard consonants is characteristic of Pali and Chittol-Pali, which were some spoken near Potos. Mr. Jayasval quotes two alleged examples, one from Pali and the other from *as* as *As'cha* *edict*; but they are disputable, and even if they be admitted they are too sporadic to justify the change in the name of the king side by side with unchanged consonants in his epistola. To escape this difficulty, it may be suggested that the king's real name is *Aśḡ*, and this was afterwards assimilated by Potosian writers into *Aśḡ*. This is conceivable, but it would be unfortunate for Mr. Jayasval's general hypothesis, for if the statue is that of a king whose real name is *Aśḡ*, it does not follow by any means that this *Aśḡ* is the legendary *Aśḡ*. Incidentally I may point out that *Aśḡ* is a good Brevardian name, though I cannot see any way to bring it into the inscription.

objectionable; moreover, there is no letter at all like a. Mr. John Allen, who has carefully studied the ink-impressions with me, suggests that instead of *ya* we should read *ya*, and this suggestion is fully justified by the ink-impressions; but, unfortunately for Mr. Jagarua, the *ya* which we would read is the *ya* of the Kuchana period. The next two letters are apparently *ā* and *ā* (I find no trace of a vowel *i* in the latter); and I may note that the *ā* is more like the type of Mathura (Bühler, II, col. 80) than that of any very early record. The next is probably *va*, and the next seems to be *va*. Then comes a character which is very instructive, and written with a short straight *v* with the ascenders placed directly over the shaft of the *v*, exactly as in the Kuchana type, and like nothing else early records. Lastly comes a *d*, which may or may not have a vowel *i*; the ink-impression is not decisive on the point.

To sum up the result of this epigraphic study, the name of *Aja* does not appear in Inscription A; the inscription B. has indeed characters which may without violence be read as *Vapa Nandi*, a name which might be assimilated as *Vapa-Nandi* but as the Punican say nothing at all about a king called *Vapa-Nandi*. Mr. Jagarua's effort to identify his *Vapa-Nandi* with the Punican *Nandivachana* must be pronounced a failure; and, the type of writing points to a Mauryan date at the earliest and probably is considerably later.

(III)

Mr. Jagarua's reply.

I am indebted to Dr. V. Smith for having studied the question himself and for having brought it to the notice of European scholars. His opinion as matters of Hindu art and history is entitled to greatest weight, and I am fortunate to have his endorsement of my results on the study of the two inscriptions. I am only a little dissatisfied to Dr. Berners as well who

* I understood the *v* as a normal *v*, but the ink-impression shows that this is quite unjustified.

SALUBHARA INSCRIPTIONS (PLATE I)

THESE INSCRIPTIONS WERE DISCOVERED IN THE TEMPLE OF SALUBHARA
IN THE DISTRICT OF SALUBHARA, IN THE PROVINCE OF SALUBHARA
IN THE YEAR 1850, BY THE REVEREND FATHER, F. J. SALUBHARA, S. J.



FIG. 1. SALUBHARA INSCRIPTIONS, 1850, 1851.

FIG. 2. SALUBHARA INSCRIPTIONS, 1850, 1851.



FIG. 3. SALUBHARA INSCRIPTIONS, 1850, 1851.

FIG. 4. SALUBHARA INSCRIPTIONS, 1850, 1851.

has given so much consideration to the inscriptions and their interpolations. His objections afford an opportunity for going still deeper into the problems and they help us in arriving at, or at any rate near, the final solution. I have reconsidered the whole question and the letters on the statues with reference to the criticisms of Dr. Barnett. I shall essay to answer his objections and shall also mention new facts bearing on the question which I have come across in consequence of or during the controversy.

I must also thank here Mahamahopadhyaya Harprasad Shastri who gave several hours to the study of the letters on the stone. It is only an immediate scrutiny of the inscriptions which can give a sure basis for conclusions. No paper-reproduction can bring to show light the difficult lettering in all its detail. Here the testimony of a student of Mr. Shastri's position is invaluable as scholars abroad cannot physically see his documents.

We have now the further advantage of the testimony of Mr. Green, the stone expert. To bring about finality in the controversy as to the actual forms of the disputed letters and the interrelation between the letters and the drooping lines, I thought of obtaining the independent judgment of a technical expert in stone who would examine the letters on mere inscriptions and trace their forms according to his technical knowledge of the chief. For this purpose I sought the help of Messrs. Martin & Co., of Calcutta, the well-known firm of architects and engineers, who very kindly asked Mr. F. Green, their expert in charge of the construction of the Victoria Memorial, to examine the lines and letters on the statues and give his professional opinion. The result of his examination is published along with his drawings of the letters in controversy. (See Note below.) I also give a tracing of the letters, in full size, kindly prepared by Mr. Biber Swamy, Superintending Engineer, Poona, from paper casts of the inscriptions.

Dr. Barnett questions my assertion that the finishing touch to the statue was given after the letters had been engraved.

Mr. Green's examination proves conclusively that the letters on the statue of Aja had been drawn and cut before the drapery lines. This is abundantly clear even in the relief impressions published in the *Journal* & c., for instance, the broken character of the lines between the subjects of *ai* and the next letter. Where the drapery lines coincided with the lettering the latter portion has been interrupted and consequently bears a lower level than the drapery line and other portions of the letters. In the other inscription, as that of *Vaśa Nandi*, the lines and the lettering were chiselled out together. This is proved by the fact that the drapery line No. 4 (counted from the bottom) seems against the curved body of the first letter, slope absolutely just against it.¹ In this mood also both deep and shallow levels in the same letters occur, the deep portions being the result of the method of distinguishing letter-faces from drapery lines. The head of the line over the head of letters *e* and *t* and its higher altitude over the vertical bar of *S* indicate the contemporary existence of the letters and their influence on the drawing and cutting of the drapery lines just above the letters. The result is that both inscriptions are contemporary with the construction of the statue. The letters are not placed "upon" the lines (as Dr. Barnett says), they hang from the line. Placing of letters on lines is the system of European scripts, not Indian. "The accurate way in which the letters are placed upon the cross-lines" leads, if to say, to the conclusion that these lines were accurately placed below the lettering.

The decision of this point has a tremendous bearing on the question of the age of the script. No responsible scholar can allege that these statues are post-Mauryan. The dated technique of Ashoka and Śunga monuments and the wide difference between the two will compel any art critic to place our statue before the Śunga times. The same will be the case

¹ Epigraphologist, Mr. Samuel Beal states that the line is continued after a hook on the other side of the curve which gives to the arm of the letter the appearance of an arrow-head. He has therefore omitted the lower part of its arrow-head in the drawing (compare his drawing with Mr. Wilson's drawing at plate 3). The head of the (second) line is chiselled in very nice.

vision of an unbiased observer who has observed both the Parkman and the Paine images. The Parkman is the only monument which comes in line with the art and the material of the Paine image and the Parkman bears an inscription in a known script which has been declared to be Marryan (Vogel, *Catalogue of Mathura Museum*, p. 83. "It has an inscription in Maurya Brahmi"). It is thus impossible to assign a post-Marryan age to the statue as statue. Hence Dr. Sprenner, and I understand also Sir J. Marshall, are of decided opinion that the statues are old (Marryan)¹. Epigraphists thus have to face the fact that the statues are at any rate not later than the Marryan period. At the same time, their preconceived ideas led them to think that the script of the inscriptions is late. They as well as archaeologists are consequently forced to postulate that the statues are old but the inscriptions later and subsequent. But the real situation is that if the statues are not post-Marryan the inscriptions cannot be post-Marryan, both being simultaneous and contemporary in execution. The statues bearing the "Marryan palih" and "Marryan set" have inscriptions which are not of the Marryan script. Then what is their script?

Before entering into the question of paligraphy I would take up "the serious Epigraphic difficulties" proposed by Dr. Banerthi. He objects to the change of *j* into *ri* [Acho-m-ji] in an inscription coming from Paine as the change is a Pallval characteristic and the Pallval country is the North-Western Frontier (Grierson, *E.D.M.O.*, 46, 49; *J.B.A.S.*, 1914, 111). I had admitted

¹ Professor Feather writes:—"As to the Paine statue, I have an inclination to telling you that I would, from the point of view of their artistic treatment, ascribe them to the second century A.D. and from the analogy of the Parkman and Maunab images, identify them as *yakshas*. Now come to my third. I share the common opinion prevailing on the subject." At the same time the learned Professor writes that the judgment is open to revision:—"Of course, I admit that this judgment, as every learned man, is open to revision." I agree with the Professor that before we concluded as all our ideas about the history of Indian Art positive good should come forward. This good can be afforded in my humble opinion, by a reliance of the history but to the complete satisfaction of epigraphists.

All these are sporadic changes side by side with unchanged conservatism. Inscriptions prove that nowhere was the strict or ideal Prakrit of the grammarians spoken. Prakrit or vulgar tongue had its own way when Prakrit languages were alive. There are forms and changes in the very names of kings and rulers in official records which followed the convenience of the tongue of populace or idiosyncrasy of individual scribes and engravers and not the philological laws of grammarians. Here grammarians' phonetics was at a discount may be seen from *Śrīkṣānti-sūtra* and *Sahasīmālika*, one appearing in a note relative to metal and the other on coins, the original of the two being one and the same *Śrīkṣānti-sūtra*; *Udāphara*, *Udāphara*, *Udāphara*, all on the coins of the same *Udāphara*, *Mahānaga Jaga* and *Mahānaga Jaga* (O.H. 174) on coins of the same time and people are examples of popular phonetics of the tongue as against the phonetics of books. *Rāmāyaṇa* prove that it was the language which ruled in every-day life and not *Vaṃśavali* and *Pīṭhāli*. In these circumstances it is enough for my position to show from literature and stone that changes of *y* into *r* and *s* into *p* did take place in Magadha and that the so-called *Pīṭhālika* were not confined to the Pāṇḍya country.

The remaining linguistic question raised by Dr. Banerji is about the nominative-endings in *Ślopa*, *ślopa* and *ślopaślopa*. This situation he considers "apparently impossible". He seems to think that every case-ending should have followed either what the grammarians call the *ślopa-ślopaślopa* ending or the Magadhi ending. To see that the situation far from being impossible, is very common, take instances in *Asoka's* inscriptions: "*Śatigupta Kāśāpata Tumbakamaślopaślopa*" at Kāśi, "*śatigupta śatigupta*" at Shāhānagarī (*śatigupta śatigupta* at Girnar), at Shāhānagarī in section X "*śatigupta śatigupta*" and then "*śatigupta śatigupta*" in section XI (*śatigupta śatigupta* at Girnar), *śatigupta śatigupta* at Girnar is the beginning of section XII while a few words after *śatigupta* and throughout *śatigupta*

and endings in *e* in other cases; again at *Shilohaguchi*, XIII has १ " *Apāpata Paravaya* nama ... *Āśikendary* " where out of the five Uruk names *Paravaya* ends in *e* (against the Ōmar *Paravaya*) while two end in *a*. In view of the evidence of actual usage from some old notices of Pākrit grammar to the contrary have to be given up, and it cannot be alleged that the coexistence of a masculine *e*-ending form side by side with *a*-ending forms is manifestly impossible.

Aśa, *Aśa*, or *Aśa* will, however, sometimes and the same name and the occurrence of any will support me equally. It is important that Dr. Barnett takes *Aśa* as a proper name. I fail to see why it should be against my hypothesis if it is conceded (for the sake of argument) that *Aśa* was the real name (and *Devadatta* if you like) and *Āśa* a masculinisation. How does it affect the question of identification? To call the Pāraśa *Āśa* "legendary" is to beg the whole question is issue. When the vast majority of the names of Pāraśa list, from Hīmalaya downwards, have been confirmed by inscriptions, solar or independent literature, when names both before and after *Āśa* are proved and have had to be treated as historical, how can we pick out one and call it legendary?

It would be convenient here to discuss Dr. Barnett's assertion that the Pāraśa say nothing about a king called Varsa Nandī. Now let us review the whole situation. He admits that there is Nandī Vardhana in the Pāraśa. There were two royal houses in the time of the Buddha and Mañj-Vim with reference to whose royal years the Buddhists and Jains date the great events in their early ecclesiastical history. These were the Māgadhā and the Avanti (Ujjāin) houses. The Kingdom of Avanti lasted, from Pradyota (a contemporary of the Buddha and Hīmalaya) to Āśaka or Āśa¹ and Nandī Vardhana, for 188 or 189 years (Pargiter pp. 18, 19; J.H.O.S.E., I, 106.) From Hīmalaya up to the end of Udayi 111 years, and that of his successor Mañjvardhana the Āśaka, 151 years passed in the Māgadhā line according to the text of Mr. Pargiter (pp. 83, 68).

¹ Pargiter, P.T., p. 18.

This is then evident that the two Nandi-Vardhans are undoubtedly contemporaries and that the Avanti dynasty came to an end in the time of Śikhaṇḍa Nandi-Vardhana. Ājaya of Magadha and Nandi-Vardhana, son of Āja, of Avanti. The Nandi-Vardhana of the Avanti list, apart from being a contemporary of the Nandi-Vardhana of Magadha, is expressly called a Śikhaṇḍa (*Śikha-ripāt* and *śikṣayāśāstra* (V. Br., VI. 22. 1. 10, II.) *Śikha-ripāt śikṣayāśāstra śikṣayāśāstra śikṣayāśāstra*) in one of the two oldest manuscripts of the *Maurya Purāṇa* which is dated 1729 (Wilson 21, Bodleian). In view of the reading of the *Jaina* Manuscript of the *Yajur*, characterized by Mr. Pargiter as "very valuable" "Ājayaśāstra śikṣayāśāstra" it will be Ājaya who is called a Śikhaṇḍa by the *Maurya* manuscript. In either case, Nandi Vardhana being called the son of the former, if one is a Śikhaṇḍa both have to be taken as Śikhaṇḍas. This is confirmed by the readings of other manuscripts and by the *Jaina* records. The latter place after Pāṇḍya and 60 years the Nanda of Magadha. Pāṇḍya was the son of Pāṇḍya according to the *Purāṇa* which place one more generation (Vikṣayāśāstra) before Āja; and Pāṇḍya and Vikṣayāśāstra have 14 years between them (Pargiter, p. 88).¹ In other words, the *Jaina* count the Magadha rule in Avanti with or in the reign of the Āja of the *Purāṇa*.² It should be remembered that the *Purāṇa* here deal with the Pāṇḍya family in the Magadha list as a sort of footnote. For a long time they had been lost amongst and mistaken for Magadha kings. I believe it was in the "Śikhaṇḍa Chronology" published in the first number of this *Journal* and in Mr. Pargiter's Text that the Avanti list was separated for the first time. In separating them I saw and pointed out the identity of the two Nandi-Vardhanas.

| Purāṇa: | | Jaina: | |
|--------------------|---|--------|-------------------|
| Pāṇḍya | } | 54 | Śikha, 60 years. |
| Pāṇḍya, 14. | | | |
| Vikṣayāśāstra, 12. | | | |
| Āja | } | | Nanda of Magadha. |
| Nandi-Vardhana | | | |

¹ Āja is given 12 years in Avanti by the *Purāṇa*.

The point is that the Śīmaṇḍas and the Pradyotas are read together. Now the Jones manuscript of the *Vāya* (called *s Vāya* by Pargiter) which is a unique document giving a very early version of the *Vāya*, *siesta tke drenti dreyo with Ajaka* (Pargiter, p. 185), it does not give Nandivardhana and the total, and it reads immediately the line which is given by Mr. Pargiter as the first line of the text (the Śīmaṇḍa) list: *śaśat śaśat pātā drentory śīmaṇḍa śīmaṇḍa*; "having destroyed completely their glory he will be a Śīmaṇḍa". I make this line exactly as I had proposed it to be read as an enumeration (J.B.O.R.S., I, 185). Several manuscripts of the *Maṇḍa* (Pargiter's K) as well omit Nandivardhana and read the line quoted above after Ajaka (such as Śāryaka). The result is that some manuscripts close the Aśvati kingdom with Ajaka, calling him a Śīmaṇḍa and even with his son Nandivardhana calling him a Śīmaṇḍa. Then again, the Asiatic Society edition of the *Vāya* and all other editions of that Porage unanimously call the son of Ajaka of Aśvati Vartī Vardhana¹. It is then definite that Vartī Vardhana, son of Ajaka or Aja, and Nandī Vardhana, son of Ajaka or Aja, denote one and the same king. At the same time no one would suggest that Vartī can be a misreading for Nandī. Vartī and Nandī have therefore to be taken as double designations, either one as a Virūḍa and the other a personal name, or both as personal names.

Now let us take up the consideration of *Fardhana*. The Porage alternatively call Nandī Vardhana, "Nanda Vardhana". The Hitzigraha MS. dated 1697 reads *Nanda*. Mr. Pargiter describes this manuscript as "generally accurate" and "very valuable". The Porage giving 100 years earlier to the "Nanda", count from Nandivardhana, like the Jains (J.B.O.R.S., V, 18). The Jain author Hemachandra calls the successor of Udayi "Nanda" only. He does not use

¹ Only two manuscripts of unknown date and by the editor of the Asiatic Society edition and one by that of the Leiden edition give different readings *Pradī* and *śaśat* which are manifestly very awkward.

Varbhana. *Varbhana* is, again, used by the Purnani writers (Vishnu) in case of *Asoka* (*Asokavardhana*) while we know from inscriptions that *Varbhana* was no part of his name. It has therefore to be taken as a title in the Purnani writers. In view of the "Nandi" and "Nandini" of the Jains and Puranas and the use of *Varbhana* with *Asoka*, I am enabled to treat *Varbhana* as a title used by the Puranas to distinguish Nandi from other Nandins. We thus get Nandi and Varti alone as names, personal and Virula, or alternative.

In face of these facts, is the existence of the indisputable Varti *Varbhana* and Nandi *Varbhana* in denoting one and the same king, as it be said that "the Puranas say nothing at all about a king called Varta¹ Nandi" and that "Mr. Jayanmal's effort to identify his Varta Nandi with Purnani Nandivarbhana must be pronounced a failure"²? We find *Sisuka* (or *Sisumangala*) in the Puranas but not the other name *Sisumangala*, while before his sister we have "*Sisuka Sisumangala*" (Udler, A.S.W.I. 4.) Does any one doubt the identification of *Sisuka Sisumangala* with the first king of the Purnani Andhras? In the Puranas we have only *Asoka* in the Ceylon chronicle "*Priyadarsina*," and in inscriptions discovered up to this time, *Asoka* or *Priyadarsina*. Will the identification be disallowed if we found in future *Asoka Priyadarsi* together? The Oriss MSS. have only either the Virula as personal name of king and now in inscriptions both are found together. Are the identifications of these kings to be denied?

For my share it would have been enough to find *Aja* or *Ajina* and his son Nandi-*Varbhana* even in the *Avanti* list with the express mention about one of them to be a *Sisumangala*. In addition to that we have the identification confirmed by the *Sisumangala* list. Nandi *Varbhana* in the *Mugadha* list is the successor of

¹ Compare also the use of *Varbhana* joined as in *Varbhana*.

² Varta may equally represent Varta or Vanti.

³ Also Dr. Benoit's as he holds that it may be read without dispute as Varta Nandi.

Udayi, according to all the Purāṇas except the Bhāgavata. The latter gives in place of Udayi "Ajaya" and calls Nandīśākhā "Ajaya". To any one who knows Sanskrit Grammar it is evident that a patronymic Ajaya can only be formed from *Aja* and therefore the preceding form "Ajaya" is to be regarded as corrupt. This was clear to Dr. Barnett and he has not questioned the Purāṇic existence of Aja alleged by me. This seems to have been clear to Mr. Faglier also in giving the reading Ajaya and, "lat 'ae and 28", and note 28 runs: "Ek (the Bhāgavata) gives Nā (Nandīśākhā) the patronymic Ajaya. It has been however questioned in the pages of the *Jahan Ashiquary* (1910, page 25) and as the objection has the tacit support of Mr. Bhattacharya, the Benarès knowing office, I may be permitted a short digression to deal with it. It has been boldly asserted there that Aja does not exist in the *Sikṣasā* list * as one may easily himself by looking at Faglier's *Purāṇa Tārī*, pages 10—12". The objector derives "Ajaya" from "Ajaya" viz. "ajaya", for both in his opinion mean "invisible". But a derivative suffix is not attached on the meaning but to the word itself. Similarly it is elementary enough that *śākhā* suffixes are added to a noun and not to a *Vishaya* as *ajaya* is (verbal adjectives). The form Ajaya here in the *Sikṣasā* and *Aja* and Ajaka is the Avesti but prove beyond controversy that the other name of Udayi is to be read as *Aja* or *Ajaka* in place of the reading "Ajaya".

The question of readings and palaeography may be discussed now. Dr. Barnett reads the *Aja* inscription as *Ajaya Acha* *śākhā*, against my reading *Bhaja Acha* *śākhā*. The essential difference is about the last word, and there too it is narrowed down to the last two letters and the vowel mark in the first one. In the second inscription he agrees with my reading *Fala Nandī* and agrees with me in treating it as a proper name. *Acha* also, as I have pointed out already, he regards as a proper name. I have therefore

* Substitution is by me.

good fortune of having his endorsement as to the names, the most material portions of the inscriptions. If I have succeeded in establishing the equation between Acha and Aja and the existence of Varta Nandi in the Puranas the material controversy is over. I shall, however, try by my further submissions to satisfy Dr. Barnett on the remaining and minor differences as well.

The difference with regard to the reading of the second inscription is limited to the first two letters only which he reads as *y* and I as *aqa*, rather *ada*. There is no substantial difference, in the reading of the next two letters; his *khate* against my *khate* (in either case the meaning meaning the same).

Dr. Barnett: *yakhate Vaja Nandi.*

Jayaval : Sakkhate Vaja Nandi.

We must take into consideration the fact that the differing vowels "*yakhate*" and "*sakkhate*" give no meaning. Dr. Barnett has admitted this in dealing with the letter and he offers no interpretation of *yakhate* as well*. On the other hand my interpretation of the disputed passages as I read them, *yakhate*'s, "king of the land", "*sakkhate*", "*sakkhate*", "of complete empire") has not been challenged.

To take the question of vowel marks. The inscriptions are most difficult to reproduce in impression, and I selected only those copies for reproduction which gave the majority of letters in good relief. I could get no single copy in which all the letters had come out satisfactorily. On receipt of Dr. Barnett's criticism I have re-examined the stone and I find the top line deeper on the old and old which indubitably indicates the *o*-marks. These are the only two *o*-marks in the inscription and in both cases they are

* The attempt to make any other *akhate* (Jaffar Indragy, 1884, page 22) need not be considered. Any one knowing Sanskrit and Pali will not believe it was first meant.

advised by Dr. Barnett as the artist estimates the form of a straight horizontal line and inclines to get submerged in the dingy line. But in fact the marks are very, very clear on the stone.

Since the above was written Mr. Green, the expert, and Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri have examined the inscriptions. Both gentlemen feel the inscriptions on the top of the letters decisive. Further, the letters of the inscription have been kindly traced for us by Mr. Baban Sengupta, Superintending Engineer, Eastern Circle, Bihar and Orissa, from paper-cut impressions. The eye-copies prepared by Mr. Shastri and Mr. Green and the tracing by Mr. Baban Sengupta would convince Dr. Barnett of the existence of the vowel marks in question. With *e*-mark the *ai* is to be read as *ai* and the third letter as *ai*śat, "land", not *ai*śat, the meaningless. In the other inscription as to the vowel mark on *i*, Mr. Shastri says that it has to be read either as *e* or *i* (not *e* as I had proposed) and I accept this and read it with him as *i*śat. The mark on the top of *ai* is disregarded by the Mahamahopadhyaya as I had done, for the reason that it is not overarched with the brush. The variation from *ai*śat to *ai*śat, though it does not affect the meaning, is important for the sake of accuracy, and I thank Dr. Barnett for being its indirect cause.

The next letter after *ai*śat, Dr. Barnett takes to be *e* against my *ai*. He says that it is remarkably like *e* of the second century *s.c.* and refers to Mathura and Hathigumpha. I am reproducing these *e*'s side by side with the letter in question and an undiluted *e* from our present inscriptions. The *e*'s which Dr. Barnett cites differ essentially from our letter. Then, if the letter with slightly curved sides and a long neck be as the other states is *e*, and we are unanimous that it is *e*, then the triangle without any such neck can hardly be the same letter in the script of the inscriptions in question. If we had no example of *e* in the inscriptions Dr. Barnett's proposal would have stood on an arguable basis. But when we have in the inscription an undoubted *e*, it would be inadvisable to read the dis-

puted letter as *v*. The only other possible reading of the letter is *dh* as it is evident from a comparison with known *dh*'s which I am reproducing. And it is *dh* which gives a meaning not *v*. Taking it as a *dh*-form, if we compare it with the Kaldi and Hattigirda forms we at once see its old character. The latter two with curvier tendency are the same form only topography, a phenomenon well known in the development of early Kaldas. The right form (as opposed to the Kaldi head-down) descends in the archaic or "retrograde" scripts of Western India, e.g. at Nanaghat (190 B.C., see reproduction) and Shalib (Bühler A.R.W.D., IV, 18) and earlier at Gilasa (Asoka) (see the reproduced letter).

As to the reading of the first two letters of the other inscription, the top horizontal bar to the right-hand diagram (see the drawings by Mr. Shastri and Mr. Green and the tracing from the impression by Mr. Helen Swamy) excludes conclusively the possibility of taking the left-hand figure (my *s*) as the right-hand part of a Keshava *y*. It can only be a *ś* or *p*, rather *ś* than *p*, as corrected by Mr. Shastri. The initial part thus left to itself cannot be any letter but a *ś*, either prenasal or dental (see comparison with *ś*'s in the plate). The descending oblique stroke below the first vertical bar of *ś*, thus separating it from the previous letter. The proximity of the two letters may be compared with that in *śś* in the other inscription where two letters come even in closer contact. Then also the two letters *śś* would, if taken as one letter, cover double the area of any single letter in the inscription, and would make the reading (as *śś*'s) unreasonable. *ś* in any case is out of question in view of the top horizontal bar to the two parallel verticals.

To come to palaeography, I submit that Dr. Barnett is wrong in calling our *dh* a late type. Dr. Barnett has followed Bühler's method and opinion in determining the age of letters. But Bühler himself¹ regards this type of *dh*, what I described as a *dh* with

¹ Reference see to the illustration of Bühler's Indian Palaeography by Dr. Fleet 12, 65.

perpendicular line produced independently of the lower body, as the most archaic. My characterization of the *ai* probably would have been better understood if I had cited the example of the Bhastigraha *ai* or employed the popular description of Bühler—"the tailed *ai*" (I. P. p. 13). The *ai* of our inscription is found at Bhastigraha in the Devirgi variety of Brahmi. About this *ai* Bühler says there "three signs *e* (*ai*), *j* and *i*,, are more archaic than those of the Aśoka edicts and of the Hun coins". Out of these three letters, the *e* referred to by Bühler occurs also, as I shall presently show, on one of our statues; *j* is unfortunately absent. Now the conclusion which is derived by Bühler is that "the Devirgi alphabet separated from the main stock of the Brahmi long before the Hun coins were struck, at the latest fifth century A. D." I also regard this *ai* as oldest but as the theory that greater effort and larger number of archaic points higher antiquity is evolution, our *ai* requiring greater stroke and effort, the Aśoka *ai* being written in practically one flourish without lifting off the pen.

The statues were found here by Patna, not in the Devirgi country of Helwa Peshawar. If here at Patna we find in a script the Devirgi Brahmi letters on which Bühler bases his theory, can any one who accepts Bühler's theory resist the conclusion that the Patna script must be dated "at the latest in the fifth century A. D.", that is, the period before which the separation between the Southern and Northern Brahmi took place? And it is the fifth century A. D. date that I claim for the statues and their script. To give visual demonstration I am reproducing the *ai* of the statues and *ai*'s from Bhastigraha. I reproduce the southern *e* also along with our *e*. The southern *e* with crescent has been read by Bühler as *ah*. As he has shown, it cannot be the dental *a*, for a separate sign for it is found all along in the Bhastigraha inscriptions. It can be therefore either the palatal or lingual *a*. The palatal occurs on the script at Bhastigraha but the script of that, as Bühler admits, is "ordinary Brahmi" (p. 13). Bühler could have read

his each and every Devanāgarī *ṣ* occurring at Hastināpuri as *ṣ* in place of *ṣ* without the least phonetic objection and without having the necessity of saying that "it can only be decided whether *ṣ* (= *ṣ*) has been put erroneously for *ṣ* as often in the Jaina inscriptions from Mathura." (p. 38). In any case the point is not material for our controversy, for *ṣ* and *ṣ* and *ṣ* are simultaneously employed in Pratihara inscriptions, and as Bühler says the signs for the three differed very little in shape and were evidently derived and differentiated from one original. Now the shape of what I read as *ṣ* should be compared with the Devanāgarī *ṣ* with the constant (*ṣ* = *ṣ*). It should be also compared with *ṣ* of ordinary Pratihara along with the proposed forest of decay (development) shown in dotted lines in the plate. In placing the history of the letter I cite also two letters from the same pottery characters amongst which a number of Pratihara letters have been identified by Mr. Yasuni.¹ The same letters not only supply us with a prototype for our *ṣ* but also for our *ṣ*. This letter Dr. Barnett has read with me as *ṣ* and he has not declared it to be later. But nowhere else in the whole range of Indian epigraphy is *ṣ* found without the vertical bar. Still, I say it is a *ṣ*, and it is accepted. If I show that it occurs in specimens older—older by centuries than Aśoka's—and nowhere else later, it ought to be also accepted that we have in the letter another sure proof of an ancient date. Nobody will question the date of the calms. The granitic forms of the *ṣ* signs, shown to me in situ by Dr. Hunt of Benaresabad, are so old that they crackle to touch. Likewise if you put your finger on the pottery having the writing you can bite a hole and put your finger through. Again, for those who believe in Bühler's theory of a Semitic origin of Pratihara I cite a Semitic *ṣ* which again is an exact parallel of one statue *ṣ*. Whatever the origin of Pratihara and *ṣ* writing, our *ṣ* form is far, far older than Aśoka, judged either from the *ṣ* type or the Semitic prototype. It goes

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Highways and Works Department, 1917*, p. 18; *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1917, p. 11.

back to the period prior to the differentiation of the Northern and Southern scripts of Deśanā. In the north the vertical bar evolved to the right and in the south to the left, very probably in the way as shown in the diagram on the plate attached.

We have thus two letters in the Aja inscription about the reading of which there is no controversy (34 and 35) which are unquestionably pre-Mauryan and removed from Aśoka by centuries. There is the third letter *e* which if my reading is accepted, and my reading alone gives a meaning, will have also to be admitted as pre-Mauryan.

Dr. Bernier does not suggest that our *ch* is late, nor does he dissent to my assertion about *k*, *t*, *v* and *d*, in the other inscription being old. In fact the *v* here, even according to Bühler's theory, is the oldest form [see his *v* reproduced in the plate]. It is oldest also on the basis of my theory, circular and oval forms requiring less effort, came later than the straight base *v*. The *d*-form of our inscription is seldom, if ever, found again after Aśoka (Indic). About the form of *h* Dr. Bernier is mistaken when he says that *h* is like the type of Mathura (180—500 A.D.), for the Mathura letter is a triangle while ours is four-sided [see Mr. Green's diagram and other drawings], and the body is to the left. Such a *h* was unknown to Indian epigraphy up to this time. Thus the position about the second inscription is that four out of the undisputed letters are unquestionably early and about one further (34) it is impossible to allege a late date for want of a second example. In the first inscription, similarly leaving out the disputed two letters, at least four letters out of the remaining six are such which Dr. Bernier would not call late on his own theory. As to the remaining letters I shall presently show that their forms do go to a period beyond Aśoka. But even on the basis of admitted old letters the question arises: the statues in age being on the evidence of the polish and the Pancham. Image at least Mauryan and the script being pre-Mauryan, what is the script in question? It may be equally earlier than Aśoka or later than Aśoka. For

as we have records from every part of the country in favour for the period later than *As'oka*, and to none of the post-Mauryan scripts the *satava* script corresponds,—no script is found where the "tiled" *at* and *karle* *śā*, the character *a* and the four-sided *śā* and the *four*-angled *d* occur together or occur at all—the *satava* script must necessarily be pre-*As'oka*.

That before *Asoka's* time scripts other than *As'oka* were in existence is proved by positive evidence. That is the evidence of the coins of the *Akhamanians* current in North-Western India, the *Persian script*. They are the only documents about whose pre-*As'oka* date there is not the least controversy. The *Persian empire* was destroyed in 330 B.C. by *Alexander* and their rule in India had come to an end much earlier, very probably about 480 B.C., in the time of *Darius II* who lost the greater portion of the existing *Persian* documents. *Khosro* writing about 415-335 B.C. in *Persia* speaks of the "*Indian King*" and *Alexander* found the *Farjah* independent. The *Persian coins* in India then would be dated between 500 B.C. and 480 B.C., or at the latest about 330 B.C. Now what do they prove? They completely destroy the theory of *Bühler* in respect of his supposed pre-*As'oka* development of *Brāhmi* letters. According to his theory the *script* letters ought to have been post-*As'oka* by centuries. But the coins are admittedly at least a century older than *As'oka*. *Bühler* had to concede "that the shape of the characters on the *Persian script* makes it probable that even its (that of *Maurya* alphabet) more advanced forms existed before the end of the *Akhamanian* rule in India 330 B.C." (I.P. 35). *Bühler* had also to face the occurrence of numerous forms in *Asoka* inscriptions what on his hypothesis—that *Brāhmi* originated from a *Semitic* script of *Keven* (west between 580 B.C. and 560 B.C.)—he would treat as later by centuries ("Kushana, Mathura, Andhra, Abhra," I. P., 7). In view of these facts he said about the "apparently or really advanced" types and "modern looking signs from *Asoka's* *script*" that—

The existence of so many local varieties, and of so very numerous *various* forms, proves to any man that writing had had a long history in *Asoka's*

time, and that the alphabet was then in a state of transition. The use of the various forms together with *As'oka* can very possibly be explained by the inscription that several, partly more archaic and partly more advanced alphabets were simultaneously used during the third century B.C., and that the writers, intending or seeking to use literary forms, through negligence mixed them with the more familiar *As'oka* letters, as has also happened not rarely in later inscriptions. It is possible to affirm in favour of this view the above-mentioned tradition of the *Deviśāloka*, according to which a larger number of alphabets was in use about 300 B.C. The conjecture would become a certainty, if it could be shown that the word *As'oka*, 'the white (As'oka?)', which has been added to the *As'oka* VI in order to explain the inscriptions above the middle column, was indeed at the same time in the preceding edicts. The two characters of *As'oka* show the type of the Kharosthi and Gupta inscriptions. Though it is difficult to understand that, in later times anybody should have dared to add the explanation of the word, keeping exactly the line of the edict, the possibility of the assumption that this was actually done, is not altogether excluded.

Then again,

The forms of the *As'oka* and *Devanāgarī*, used during the first 500 years, are known at present only from inscriptions on stone, copper-plates, coins, seals and stamps, and there is only one instance of the use of *As'oka* from the third or second century B.C. The view of the development of the characters during this period is, therefore, not complete. For, in accordance with the results of all palaeographic research, the epigraphic alphabets are merely more or less than those used in daily life, as the very natural desire to employ monumental forms prevents the adoption of modern letters, and as, by the use of *As'oka*, the imitation of older specimens not rarely makes the stylistic attempts. The numerous of numerous examples found together with very certain ones, both in the *As'oka* edicts and also in later inscriptions, clearly prove that Indian writing imitates no exception to the general rule.

In other words, the *As'oka* letters do not furnish a sure criterion to determine the age of the letters actually in use in and before *As'oka*'s time; in Indian and daily life they were later in form; they were later in form even during the Persian rule, a century (if not more) before *As'oka*'s time; and there were other scripts current side by side with *As'oka* and pre-*As'oka* scripts. (This admission is quite enough for my purposes. When I show, that there are letters in our inscriptions of which in one, if not in two, we the "trifled" *As'oka* and the

SASUNAKA INSCRIPTIONS

PLATE I

Reference



- 1=Shaka letter, 2=other form of a according to Shukler (I F, II)
 3=Maheva (I B-T), 4=Maheva (I B-T)
 5=Shaka, 6=Maheva (I B-T), 7=Kata (I B-T)
 8=Shaka (II B), 9=Shaka (A S W L, K, L, II, I)
 10=Shaka (A S W L, W, II), 11=Shaka (I B-T)
 12, 13=Shaka (I B), according to H M, H F, H G
 14=Kata (I B-T), 15=Shaka (I B-T)
 16=Shaka (I B-T), 17=Shaka (I B-T)
 18=Shaka (I B-T), 19=Shaka (I B-T)
 20=Shaka (I B-T), 21=Shaka (I B-T)
 22=Shaka (I B-T), 23=Shaka (I B-T)
 24=Shaka (I B-T), 25=Shaka (I B-T)
 26=Shaka (I B-T), 27=Shaka (I B-T)
 28=Shaka (I B-T), 29=Shaka (I B-T)
 30=Shaka (I B-T), 31=Shaka (I B-T)
 32=Shaka (I B-T), 33=Shaka (I B-T)
 34=Shaka (I B-T), 35=Shaka (I B-T)
 36=Shaka (I B-T), 37=Shaka (I B-T)
 38=Shaka (I B-T), 39=Shaka (I B-T)
 40=Shaka (I B-T), 41=Shaka (I B-T)
 42=Shaka (I B-T), 43=Shaka (I B-T)
 44=Shaka (I B-T), 45=Shaka (I B-T)
 46=Shaka (I B-T), 47=Shaka (I B-T)
 48=Shaka (I B-T), 49=Shaka (I B-T)

cross-bar *c*, we have a definite test agreed upon as proving a period before *As'oka's* time; when I also notice the like of which have not been found in script *post-As'oka's* but about the reading of which there is no controversy (*ak*, *ak*), and two of which are traced back to negligible remains (*ai*, *e*) ; when I further show that there are inscriptions of two kings on the statues and that these inscriptions are contemporary with the statues ; when I also show that statues were as a matter of fact given to deceased kings and that statues were given soon after their deaths (*Shilas* corroborated by the *Kushana* and *Saka* *valams* inscribed statues), the occurrence of one or two "modern looking" (as quote the word of *Bühler*) letters will not make the statues or inscriptions modern, especially when it is ascertained that "modern looking" letters are found in older records. But I show presently that even the modern looking letter (*ai*) is traced back to decidedly much older—*As'oka's* and *pre-As'oka's* *inscriptions*.

On the checklist set up by *Bühler* to judge of the age of scripts, I may be allowed to quote the latest opinion expressed in the article on "Alphabet" in the last (present) edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by an expert on Sanskrit writings who takes an outsider's point of view on *Bühler's* theory—

Indeed, on the other hand, drawn from literary evidence that writing was in common use in India in the fifth, possibly in the sixth century B.C. The oldest alphabet must have been the *Devanāgarī*, which is found all over India. But he rejects Taylor's derivation of this alphabet from the *Sabaean* script, and contends that it is borrowed from the *North Semitic*. To the peculiarity of the *Devanāgarī* he attributes the main characteristics, viz. (i) letters made as upright as possible, and with few exceptions equal in height, (ii) the majority of the letters constructed of vertical lines, with appendages stretched mostly at the foot, occasionally at the foot and at the top, or (rarely) in the middle, but never at the top alone, (iii) at the top of the shafts the side of vertical lines, thus frequently straight horizontal lines, all lines rarely curve on the point of angles opening downwards, and quite exceptionally in the gradual case, two lines rising upwards. A remarkable feature of the alphabet is that the letters are long from end to end stand upon a line, a characteristic which, as *Bühler* notes

belongs even to the most ancient manuscripts and to the Achaemenidians of the third century B. C. When these specially Indian features have been allowed for, Dillman concludes that the alphabet borrowed from the Semitic alphabet can be carried back to the forms of the Phoenician and Etruscan alphabets. The proof rests with each symbol separately, as might be expected of the author; it is both scholarly and ingenious, but it must be admitted, not very convincing.¹ Further evidence as to the early history of this alphabet must be discovered before we can definitely decide what its origin may be. That such evidence will be forthcoming there is little doubt.

Now, as before in the case of the Piyakara vase, when that fresh evidence has come forward, instead of its questioning Dillman's theory it is itself questioned on the ground that it does not accord with that theory. And that is done in face of the shakiness of Dillman's hypothesis which is practically self-condemned when he has to admit that a hundred years (if not more) before Achaemen's time letters of what he regards as late characteristics were current. The result is that we are still moving in the dark of illusion created by Dillman even when the new evidence offers a clue and shows a way out of the labyrinth.

Let me now take one letter which Dr. Barnett declares to be late. The "s of our inscriptions is not of an early type; it is more like the s which appears about 150 B.C." Now do we know that it is not of an early type? The reply I think would be that Dillman would say so. According to him the cursive s is later in evolution than angular ones and the angular one is nearer his date of 500 B.C. Known facts militate against Dr. Barnett's assertion that our letter is not of the early type. If I can show the so-called cursive form is Achaemen's s's, it cannot be said that it is a late type for a letter-form found in Achaemen's times that it did exist in Achaemen's times, and no one is entitled to say that it did not exist before. I give the cursive form of s, of not one, but three varieties, from Achaemen's writings both in the North and South, which show its common and established use. I also give the letters referred to by Dr. Barnett. The difference between Achaemen's cursive s's and those referred to by Dr. Barnett

¹ *Palaeography* 2, 200.

that the *Ḍ* of *Ḍāḥa* without a body, which is the form in the majority, is admittedly much later than the *Ḍ* with a body below. "Owing to the use of ink the circle at the foot was converted into a dot" (Bühler, I. P. p. 12). Even the dot disappears in *Ḍāḥa*'s letters. It is not possible to derive a *Ḍ* with a triangular base from the bare vertical of *Ḍāḥa*'s *Ḍ*, much less it is possible to derive a quadrilateral as our letter has got, from either a circle, dot or straight line. The triangular *Ḍ* of Mallabala must be a descendant of an older original which we have now got in our letter. Further, a circular base can be derived from a quadrilateral, but not vice versa. In discussing the *ḍ* in the *Nāṣik* inscriptions Dr. Barnett lays stress upon the letter - "then occurs a character which is very instructive, *ḍ* written with a short stumpy *ḍ* with the *ḍ* above placed directly over the shaft of the *ḍ* exactly as in the Kāpiya type, and like nothing else on early records". Dr. Barnett is mistaken as to the form of *ḍ*. Also his assertion that *ḍ* above is placed directly over the shaft of a letter in Kāpiya times and not earlier is incorrect. See for instance the position of the *ḍ* above in *Ḍāḥa*'s *ḍ*. Writing on *Ḍāḥa*'s letters Bühler also says "really the *ḍ* above immediately stands as is generally the case in later times, above the letter after which it is pronounced". On the question of a stumpy *ḍ* also we should note what Bühler himself says "though the shortened letters were by no means unknown to the writers of *Ḍāḥa* scripts, their constant use for epigraphic documents is, to judge from the available materials,¹ a characteristic of the types of the second and subsequent centuries" (I. P. p. 32). The quotations I give only go to show the incorrectness of the argument, and that the notion of Bühler is disregarded; really the points do not arise here. For in our inscription the *ḍ* above is to the right, removed from the bar of the *ḍ*, that is, coming after it as it is pronounced. Nor is our *ḍ* stumpy, what Dr. Barnett has taken to be the *ḍ* above is really the top of the bar.² The whole letter has

¹ Delusionary is by me.

² See the initial impression already published. It is a long, unbroken vertical.

been carved with a point owing to the curve form of the base, and the top having been cut with a point falsely gives the impression of being dismembered and being an *acantha*. The real *acantha* such is deeply and closely locked to the right.

To sum up there is really no here letter in the inscriptions. The evidence is the other way. It should be noticed that our script shows peculiarities of both the Dravida Brahmi and Western Brahmi. For the former see *dh, ch, t*. For the real type of Western Brahmi we have not to depend on Ullmar which is really the Imperial script. Its early forms are to be traced back from the *Pala* and *Andhra* types, admitted by Bühler to be "retrograde" or *arabais* [p. 42.] Compare our *s* and *y* with the Nask letter in Bühler's chart in the "Buddhist Cave Temples;" our *dh* with the Kolhapur and Naneghat letters, and our *th* with the Western *dh* with its body to the left instead of to the right. The junction of these two widely apart types of letters, Dravida and Western, at *Pala* in these states presupposes a period before which, and a script from which, these systems branched off and differentiated. The *Pala* script is the only script which makes the wide variation and brings us nearer the parent script. Such being the case, it is far from being unreasonable to carry the *Pala* script some two centuries before *Aśoka*.

I should like to say a few words on the *Yaksha* (theory of art critics. We should not forget that our statues are from a group of three statues of the same type¹ which were found together in the same place inside the ruins of a house or temple. We know from *Hérib* that royal statues were buried in a *śvedastala* or *valhalla*,

¹ J.E.O.S., Vol. V, 189. "Ennius had removed the third figure from the site of the other two." "When I saw the two statues in the new Indian Museum in Calcutta, I then remembered that a broken statue of a Yaksha had been standing at Agnecora, just outside the City of Patna, . . . as I actually had a rough sketch of this figure in my notebook, I was able to complete it on the spot with the two full figures in the Museum, and this comparison at once showed that the broken figure at Agnecora corresponded in attitude, in the position of hands and in every particular of dress with the two others."—Cunningham, A.S.I., 15, 1.

and the same word (*devatala*) is found on the statue of the Kaulika in group found at Mathura. That several of these *devatalas* or dynastic galleries did exist at Pataliputra is proved from the evidence supplied by the author of the *Flavius* who describes Pataliputra as he saw it and alludes to the "several *devatalas*" as a chief feature of the capital.¹ According to the Puranas there were only five kings of the Watsusha dynasty at Pataliputra, the rest having flourished at Rajagriha. The last of these was superseded by the usurper Mahapadma and probably got no statue. If the Patna statues are Yakshas, as hitherto believed, we will have to procure a gallery of Yakshas, a thing unknown to art and literature. If we analyse the history of the Yaksha theory, we find that it stands on the quiver-ends of mistake, belief, and reiterated assertion. Cunningham misread the beginnings of these two inscriptions as *yaksha*, one of which, as every one is agreed, has not even the faintest resemblance to the word *yaksha*. The form of the first two letters of the other inscription as now disclosed renders the reading *yaksha* impossible in the other as well. In Cunningham's time the ancient practice of making statues of kings was absolutely unknown. He could think of nothing but semi-divine yakshas in connection with the statues, as the statues are not divine, but temporal,—kings. When the Parkham statue was discovered it was declared to be a yaksha because, evidently, it resembled the Patna images; Cunningham even alleged that the Parkham also bore a *chauri*, as in his opinion the Patna came from it, while both shoulders of the Parkham disprove the existence of a *chauri*.² When now I say that the Patna statues, the base of the Yaksha-head of the Parkham, are not yakshas, the Parkham is quoted against me as a positive proof of the yaksha theory. It is proving the unknown from the unknown and moving in a vicious circle. The inscription of the Parkham completely

¹ मृ. विजयनगर मन्त्रालय (विजयनगर मन्त्रालय) निम्नम् । अतिविशालम् ।
अतिविशालम् ।
Like most old Indian, devatala is given in a double meaning.

² Dr. Vogel admits that the Parkham could not have borne a *chauri*—*Catalogue of Indian Museum*, page 111.

disproves its alleged Yaksha-hood, but then it will be said, inscription or no inscription, it is a yaksha; it resembles the Patna image. The prejudice is so great that an art critic has declared that even if my inscriptions read the names of kings as I propose and if they are not contemporary with the statues, he will argue that the statues are yakshas, that only when their yaksha identity was forgotten the royal names were inscribed! ¹ He would treat the statues even as pre-Murayan but decline to accept in face of even positive reading that they are royal statues! This art sacerdotalism, this tenacity of belief, based on facts which do not exist, is hard to combat. Every lost cause has its adherents and I do not grade the yakshas there. The determination of the question must rest on the reading of the inscriptions coupled with common sense that if the inscriptions bear royal names the statues are royal, and if the statues are royal they must go back to the period of those whom they represent.

I should add here that Hani Jimripuraji, the Jain worth and scholar, tells me that both lay disciples and ascetics carried *rajasthana* or chariot amongst the Jains in ancient times.

Before leaving the subject I would mention Mr. Green's opinion that the brown hue which envelopes the statues at present is the result of the action of fire. The original colour of the stone is evident from a recent break in the pedestal of Nandi. Mr. Green identifies the stone as Mirapur (as formerly alleged by me), and says that fire produces the brown colour as Mirapur which the statues at present bear. Mr. Green is positive that "there is no doubt that the statues have been subject to fire." This brings to mind the burnt state of the

¹ Kirtani, E. is suggested by Dr. Soper and Mr. Dameson, the inscriptions are of later date than the statues themselves (Mr. Dameson asserts that one of the inscriptions cannot be older than 1600 A.D.). Then it is quite possible to argue that after the dates of the Yaksha-*vidya* people forget the identity of the images, and, some time about the first century A.D. wrongly began to call them "Ajivika's" and "Yaksha Statues" and the consequence if they do split out the names of those 60 images Kings, as is obviously suggested by Mr. Soper, may well have been mistaken appellations given in later times to images which represent the Yakshas suggested above." — Dr. O. C. Ganguly *Madira Review*, Dacca, 1911

remains at Kumbhar dug out by Dr. Spower. The find spot of the statue was somewhere near Kumbhar, as Sir Edward Galt has pointed out.

The polish, in Mr. Green's opinion, was a great preservative, and was produced by an external application.

Mr. Green's note.

Figures with head.—The lines of drapery are not continuous being broken against the lettering where the numbers of the lettering obstruct the direction they might be expected to take. It follows that the drapery and the lettering were done simultaneously as the letters and the drapery are so closely interwoven that in simultaneous execution it is difficult to suggest which were marked out or cut first.

The portion below the last two letters is weathered off; the deficiency of the drapery flow has therefore become indistinct. There is no doubt that the letters originally did exist there.

Figures without head.—One line of drapery shows a stop against the lettering, the remainder appear to be continuous.

P. GREEN,

*Manager, Stone and Marble Works,
Victoria Memorial, Calcutta.*

(IV)

Argument on the Pre-Mauryan Date of the Statues

By Mr. ARUN SAA, B.A. (Cant.), Lecturer in Ancient Art, Calcutta University.

The Faïca Statues in the Calcutta Museum seem to have occasioned a good deal of confusion, and I must hasten to throw so much light as possible on a very difficult problem.

Let us take the Statue marked P.2 in the Calcutta Museum, the thinner of the two Faïca figures, with head intact. It has a marvellously broad head with hair on the right and left temples and also behind. The crown seems to be light. The hairiness here is probably not an indication of a head-dress, for head-dresses in early times invariably contained a design and the most design seems to pervade even in *Singa* statues. The eyes

are wide and long. The cheeks are enormously puffy. The ear ornaments are heavy. The head rises from a *prodomos-neck*, which is enriched by a large double chin, looking like a thick layer of fat growing round the neck. As for the body, it gives us an impression of immense strength, not without its necessary concomitant of fat which gradually increases from the chest to the abdomen. The right arm is missing. So is the forearm of the left hand. Round the arm is an armband, which is crudely represented. It is delineated by deep incisions into the stone widening somewhat at the edges. It is not a successful representation of jewelry which is made to fit round a well-shaped arm. Round the neck is a band with knobs on the flat, and is tied up behind like a ribbon. Another ornament passes across the body transversely.

There is gentle modelling all over the body but it is still a body which has eluded the sculptor. This will be quite clear to all who compare this body with the body and the arm of P. 1. There is a head just below the neck which may be meant to represent an undercloth. (It is probably not the termination of a diaphanous robe round the body, as it does not pass round.) The lower part of the body is round and heavy but not skilfully modelled. The undulations of the muscles of the thighs have baffled the artist. This is to be compared with the other figure which shows contours of a muscular thigh peeping from under the robe to perfection. The drapery is a cloth with a linear design tied up into various folds. The foot and the lowest portion of the drapery has been broken. It will be observed that an attempt has been made to represent a cloth clinging to the body but not with great success. The drapery still remains stiff and tends to fall straight. The representation has been made by a convention which has been only half-developed, i. e., by a tendency of those lines on the design to meet. The figure has an upper garment pleated and which falls straight at the back. It will be observed that no allowance is made for the contours of the body.

Secondly the back generally has not been modelled with as much care and precision as the front. The representation of the

texture is quite unnecessary and seems to point to the conclusion that it is a better figure and not a weaker one. The cloth over this part of the body is crinkled, far crinkled than that of the other figure P.1.

P.1. The next figure is that of a broader and a stronger man, of lesser fullness and greater strength. The head is missing. The body is modelled with far greater precision. Observe the forearm and all the undulations of the flesh will be noticed. The swell of the body from the chest to the abdomen is more skilled and shows a greater command of the material. The artist has successfully depicted a power of massive strength but with a certain amount of sublimity. The costumes are different, the one used the next is of essentially different design. The smock is of the drapery variety, and is delineated with far greater precision than in the other figure. There is the most transparent command round the body. The line below the neck may be meant to represent the termination of a transparent coat draping the body. More probably it is the undercloth. The drapery round the lower part of the figure shows a great advance in technique. The folds are more numerous and more realistic. The lines are more fluid and less stiff. The same convention is employed to represent drapery closely clinging to the body and following all its contours. It clings far more closely than in the first figure, and the Dionysian effect becomes clear to all who look at the figure from a distance. The advance is most apparent. This is also seen in details, thus by examination of the treatment of the cloth over the testes and round about the groin. The artist has become a master of his material and he employs the same conventions.

A comparison of these two figures leads to the conclusion that the figure P.1 is later than the figure P.2. The drapery alone would prove it. Where the artist in the first figure has only partially succeeded, it has been a triumph with the second. Again the sculptor bestows greater thought and care upon the back of the figure. The modelling—the representation of the contours is much more apparent in the one than in the other.

I am not called upon to pronounce an opinion upon the identification of the statues. But the sculptors seem to have dealt upon personal characteristics—upon the massive strength of both, but one is stouter and fatter. It seems to me that an inference is made upon the "petites" and not on the "Tites".

Now we come to the most important question whether they are (1) Mauryan, (2) Post-Mauryan, (3) Pre-Mauryan. The Mauryan statues are decadent. A definition of decadence would take us too far into the misty region of the Aesthetic. But a decadence is only possible when the artist has become an accomplished master of his technique, when with the material at hand he can mould the figure to his will. At this stage he leans in constructive facility what he gains in technical quality. He begins to elaborate, thus in representing the body he begins to pay more particular attention to minute muscles and tendons, to particular attitudes, to the smallest details.

Let us recall the Mauryan lion in the Calcutta Museum; it is very characteristic of Mauryan decadence that the tendon round the leg should be delineated, that the spine should fall in scalloped rings, that the paws should be represented with its full complement of talons and claws. Compare this once with the later Patna figure (Pl. I). Observe the crudity of the legs; you will search the body in vain for a single muscle. A decadent in dealing with the figure of a stout person would have got endless possibilities out of the folds of flesh. The Mauryan has in fact delineated the pucker of flesh round about the nose. The Patna artists simply represent their ideas by a general modelling; their mentality has not yet begun to grapple with small details.

Let us take the figure under the Sarnath capital. Take for bull, or the horse, or the elephant. We find an exaggeration of all these attributes over again—the enormous hump of the back, its wrinkles, its exaggerated curvature. In these Patna statues we easily ascertain that the mentality of the sculptor was not decadent, that his absorption in the general appearance involved a sacrifice of all detail, that his technique

could not cope with a representation of a slender or a portlanded muscle. Take the hair for instance, it is not in the conventional clusters of the Mauryan lions (which give you the idea of the use of a brush).

Therefore the greater degree of conventionalism in the Mauryan figures points to its later date. Mauryan sculpture shows an exaggeration of the realism found in the Patala statues. I quite realise the danger that beset a comparison of a figure of a man with that of an animal. But the conclusion is fairly obvious. The adaptation of the frontal aspect with the lateral is complete and perfect in Mauryan, but in the Patala statues it seems only on the path towards the attainment of the desired end. The combination of three lines without any incoherency is a feat which the carvers of the two figures could not have achieved, for the adaptation of eye front to one side seems almost to be beyond their powers—and particularly so in the earlier stages. Is not this the refreshing freshness of the statues as compared with the exaggerated refinement of the Mauryan point inevitably to this conclusion. I say still that the bull on the frieze of the Sarnath capital presents a three-fourths front. This implies a long period of development.

Not are these statues post-Mauryan. If we take the figures generally considered to be of the Sunga period, we find a large body of crystallised convention. Let us take our examples from Bharhut and Sanchi, assuming the date on which regard to their post-Mauryan date for the purposes of argument. The body is generalised; the female form is a gentle swell, the male a matter of uniform breadth and depth,—the eyes, the nose, the nose, the ornaments, the head-dresses, the drapery are stereotyped. The artists have already analysed form and have realised generalised outlines—more details have been sunk in these generalisations. There is thus never a representation of a stout waist, nor of a swelling abdomen as in the pre-Mauryan. Every characteristic is stereotyped and universal—the technique has been mastered. These artists have become adepts in the representation of the curves of bodies

modeled under the folds of their cloths. Moreover is the particular characteristic of a figure given, they are all merged in the universal. This is neither the purpose nor the intent of pre-Mingyuan sculpture.

The point too is an insoluble argument.¹

At this stage I think it is necessary to observe that I think the Dongnan statue of a female (also in the Calcutta Museum) pre-Mingyuan is dated in fact earlier than either of the two Patai statues.

Its coarser size and crudity and the lesser amount attending the solution of technical problems prove it to be earlier than the Patai figure. The face is hardly discernible; the ear ornaments are haggard clumsy (though of a design which persists). The neckpiece is similarly clumsy but the artist has failed to make allowance for the curves of the neckpiece as it falls over the undulating surface of the breasts. This is more obvious in the lower view, the attempt has been made but not with as much

¹ It is difficult for me to compare the Patai statue with

(1) The Bodhisattva of Grotto.

(2) The Buddha of Kailash.

I have only seen photographic prints of these two figures, and conclusions based on such evidence would be doubtful. I therefore refrain from such unusual claims.

(1) In the Bodhisattva the fold of cloth under the chin, well also below the chest, produces a strong sensation from the Patai figure. The treatment of the drapery (as seen both bodily and behind the undulating line under the chest) seems to be a graphic portrayal of the folds of a garment. The entire sculpture was not familiar with these methods. Lastly, the second chest alone would indicate a strong sense of anatomical form.

(2) The Buddha statue too is a different bodily type, the eyes are drawn by deep straight lines not almost closed as in the Patai figure. There are two heads, small chest and the whole series of ornaments differs. The undulations of the body have full but rather hollowed growth—of a collar and even seem to be added from the side figure; in the Patai statue it is not at all apparent at all and well defined. The treatment of the garment at the belt is drawn in a simple way—on the side of the skirt where the heading of one knee toward is a new feature.

I speak tentatively with regard to these figures for the reasons mentioned above.

effect as is possible in the *Patna* figures. The breasts are exaggerated and the pucker of flesh is denoted by three lines, but not in the *Sunga* manner by which time it has become a mere design. An attempt is made to represent the folds in the drapery; here again it is less evolved than the *Patna* statues. The cloth falls more heavily and follows the contour of the body more vaguely. There is little, if any, modelling of the body under her attire—we feel rather than perceive thick heavy thighs; in front the drapery takes the same curve as in the *Sunga* period, but it lacks the skilful treatment of the latter when it had become a finished design. The knee joints are obviously too large. We see the early attempts of a sculptor in every detail. The hip ornaments prove the same theory. The rings increase in size in front, and have a slight downward inclination but on the reverse side they are arranged in straight lines—the artist has entirely forgotten the contour and the curve of the female figure is either to adapt the straight to those curves. There is not the slightest allowance made for any undulation. It will be remembered there is some adjustment in the *Patna* figures. The drapery terminates in a pointed manner about the knees. The treatment of the hair is unique; it is tied up into two tails behind and the head-dress is surprisingly coarse and thick, looking almost like a wig. The adaptation of the frontal to the lateral aspect is also clumsy; it forms a slight angle.

Lastly, I come to the *girl*, which has hitherto been designated *Nayana* (this is also in the Calcutta Museum). This exhibits all the characteristics of a "memory picture". If the spectator looks at it frontally he gets no idea that it has a body behind it, both the head and the legs appear to convey this impression. When viewed from the side the spectator similarly thinks it is the side and side alone and not the front which has been portrayed. In other words, there is not the slightest adjustment of the frontal to the lateral aspect. It may not be out of place to remind the reader that Ferguson also with a new flash of artistic talent observed the artistic quality

of the plants carved on the abacus. He likened them to Assyria. He realized its artlessness. A comparison with the typical Assyrian columns will immediately emphasize the distinction. The base of the bull in relief on the abacus of the Sarrath column as in the typical Assyrian museum; the artist is an absolute master of his material. The bull in relief with his senses and his crumpled flesh is self-conscious—the other is not, it is naive. The Sarrath bull presents a three-faceted front; in the other there is no adaptation of the front to the side.

In conclusion, archaeologists who had once observed that in India every species and style of art was only seen in its fully developed form can hardly base on their statement now. The industry of the European Archaeologists has unearthed a vast quantity of material which inspires these new theories.



VI.—Another Salsunaka Statue (cir. 515 B.C.)

By E. F. JAYASMAL.

MR. BRISLIDAN BHATTACHARYA'S note in the *Journal* drew my attention to the Parkham statue. I went and inspected it in the Mathura Museum. Cunningham says that it bore evidence of "high polish" when he found it. The statue being now in a dark place, I could not ascertain whether or not there are traces of the "high polish," a term employed by Cunningham to denote what is now called the "Mauryan polish." But Cunningham is always right in these matters and we may trust his observation. After its discovery at the village of Parkham it remained there for a long time after Cunningham and has been removed to the Mathura Museum only in recent years.

It bears an inscription round the statue on the pedestal. I examined it carefully and came to the conclusion that there was no trace of a yajña and that the whole inscription is readable except one letter. The left side which was exposed to light gave me the reading—

Kṛiṣṭa Śrīśaṅga
Māga[]ana -

* Kṛiṣṭa Śrīśaṅga—of the Mageshva!

This calls me pay His Honour Sir Edward Galt to kindly obtain impressions and casts of the inscription for library study. In response to His Honour's request Sir Hermann Beller had casts and impressions prepared by Mr. Dhillon. I have now utilized them. Their facsimiles will be published in the next number. In the meantime I give my reading of the inscription—

(Right) *nīkhaṅga-śaṅi* 41 (a) ' *anīva rāṅi* (a) (i)

(Front) symbols for 5, 30 (10), 18 (8), *Paṭṭap* 8 (10) (10)

(Left) *Kṛiṣṭa-śrīśaṅga* *Māga* (10) (10) *anīva*

The meaning is—

"The Unwed-away one (dead), the descendant of Šetel, the Ajtānāra (young-lord) king, Š'el Kuṣka Šovai-naga, king of the Hapallian people."

"Š'el (years) ; Š (months) " (reign period ?).

The *j* is of the Hattipōka variety with the middle stroke down-wards and the peculiar notion of *s* as in Hattipōka *pe* ; the *a* of Ajtānāra is very big ; *k* is with two curves placed one upon another by a vertical, facing the right, as in the Eran onto ; the *p* has one leg very short like the Phauldian. In *ovai* there is a long vertical. The *v* in *ovai* is like the Archa mason's *vi*. One *v*-mark is to the left, and one *s* from the left.

Š'ovai, the title of Hattianus, is repeated. The king's both names, Ajtānāra and Kuṣka, appear, as well as the dynastic name. Šetel is the original and Šovai substituted. Some Paracas give his reign as 35 years. The statue will be dated circ. 615 B.C., Ajtānāra having died c. 618 a.c.



VII.—Sisunaga Statues.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E.

Since the publication of Mr. Jayram's paper on these statues, a controversy is raging amongst scholars both in India and in Europe. Some are agreeing with Mr. Jayram, while some opposing him vehemently. The reason is not far to seek. The prevailing notion is that Indian art derived its inspiration from Persia. But if these statues are really what Mr. Jayram says, the prevailing theory will receive a rude shock; and no one is going to give up his pet theory without a struggle. A time was when Sanskrit was regarded as a forgery of the Brahmanes. But that idea has passed away. Indian arts, literature and plastic, were at one time regarded as having their origin in the contact of Greece with India. That idea has also passed away. The present idea is that India owes much of her civilisation to Persia. The Achaemenid sculptures are said to have received their style and technique from Persian artists. There is a point fairly ground for suggesting this view as the Maurya Empire came into existence after the fall of the Persian Empire. The discovery of the Nigrohva vase with an inscription in a script similar to that of Achaemenid and with a polish superior to that on the sculptures of Achaemenid threw doubts on the Persian theory. But the adherents of that theory tried to explain away a single incident like that as an anomaly. Some thought that the vase with its inscription belonged to Artaban's time, he was put in into an old shape, perhaps at the time of its repair, and so forth. Up to recent times every people, respectable scholars, thought that India was ever divided into small principalities and could never boast of an All-India Empire. The discovery of the Achaemenid all over India from Mathuragiri

to Ganjam and from Kohi in the Himalayas to Suklaopara in Mysore, made the position of those scholars untenable. While orientalists, both here and in Europe, said that the history of the Indian Empire could not go beyond the Mauryas, Mr. James Hargreaves steadily but slowly working through the Pustaka has constructed a dynamic history of India in the Kaliyuga, and is now working through the Vedas for a similar history beyond the Kaliyuga, and other scholars are, according to their light, investing this skeleton of history with flesh and blood. And no one has worked in this line with greater enthusiasm than Mr. Jagannath. Receiving his instructions from some of the best historians at Oxford, Mr. Jagannath has made the best use of his opportunities to pry deep into the history of his country. He has in fact, constructed a detailed history of the P'ra'seniga period, that is the period between Habbha and Chandra Gupta. The P'ra'seniga history, which was a new spring of mines, is now replete with all sorts of human interests as his articles in the JOURNAL show. He has taken great pains to decipher the long Habbha-gupta inscription because it threw a good deal of light on the Pre-Mauryan days. He has studied the Chinese published by M.M. Gnapuli S'atal for the same reason. He has studied the Arthashastra and innumerable other works, having the same object in view. In fact he has left no stone unturned to unravel the past of India of that period. Therefore when he published his paper on the P'ra'seniga statue, I thought this was another contribution of his towards the elucidation of that period of history. But the criticisms evoked by his paper made me pause and examine his materials. Some of his critics thought that the characters of the inscription belong to the Kshatras period, that is, the first century A.D. or the first century A.C. But at a glance I could see that his critics were not justified because in those centuries Magadha was under the domination of the Andhans, a southern people of short stature, with fat belly and square face. But the statue was more like usually tall, slenderly

belly, with round faces and limbs. The nosebeavers. Later on, I was on another account studying the dress of ancient Indians. That dress appears to have consisted of *Vimbi* or two pieces of cloth, upper and lower (*dhali* and *alidali*), a pair of *apansali* or shoes, *ambhala*, *upies* or head-dress, a pair of ear ornaments, a *niha* or necklace. This is the dress given in the *As'vakyam* *Ukya* *stotra* to a Brahmana who had finished his education and become a householder. But a very different dress is given in the *Vratya* in *Katya* *yana's* *Smṛti* *stotra* (Chapter XXII) while treating of the *Vediyudha*, a ceremony for the purpose of purifying people who had no *Śivira*. The dress consisted of one (1) *Flax*, the lower garment only; (2) *Upies* or head-dress put on in a slanting fashion (*Tiryakadhihamanjanam*). Going to the statues the other day, I found they were clad in two pieces of cloth only, the upper part of the body from below waist being left bare. The working skillfully led me to study the dress more closely both of the statues and the *Vratya*, as given in *Katya* *yana*. (3) *Dot*. Almost or two strings; the *Vratya*-dress was tied in the waist by two strings. And, in my agreeable surprise, I found that the lower garment of the statues is fastened by two strings, the more prominent one going round the waist and being tied with a knot in front of it the two ends of which are hanging over the garment. But the other is not so prominent. I looked more carefully and found that on the left there is another string; hanging in two folds over the garment. The use of this string is not quite apparent to me, but it is there, and there is not the least doubt about it. It is only in these and nowhere else that *fas* *dhara* appear. (4) The ear ornaments are also there. But *Katya* *yana* call these ornaments *hargak*. They are very prominent and cover nearly the whole of the ears. In shape, size and workmanship they resemble *Dhanda*, which were much in use in my boyhood among women of the respectable classes in Bengal. (5) "*Upansali*" or a pair of shoes: only one statue has its legs, while three of the others are broken and mangled. The statues are bare-footed.

(6) "Dzika Bzjatsky" or necklace made of silver. There is dzika in the statues. But it is difficult to say whether it is gold or silver.
 (7) "Jyaboudel aparyany dziaual", a kind of ornamental bow without the string. The hands of the statues are however all broken.
 (8) "Aglas" or two pieces of sheep's fur or leather with sides undressed. These are not found on the statues unless one thinks that the band or scarf which goes round the upper part of the body and hangs behind down to the ankles, represents them. We should recall to mind that our sacred cotton threads really represent original furs or leathers. On Vaitya kings the original ajlas might have been converted into pajlas.

In any case the statues have most of the articles of dress as given by Kaitryana to the Vritya. Kaitryana says another thing which is to the point. He says that the dress of the Vritya is to be given, at the preliminary ceremony, to a "Magadha-dzetya Bzhuszta-bandha" or a so-called Bzhuszta belonging to the country of Magadha. So it is apparent that in writing on Vaitya-stones, Kaitryana had the Vrityas of Magadha prominently before his mind. In the *Pratya*, too, the 818 knigs are mentioned as "Kaitir-bandha" (inferior or so-called Kaitryas. Kaitir-bandha and Vaityas themselves seem to name one and the same thing. The Vaityas are by no means an object of contempt for they are very highly spoken of in the *Atharvaveda*. In fact, one entire chapter in poems is devoted to the glorification of the Vaityas; and the position of that Veda during the *Witwaga* period was not settled, as even in the early *Manu* period. Kaitrya in the opening chapter of his *Arthashastra* speaks of the three Vedas only, *Sama*, *Yaj*, and *Yajna*, and then adds "Atharvaveda-*vedaj*", "Bhishma-*vedaj* *vedaj*", thus placing the *Atharva-veda* along with the *Bhishma*.

All these facts point to the conclusion that the Vrityas or the Kaitir-bandha of Magadha were in the pre-Mauryan period making a strenuous effort to be admitted into the fold of the Brahmanic four castes. They had succeeded so far as to get a recognition, however shaky, of the Veda which

severed them, and they, perhaps, got Kṛtyāṇa to include a chapter on their purification in his Ś'manta sūtra¹.

If the date of the Kṛtyāṇa of the Ś'manta sūtra could be fixed with any precision, that would go a great way to fix the date of the statues, dressed as they are in the same fashion as his Vṛṭṭya. But the precise date of this Kṛtyāṇa is very difficult to ascertain, as there are so many great writers of that name. Yet there are some facts which will tend to show that he belonged to about the Ś'iv'onḍa period. It is now well known that Paṇḍita and his wife Kṛtyāṇa were both executed and revivified at Pāṇḍitpura in the early fourth or in the fifth century a.d. The Kṛtyāṇa of the Ś'manta sūtra must have belonged to an earlier period. For comprehensive works in any branch of knowledge come after the Ś'manta sūtra which belong to particular schools or Ś'ikṣas of the Vaidya.

There is a good deal of controversy about the characters and the language of the inscriptions on the back of the statues. To my mind they are not official records at all, in the sense of official or religious inscriptions. The latter are inscribed in a prominent place, usually in front of a statue. But these the letters are on the back and so high that without effort or use one reach them. I, therefore, think they are the sculptor's notes put down

¹ [The Yājñas were an Aryan people, speaking "a somewhat Prakritic form of speech," they did not conform to the Brahmanic rules of ritual and life; some Yājñas accepted Vedic mode of life and Vedic priests, and for their conversion or purification the sūtra lay down rules; these sūtras were observed to composition instead of Brahmanic. They had wives or Ś'ikṣas (Kath., V. 1, 2, 248-252). The Sanskritisation proposed by Mr. Kṛṣṇa explains why the Ś'ikṣas were followers of Arjuna (Ś'ikṣa and Jñā). The Ś'ikṣas were non-Brahmanic Ś'ikṣas. The Sanskritisation is further confirmed by the fact that Kṛṣṇa begins with the Ś'ikṣas - "Pāṇḍita" and according to the Ś'ikṣas sūtra the Ś'ikṣas mentioned the sūtras of the schools of the Ś'ikṣas. According to the Ś'ikṣas they observed the rules of the Ś'ikṣas, who was an Aryan. This also explains the Vṛṭṭya rank of the Ś'ikṣas. The Pāṇḍita designation "Ś'ikṣas" has been given to the Ś'ikṣas is fully explained now. Formerly I had thought that they were an Aryan because of their Ś'ikṣas and Jñāna connection. The reference is to their Yājñas, non-Vedic, original status. They were Aryan from the Kṛtyāṇa of the Ś'ikṣa is better and more of life. Probably they represented the later Brahmanic whose history has been known by Jñāna (Ś'ikṣa and Jñāna).—E. P. J.]

there is that the stones at his lapidary may not be confounded with other stones he was cutting, and that they were raised when the stone was just taking the shape of a statue, long before the finishing stroke was given. The scarf going round the upper half of the body and reaching the feet lapped across much later and its furrows and ridges had to be so marked as not to detach the letters put there for the sculptor's own use. This would explain why in one place the ridge had to be discontinued for a small space to preserve the integrity of a letter and in another place the furrow is to be made deeper, so as not to disrupt the incision made for the letter.

In that case the language and the lettering of the sculptor's inscription need not detain us long. It is the work of an ill-educated stonemason, not meant for the general public, but best for scholars.

Mr. Jayasval's theory has been very strongly criticised from the point of view of art. The art critic thinks that these two statues together with the Parkham statue and the Magi-khadra statue of Naives are all statues of Yakṣas. But the Magi-khadra statue is a statue of much later date, and *Maṇi-khadra* is then called *Śhagarta* an epithet which can never be applied to a Yakṣa, unless we stretch very much the meaning of the word *Śhagarta*. From the way *Maṇi-khadra* is spoken of in the inscription on the statue he seems to be the Bodhisattva *Maṇi-khadra* of the Buddhists. The analogy of the Magi-khadra statue cannot be applied in any case to the statues in question which widely differ from it in age and technique. When I was at Mathura five years ago, the Honorary Curator, Rai Basia Krishna Bahadur told me, pointing to the Parkham statue, that that was another statue of Kāṣhī. I looked into the inscription and read the first three letters as *Kaṣhī*. I knew that Kāṣhī was called *Kaṣhī*; for instance, *Mātraka*, the part, writes a letter to Kāṣhī and calls it the *Kaṣhīkhatra*. If that be a statue of Kāṣhī, the Yakṣa theory cannot apply to it and the analogy of the Parkham statue falls to the ground. But it is possible that there might be a vowel mark below K and it may be *Kaṣhī*,

the *Jaka* name of Ajitas' stone, the contemporary of Balika and the King of Magadha. In that case that would be another Vichnaga statue and not the statue of a *Yaksa*.

Mr. A. Cunningham was full of the *Yaksa* theory and so he read the word *yaksha* on the statue. We do not find these letters there. The statue is consequently not *yaksha*. The text will involve the authority of Mahāyātri, one of the five *Bhāṣas* of the later Buddhists, which cannot go beyond the thirteenth century A.D. and is unreliable. It can be of no use on the point in controversy. In the Bharat gallery of the Indian Museum, in which the statue in question are kept, are to be found bas-reliefs undoubtedly of *yaksha* with their names prominently inscribed; for instance in the gate pillar, there is a bas-relief of "Kopila *Yakha*." At the north-western corner on a pillar there is the bas-relief of Suprabha *Yakha*, with smaller ones as that of Kapiya *yakha*—with two *śakra* *pāṇi*, and *śakti* between the legs (unlike the usual position of the *Paśupa* statues), and other peculiar articles of dress—in each case differing widely from the statue in question. Yet strongly enough, the statue in question are confounded with those of *yaksha*.

I am inclined to think that Mr. Jayasval is absolutely right in his reading of the last four letters of the inscription on statue B namely *Vaṣa Nandi*. But I do not accept his interpretation, "*Vaṣa Nandi*" or "*Varti Nandi*". I would go straight and say it is *Vṛṣṭya Nandi*, *vṛṣṭya* being used in good sense. It is easy to convert "*vṛṣṭya*" into "*vaiṣṭya*" or "*vaiṣa*". The sculptor would thus remember that this stone is to form the statue of *Nandi* and that his dress should be that of a *Vṛṣṭya* King. The "*Vama*" or "*Varti*" of the Purāṇas and "*Vṛṣṭya*," may be connected words, for Mr. Pargiter says that the portion of the Purāṇas dealing with history was originally written in Prakrit and "*Vṛṣṭya*" may have got the form "*vartta*" or "*vartti*" therefore.

The *Pratibā Nṛpaṇa*, published by Mahamahopādhyāya Gopāli Nāth in the Tālvandran Sanskrit series in 1915, gives for the first time an idea that in ancient times statues used to

be erected in honor of dead persons. The places where these used to be kept were called *Darakuhis*, Houses of Grief. But the word seems to have been confined to three symbolical monasteries. There is a Haegei word "Do-eh" a Polynesian form of "Darakuhis" which however means single temples and tall temples. Royal cemeteries are still common in Haegeia. They are called "chahia" or umbrellas. They are erected not only to Haege but to other Haegeians dead and more specially to people dying in war. Royal monasteries are set apart of one place. Sometimes they contain statues, sometimes they do not. There are royal monasteries at Jaypur, Jodhpur and other Haegeian capitals. But the place containing the royal chahia at Haege is called "Devagadh," perhaps a hint reminiscence of the ancient "Darakuhis". At this place there are statues of all the Haegei Rajas, from the fourth downwards. There is another Devagadh for the first Haegei Raja near the walled town. The present Devagadh is six miles distant from the former one. The statues are worshipped every day and food is offered to them. The priests are *Sikhadipi Brahmins*¹. They do not object to partaking the food offered to the dead Rajas. The kings who died in war are presented on horseback, where in a standing posture. Their Ranas who succeeded several years of their husbands are also represented as standing by their husbands.

The Priestest Nephew monastery is a few miles away from Ajodhya in the west, quietly situated in the midst of a grove, in "a tall building" "higher than a palm". It has no gate, so that any one may come at pleasure and pay respects to their departed rulers without having to there and without being pushed aside by any porters. The scene is the domain owned with a *Saithan* or whitewasher clearing the cemetery off pines, marking the walls with mud-plaster and chimes, hanging festoons over the doors and spreading sand all over the place. After doing all these decorations the whitewasher retires. These decorations are necessary as a new visitor has come to the

¹ Called *Brahmins*.

cemetery, namely, that of Raja Dadaratha, recently dead; and the Rishi and ministers are coming to see it.

Bharata was sent for immediately after the death of Dadaratha from Kāśīpadoha and he is just approaching Ayodhyā. He is suddenly stopped near the Devadāra by a messenger from the Uppathyayya, who told him to wait a while or 45 minutes as the time was not auspicious. Bharata stops, asks the charioters to let the horses take rest and looks about for a place to rest in himself. He sees the grove near the Devadāra and approaches it, enters the building and sees four statues. They are not images of gods but appear to be statues of men of exquisite workmanship. It appeared to him strange that the Kula had neither flags nor divine weapons. He was wondering what it could be. The statues attracted him greatly and he was going to bow to them when the keeper came in and saw Bharata (only a shade different in appearance from the statues). He asked him not to bow. Bharata was struck at the abrupt way of the man and told him why he prevented a good man from doing what was proper. The keeper says that he did so because a Brahmana should not bow to those taking them to be gods, therefore Kāśīpaya and Ikṣvāku; this is Dīpa, this is Bhṛṅga, this is Aja, and this is Dadaratha. Bharata who was ignorant of the death of his father asked if living Kings got statues. The keeper said, no; Dadaratha was dead. At this Bharata weeps and soon after enters the Rishi and ministers. The minister remarks that the man lying face-down is exactly like Dadaratha; and again when he recovered and began to speak, Śaunaka remarked that as if the statue of His Majesty (Dadaratha) was speaking.

This exquisitely beautiful scene is the most attractive feature of the *Pañcā Nāṭaka*. I believe with the editor that the drama was composed before Kāśījya's time for when speaking of the *Arthasthāna* it does not know of Kāśījya's work but mentions the work of Bṛhaspati then, whom Kāśījya drew much of his materials. Similarly the author mentions many works which are all very ancient and gone out of use in the Mānva period. The reasons for considering the *Pañcā Nāṭaka* as very ancient

then Karpūra is given in the preface of the editor and I need not repeat them here.

Shasta did not recognise the statues at once. The Keeper had to tell a lot before he came to know who were represented. This is an indication that the Devakula statues had no official inscriptions in the time of Hlāra, for if they had, Shasta would not require the explanation given by the keeper. The statues seem to have been recognized by the order in which they were arranged, by the peculiarity of their features, and by the symbolical representation of their great achievements. Such symbolical representations are suggested in the speech of the keeper when pointing out each of the statues to Shasta. Dīpa, he declares, as the king who performed the *śraṅgā* sacrifice deriving all his valour from it. About Rāga he says that when he set there were thousands of Brahmins and possessed "cows"; Inscriptions were not much in use in Devakula. I believe the statues in question are Devakula statues. Perhaps the sight of three statues at Pataliputra fired the imagination of the dramatist to contrive the Devakula plot of the *Pratimā Nāṭka*. The statues seen by Hlāra were all alike in expression and features. That is the reason why the keeper found very little difference between Dākṣiṇya in stone and Shasta in flesh when he entered, and that is the reason why Śaṅkara mistook Shasta in a dream as another statue of his father. They must have been of the natural height of men.

The inscriptions found in these statues are on the back of each, consisting of eight letters and the sculptor covered them with the mud. The letters were for his own use and not for the use of the public. Their import is simple. They were to remind him as to whose statue it was. So there are the names, so the words "Hago" and "Vaja". These words were to remind him of the qualities he was to give to the statue. There is the word Vaja, the statue should have the dignity of a vṛṣṭa king, and "Hago" means "power," that is, he should be powerfully built. The word "śakabho" is "all-dominant",

that is, he should have expression to show that he is the head of the whole earth, and the word "Kyonikiki", that he should have the look of a king. The inscriptions are obscure to us but they were enough for the purpose of the sculptor. This being the import of the inscriptions the question of strict grammar, style, etymology, syntax or paleography does not really arise.

If these two statues are really those of Aja and Nandi, two Śiva's wife kings, the inscriptions on them would be very nearly contemporary with the inscription on the Pipalava vase. Let us compare the letter of these inscriptions. The letter *ka* is very nearly the same. In the *Arśika* *ka* if the vertical line is produced it will meet the angle formed by the lower lines but in the letter on the statues and in the vase it will not do so. The upper and lower appendages of the letters, the vowel-marks, are very long in the vase and they are not less prominent in the statues. But the vase inscription is official and has a good finish while the statue one is a mere scribble. As regards the lettering of the inscriptions they need not be fine specimens of calligraphy. They are rough and survive. I generally agree with Mr. Japaneal in his reading of the letters. They give older forms of *Arśika* letters. They are nearer the forms of Phoenician letters or letters of the Mandaic stone. I will give examples—*ka* is a loop which in Phoenician means a half, represented by the two horns with a space between; placing it perpendicular we get exactly the form which we have here. Later on, the curve parts became straight. One critic says that the horns resemble horns of a goat but the very first letters of Ballar's chart contradict him. At Delhi the *ka* does not rise from the same point. Both is a box with the lid open and the leaf "Sehakkata" is exactly a box with the lid open. So is given, the ancient Phoenician form, preserved in *ga*; so also in *da*.

All these considerations of paleography, grammar, and even lead only to inference from the known to the unknown. But we have better contemporary evidence. When I was

just holding this paper I learnt from Mr. Japaneval that Sir Edward Galt has caused casts to be prepared of the inscription on the Parkham statue. Mr. Japaneval has kindly shown these to me. They show unmistakably that the statue belongs, as Mr. Japaneval reads, to Kusika Ajikha-sitra, the son of Vandisira, the king of the S'le-miga family. The letters show from an official inscription and are mostly distinct. The statue is not a Devakula statue for in that case it would be found in or near Raja-grha, the capital of Kusika. It is a statue for the purpose perhaps of a memorial in memory of his conquest of Mathura or in memory of some great gift. The discovery of this inscription sets all controversy about the statue in question at rest and destroys altogether the yaksha theory which had taken such a deep root in Archaeological scholarship. This statue has something like a sort of eardrum the short in addition to the yatra-dance; that also probably indicates that it is not a Devakula statue.



VIII—A Copper-plate Grant of Dandi- Mahadevi.¹

By the Late H. Pandey, B.A.

This copper-plate has been brought to light by the Hon'ble Mr. Gopalendra Das of Satyabadi (Puri), to whom I am obliged for permission to edit the inscription on it and also for much valuable information concerning the locality in which the plate was found.

The plate has been in the possession of a Brahman family of Kunturung Simes, a village near Bhuber in the Puri District of Orissa, some five miles from the Balugaon station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. Accounts differ as to how the plate came into the hands of this family. According to one, the plate was found buried in the now deserted village of Maninghpur, about seven miles from Kunturung; but no details are now available. The other version makes the present owners the lineal descendants of one of the original donors.² It would be unsafe, however, to place too much reliance on this account and an examination of the record shows that the claims advanced by the present owners of the plate can hardly be substantiated.

The charter consists of a single plate made up of three sheets of copper beaten together. The rim is raised to afford protection to the inscription and the edges are slightly irregular. On the left side of the plate is a circular seal of the same metal, half of which is fixed to the plate by wire and soldering and the other half is projecting. The design consists of an inscription on an expanded lotus flower with the inner petals enclosing it. The seal has the representation in

¹ [The final proof was not passed by the author.—E. F. J.]

² So Mr. Das's note printed at the foot of this page.

side of a rectangular bull, facing to the left and a small shell to the right. These seem to represent the deities Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively. In the space above the bull and to the right of it are the representations of the sun and the moon intended to denote the perpetuity of the gift, and below the bull is the legend 'Śrīmad-Dagdi-Mahadevi' in raised letters across the field with two thick lines below it. The legend is supported as it were on a lotus plant, one of the stalks of which rises above it on the right side.

The inscription consists of 22 lines on the obverse and 25 lines on the reverse side of the plate and is throughout well preserved. The first five lines on the obverse are in a "cursive" style while the rest is in what is generally termed the "monumental" style of writing. There is only one omission of a letter in the whole record—that of *sa* in line 15. It appears that the inscription was originally inscribed in a style which the slight defects in the carving of the letters were successfully concealed. The shape of the letters bears a hardly likeness to those in the copper-plate grants of the early Hōanjo, rulers of Orissa, and other copper-plate records of the locality of the sixth to seventh centuries A.D.

In point of orthography the following particulars may be noted: (1) the use of the same sign for *sa* and *he* throughout the inscription; (2) the occasional use of *sa* instead of *sa*, in lines 2, 30, 33 and 34; (3) in two places we have *ga* instead of *ga* (*maṣṣa* instead of *maṣṣa* in line 24 and *athipāṣa* instead of *athipāṣa* in line 43). There are a few mistakes of spelling, such as the use of long *i* for short *i*; of *ga* instead of *sa*; of short *a* instead of long *a* in line 23 and line 30; and of *ja* and *ja* instead of *jya* and *ja* in line 35. The mistakes of grammar are confined to the participle enumerating the donors (lines 23 and 34) and the last line of the record (line 45) which do not appear to have formed part of the composition of the compiler of the grant.

The language of our record is Sanskrit with the exception of the passages at the very end describing the boundaries which probably represents some dialect of the locality. Except the

name of the place from where the charter was issued (line 3) and the formal portion of the grant (lines 11-16) and the portion giving the boundaries of the village at the end (line 16-18), the entire record is in verse. The genealogy of the family is given in the first verses; the next are the laudatory verses which appear in almost every copper-plate grant of the period, and the last verse in line 42 gives the name of the poet who composed the grant. The style of composition of this *Prasasti* is highly artificial and *Śiśu* has been used *ad verbatim*—a feature which renders a satisfactory translation of the text extremely difficult. Following is the footsteps of Professor Kishore, I am giving only the substance of the record for the convenience of our readers to follow the original.

Substance.

The "camp of victory" (from which the charter is issued) is Gahāvāsa Pāṭaka and is described as eternally adorned with the cheers of the commencement of *ātma*. There was a king—a moon as the earth—named Uccaiṣṭha Nāḍha who brought peace to the land and pleased his subjects during a long reign, having extirpated all his enemies. From his family were descended many virtuous rulers, the illustrious Gaptā and others who were welcomed by the damsels of heaven. In their family sprung king Lokahita who was associated with wise men and whose fame spread to all quarters of the earth. His son who followed was king Karmadhara who received the adoration of composed kings and whose virtues were known in all the directions. He was followed by his younger brother the mighty Lalitadhara who bore the burden of sovereignty like Indra himself and the splendour of whose glory encompassed the gloom caused by the defeat of his enemies. On his death was born his son Śaṭṭhara as ruler of the earth who rooted out all the enemies of the world and restored his people to happiness and attained great fame. He was followed as the Protector of the Earth by his brother Subhikara who was wonderfully prosperous. On his attaining heaven his queen, resplendent with glory and loved by all men, remained the royal *Prasāda* and occupied it for a long time.

After her, her daughter Durgā-Mahadevi possessed of unlimited strength protected the earth for a long time. She became the ornament of the long line of Karm kings like the streamer on the top of the flag-post (family). She was endowed with personal charms and received the obeisance even of hungry chiefs who were overpowered by her majesty. During her rule there was no clashing of arms; there were no bandits (or prisoners); there was no vice, and rivalry existed only among the learned; there were no heavy taxes and no cause for alarm.

The devout worshipper of Mahadeva (Śiva), meditating upon the feet of her parents, this queen, Paramahajjīrīkī Mahirājīdīrījī-Paramdevī Śrīmāḍ-Durgā-Mahadevi, in good health, her own, inferior and below the present and future Maheśvaras, Mahārāja Rājaputra, etc., etc., in Southern Thakā and the Mahā-mahātmas, Brahmins, Pundits and other officers in Kṛgoda mandala, in Khāṇḍagharā villages: "Be it known to you that the village of Kṛṇḍavagari situated in this village up to the junction of Vāḥī-śikhā, together with the openlands and villages with rice settlements inhabited by the weavers, goldsmiths, and distillers, with the fields, ghats, riparian lands, woods, etc. free from impostment or impositions, has been given by Us by way of perpetual endowment and free from taxes, by means of a copperplate charter, with pouring out of water, given in accordance with the manes called śāśvatāśāśvatāśāśvatā, for as long as the moon, the sun and the earth endure, to the Brahmapara Kula, Durgā, Vīrāḍa-Vāḥīra, Iṣṭa, Śaśvatā, Vāḥīra of the Bhāṇḍarīja and many other gotras, on the occasion of Śivarātri (18th day), to increase the merit of Our son self, Our parents and all entitled beings. Whereupon out of respect for the dignity of righteousness this gift of ours is to be preserved by you. Sam. 10a. 48.3 (187) Jyotiḥ Śodh 13." (The son is not specified.)

[Here follow five laudatory verses and the benediction that this charter of the illustrious Durgā-Mahadevi may endure as long as the earth, the sky and the other regions exist. This *prastāvi* was composed by the poet Janbhaga for Janbhada, the son of

THE BANNER.



488610.

THE BANNER.



488610. 1 of the original.

(7) The Dhaṭṭi Caves inscriptions of Śaṭṭikara Deva, edited by Mr. E. D. Bowerj in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV.¹

Very little is known as to the extent of the territory over which these kings held sway. This much however is certain that their rule was confined to Orissa which then included the Uraṅga District of the Madras Presidency and formed part of the ancient Kalinga. Their period of rule is also not certain and their origin has formed the subject of much speculation. Mr. Bowerj thought that the Kera kings were descended from non-Aryan Arasas of Kinnarapa² while Mr. Nilmani Chakra narti saw some connection between Gayika Tunga of Odia and Pratapa-Dhavalā—a non-Aryan ruler of a small principality near Balasore in the Sheshachal District of Bihar.³ The probability would lead to the conclusion that these rulers belonged to the same race of Kshatriyas. This is supported by the Nalpur grant of Śaṭṭikara where the family is described as Śaṭṭikarāyādeva-jana. It appears probable that the name Kera came to be applied to the dynasty only after Keshanathara Deva who is spoken of as Śaṭṭikara in the *prastāva*. Both these names being synonymous (Śaṭṭi-Keshara) apparently belong to the same period. The first king Śaṭṭikara Deva also appears to have borne the synonymous name of Śivakara (Śiva-Śakha) which is mentioned in the Nalpur grant of this king.⁴ Śaṭṭikara was the last male ruler of this dynasty. After his death the throne was occupied by his queen—whose name is not given in the *prastāva*—the mother of Dapṭi-Mahadevi who was probably the last in this line. The name of Dapṭi-Mahadevi's mother was probably Tritharava-Mahadevi if we assume the correctness in this regard of the incomplete grant No. 8 of the list above. The same outlines appear on

¹ I am greatly obliged to Mr. Bowerj for having kindly supplied me proofs of his edition of these inscriptions in advance.

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV.

³ *J. A. S. B.* 1909, p. 347.

⁴ Mr. Bowerj takes Śivakara to be a different king and father of Śaṭṭikara. That such an interpretation becomes improved by the *prastāva* in the place of Dapṭi Mahadevi.

the ends of all the copper-plate grants of this dynasty, namely a sun-disk, the representations of the sun and the moon and the conch-shell. From this it appears that Śiva was the family deity, although some members of the dynasty evidently favoured the Buddhist religion and called themselves Śingala.

(iv) The Kutigala mapala mentioned in line 25 of one plate appears to be the same as *Kap-Pa-ta* of Hsin Tsang. The identification of this country has been already suggested by earlier writers with the Garjara District. It appears that Kutigala mapala was included within the southern Tswa, one of the divisions of the ancient Kalinga country.

(v) In the inscriptions of the Kera dynasty we have both *Uttara Tswa* and *Dakṣiṇa Tswa*. *Uttara Tswa* occurs in the Nāgpur grant of Śaṅkha and the grant of Takkavapa-Mahādeva and *Dakṣiṇa Tswa* in the copper-plates of Dādī Mahādeva. *Tswa* occurs in literature as the name of a country in association with *Māka*.



- Line 6. वृत्तं श्रीमताः शिविभक्तः श्रीमद्व्यासादयः । ३
 ये श्रीमताः सुवचसायचमने देवाङ्गनादिः सर्व
 कदा-
- Line 7. श्रीमद्व्यासशिविभक्तनिने वाराणसिनामः कदा ॥ [3]
 सर्वदेवपुत्रिणः कदावप्योनिः श्रीमतेषु
 देवदत्तपुत्र-
- Line 8. वृद्धिपुत्रादिः श्रीमताः श्रीमताः ।
 वृद्धाश्च सुवचसायचमने वृद्धाश्च श्रीमताः
 कदा-
- Line 9. सर्वदेवपुत्रिणः कदा वृत्तं इत्युक्तः कदा ॥ [4]
 वृद्धाश्च सुवचसायचमने कदा-
 शिविभक्तोनि-
- Line 10. सर्वदेवपुत्रिणः ।
 शिविभक्तोनिः कदावप्योनिः श्रीमताः-
 कदावप्युक्तमकारः वृत्तं शिविभक्तः ॥ [5]
- Line 11. कदा वृद्धिपुत्राः कदा वृद्धिपुत्राः-
 कदा वृद्धिपुत्राः कदावप्योनिः ।
 कदावप्य-
- Line 12. शिविभक्तः वृद्धिपुत्राः-
 वृत्तं वृद्धिपुत्राः कदावप्योनिः ॥ [6]
 वृद्धिपुत्रे वृद्धिपुत्रे

+ The form of this letter makes the nearest approach to ॐ but the word thus formed is not quite easy to explain in the context it occurs.

† The metre is Shuklaśloka.

‡ The metre is Vasantika.

§ The metre is Anuśṭup.

Line 13.

उपश्रुतः

साक्षात्प्रेषयति श्रान्तिप्रदं विना ।

केनोद्वेगमिहानुसूयैव कथयिष्ये

इति च-

Line 14.

पादसमवासाभिवा जनेन १* [7]

तथा प्रत्यक्षपदितानि तदुपश्रुतिर्वा-

सिन्धुप्रद्विष्टात्तदुपश्रुति-

Line 15.

वि ।

केनोद्वेगमिहानुसूयैव कथयिष्ये विना

च श्रीशुभाकर इति प्रथिती मयाचम् १* [8]

तथा विधि-

Line 16.

उपश्रुतः उपश्रुतः

इति तदुपश्रुतः तदुपश्रुतः

सिन्धुप्रद्विष्टात्तदुपश्रुति-

Line 17.

गीतः

गीतः गीतः विनाप्रदं चम् १* [9]

तथा इतिप्रदं चम् १* [9]

इति-

Line 18.

श्रीशुभाकर इति प्रथिती मयाचम् १* [10]

तथा इतिप्रदं चम् १* [10]

विधि(प्र)द्विष्टात्तदुपश्रुति-

* The metre is Panchajanya.

† The metre is Anantapada.

- Line 19. व वा उ(व)सुत विदुषसम् ४* [11]
 वासवाभरणिजम् सुन्दरं दधनी वटु ।
 वा दानवसुतिभिः विजयन्तीभिः—
- Line 20. अष्टिका १† [12]
 वसुतः दानवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-
 र्वेभाम् (म्) वीजवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-
 र्वेभाम् (म्) वसुतुर्भैरव-
 वसुतुर्भैरव-
- Line 21. शिखरिणी
 मङ्गीरसवसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु १‡ [13]
 वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-
 वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-
- Line 22. वि-
 र्वेभाम् (म्) वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-
 र्वेभाम् (म्) वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-
 र्वेभाम् (म्) वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-
 र्वेभाम् (म्) वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-
- Line 23. वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु १§ [14]
 र्वेभाम् (म्) वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-
 र्वेभाम् (म्) वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-
 र्वेभाम् (म्) वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-
- Line 24. वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु १||
 र्वेभाम् (म्) वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-
 र्वेभाम् (म्) वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-
 र्वेभाम् (म्) वसुतुर्भैरवसुतुर्भैरवसुतु-

* The metre is Anushtubh.

† The metre is Anushtubh.

‡ The metre is Anushtubh.

§ The metre is Anushtubh.

|| This is not in the original.

- Line 25. विष्णुमयी नन्दनीद्यानलक्ष्मीः ।* [15]
 वरुणमहादेवोः अजयतिवाराहकृपाया वरुणमहादेवः
 महादेवः-
- Line 26. विष्णुमयी नन्दनीद्यानलक्ष्मीः ।* [15]
 वरुणमहादेवोः अजयतिवाराहकृपाया वरुणमहादेवः
 महादेवः-
- Line 27. वरुणमहादेवोः अजयतिवाराहकृपाया वरुणमहादेवः
 महादेवः-
- Line 28. विष्णुमयी नन्दनीद्यानलक्ष्मीः ।* [15]
 वरुणमहादेवोः अजयतिवाराहकृपाया वरुणमहादेवः
 महादेवः-
- Line 29. वरुणमहादेवोः अजयतिवाराहकृपाया वरुणमहादेवः
 महादेवः-
- Line 30. विष्णुमयी नन्दनीद्यानलक्ष्मीः ।* [15]
 वरुणमहादेवोः अजयतिवाराहकृपाया वरुणमहादेवः
 महादेवः-
- Line 31. वरुणमहादेवोः अजयतिवाराहकृपाया वरुणमहादेवः
 महादेवः-
- Line 32. विष्णुमयी नन्दनीद्यानलक्ष्मीः ।* [15]
 वरुणमहादेवोः अजयतिवाराहकृपाया वरुणमहादेवः
 महादेवः-

* The name is Dargomashneva.

† This letter may be read either as ४ or ५.

- Line 40. णि अमलपणाम्(म्)दि(दि)मुनीयं
 विपममुचिम् नमुचयौविपम् ।
 अविमविपमुचलमु(म्)अ
 नवि
- Line 41. इरौ पउरौसौरो विरोधः † [20]
 वाक्यावाक्यस्यौ नमुचयुवामरा ।
 श्रीमद्विद्वमद्याद्विद्याधन-
- Line 42. आलपयविपम् ‡ [21]
 इद्विद्विद्वमद्याद्विद्याधनः ।
 इद्विद्विद्वमद्याद्विद्याधनः ‡ [22]
- Line 43. मद्याधनपणाम् वाक्यस्यौमुचयुवामरा ।
 मद्याधनपणाम् विनिपद्यसेनः । कन्वीक(वे)
 दामोदरेण
- Line 44. देवदत्त(म्)स्य उलेयः । दत्तः पण्डितपणाम्(म्)उ
 दत्तः दत्तपणाम्(म्)उलेयः पण्डितपणाम्(म्)उलेयः
 पण्डित
- Line 45. इलेयः †† वि(वी)मा वरेणः । वा(वा)वालेय(म्)उलेयः । ‡

* The letter is *Pushpita*.

† The letter is *Abhaya*.

‡ This letter can also be read as *U*.

§ The letter can also be read as *V*.

|| There is a mark like *separately* or *interim* *V* and *U*.

¶ The exact value of this letter has not yet been determined.

** Read *U* and *V*.

Appendix.

Note by the Hon'ble Babu Gopabandhu Das, M.A., B.L.

The copper-plate was in the house of Haladhur Strangi who died about a year ago leaving one adopted son, Gurud Strangi. The family has been living for generations in Kamanaga Sata, a village near Bagnur in the Puri District and some five miles from the Balagan station on the Puri section of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. In Oriya a Brahman village originally set up by a king, or queen, or some distinguished minister and made a gift to a Brahman, is called a *Satana*, the Brahman who receives the gift being called the *Praigrahi*. From the name therefore it appears that Kamanaga is a royal gift, but whether it is identical with the village named in the copper-plate is doubtful. There is evidence that the plate has been in possession of the same family for some more than 64 years. In 1884 it was in the hands of Haladhur's father, Dasmah Strangi who obtained the title of *Kavichandira* from a local chief in recognition of his rank as a poet. Some Sanskrit and Odia poems are known to have been composed by Dasmah Strangi.

According to some people the plate was buried under ground in village Minnighpur, but when and by whom it was recovered is not known and cannot be ascertained. Minnighpur is a deserted village some seven miles away from Kamanaga, the ruins being situated within four hills on the four sides. On the north is the village of Gupali and a hill, on the west is the Tongakhunda (*gunda* means hill), on the south is the Gulat hill—an important one in the Puri District—and on the east are the Kahi and Badakhi Munda. The Strangi family possesses land in this Muna of Minnighpur and it is very likely that they originally lived in this village, and it may therefore be identical with the village of the charter. How the village came to be deserted is not known, and unless the boundaries of the present Minnighpur correspond with those of the village mentioned in the charter, it is not safe to form any con-

choice. Be that as it may, the Senggi family have a genealogy which mentions some of the donors of the grove. This genealogy is found in an old palm leaf manuscript of the Vāṇikya Śāstrīya Saṁskṛta Saṁskṛtīya.

1. Iwara Deb Sarma—Śaṅkha Deb Sarma (Jardine).

Bakhowar Deb Sarma (Jardine).

3. Damsar Deb Sarma

3. Harowar Deb Sarma.

4. Gokharsada Deb Sarma.

5. Saktar Deb Sarma.

6. Kalicharan Deb Sarma.

7. Sarma Deb Sarma.

8. Sikkhita Deb Sarma.

9. Dehanna Deb Sarma.

10. Sikkhita Deb Sarma.

11. Sikkhita Deb Sarma.

12. Sikkhita Deb Sarma.

13. Sikkhita Deb Sarma.

14. Sikkhita Deb Sarma.

15. Sikkhita Deb Sarma.

16. Sikkhita Deb Sarma.

17. Sikkhita Deb Sarma.

18. Sikkhita Deb Sarma.

19. Sikkhita Deb Sarma.

20. Sikkhita Deb Sarma.

21. Sikkhita Deb Sarma (Adopted).

The present owner is the twenty-first in descent from Iwara Deb Sarma, who is one of the donors.

I am told many inscribed copper-plates are to be found on the Senggi side. That they are not made known by the people is due to their fear that they will be deprived of them. That this fear is not imaginary may be gathered from the following. It is said that during Mr. Toller's settlement of Khorda many copper-plates were produced before the settlement magistrate which were never returned to their owners. This is corroborated by the following extract from the note on a copper-plate published by Mr. Rangulal Banerji, Deputy Collector of Cuttack,

is the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XLVI, part I, 1877 :—

"The document was found by me in an old box in the Record office along with a number of old deeds of grants in the Deenagari, Pandua, Bengali, Marhatti and Oriya characters. There were the remnants of a vast variety of such documents filed by the original holders before the Collector, Mr. Kers, in 1839 when the province was settled for the first time. No proper register was kept regarding these important records and there was nothing to show by whom they had been filed."

The sense of loss and consequent pain which was felt by people who were deprived of their copper-plates—in many cases the only documents which entitled them to their holdings—may easily be imagined. It is little wonder that the descendants of these people guard their charters with so much care and are unwilling to part with them or even to show them to outsiders.



IX.—The Panchohā Copper-plate of Samgramagupta.

By J. N. SIKHAR, M.A., and AMARASENAR THAKUR, M.A.

(I)

This inscription, which is published here for the first time, was discovered in the village of Panchohā, situated about five or six miles to the west of Lakshā Satak, the chief town of the Darbhanga District in the Province of Bihar and Orissa. It was found by a peasant some 10 or 12 inches below the surface of the earth, while he was levelling the ground for the purpose of cultivation. The spot where it was unearthed and its surroundings are still full of mounds covered with brick-rubbish which bear traces of an ancient site. After its discovery, the plate remained in the possession of the cultivator till recently it has been brought over here by Mr. J. N. Sikhār for the purpose of depositing it in the Patna Museum.¹

The inscription contains 33 lines of writing—32 full lines and one line only 4 inches long, inscribed on one side of a thick copper-plate measuring about 15 inches long and 12 inches broad. The writing space covers an area of about 14" x 12". The surface of the plate is quite smooth and the edges are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into ribs to protect the writing. With the exception of a few letters which have been partially damaged by corrosion, the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation and may be read with certainty almost throughout. The engraving has been done with great care and does not, as usual, show here and there marks of the engraver's working tool. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{2}$ " throughout, with the exception of those occurring in line 2

¹ We offer our best thanks to Mr. E. H. C. Walsh, former President of the Patna Museum Committee, and Mr. D. N. Sen, Principal, E. N. College for their kind help and encouragement.

and 2 where they are larger than the rest. Towards the middle of the side whence the writing begins, the plate is projected some 8 inches upwards to form an ornamental top in the shape of a heart which contains the royal seal. The seal is circular, about two inches in diameter, and fixed with a pin which is soldered at the back. It has in relief on a depressed surface, across the centre, a legend giving the name of "Śrī Śaṅkara Gupta" and in the upper part a representation of a bull facing towards the proper right in a slightly reemphatic posture. The inscription leaves a space of about 3 inches at the bottom and sharply comes to an end before the last sentence is completed.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, and excepting lines 1 to 13, which constitute the formal part of the grant, the whole is in verse—the metres employed being mainly the Śāṅkhya and Anuṣṭup. The characters belong to the Eastern variety of the Nagari alphabet which Bühler has described as Proto-Bengali. They are of the same type as those in the *Devyā Pradīpikā* of Vidyāsena. A few forms, the A, Kha, Ga, Na and Tha, bear a close resemblance to those used in Vaidya-deva's land grant of A.D. 1143, while some, for instance, the Ja, Na, Ta, Tha and Pa appear to be later developments more identical with those of Bhindara's record of about A.D. 1204.

As regards orthography the text calls for few remarks. Some of the peculiarities met with in the inscription are noted below: (1) One sign is used throughout for B and V. (2) The letter Va is doubled after the anuvāsa in Sakratara l. 20. (3) The consonants are doubled in conjunction with the preceding R, as in Arha and Sarva l. 13 and Viśuddha l. 11 but not in Kīra l. 13 and Śīra l. 12. (4) The anuvāsa is throughout indicated by a small point placed above the Rao. (5) The superscript R is not employed in the conjunct Rpa in Chakra. (6) The initial Ā is represented by a vertical line without a top-stroke in Arha l. 12. (7) The same sign is used for Ā and half T, both of which are denoted by a vertical line curved a little at the bottom. The text appears to have

been carefully prepared and hardly contains any grammatical mistake.

The inscription records the grant of a village named Vanigama situated in the district of Jambhvat made by the Paramakottarata, Mahantjadhikrta, Paramesvara and Mahantjadhikrta Saugata Gupta, who is described as the lord of Jayapura and the most devout worshipper of Mahesvara. The donor is a Brahman of Sapthiya gotra, Kumara Srikan by name, learned in the Yajur-Veda and having the three *pravartas* of Sapthiya, Asita and Devata, son of Krichakiliya and grandson of Sri Rama, who hailed from Kaitika. No particular occasion is mentioned for making the grant except that it is made on account of great fever shown to the donor. The greater part of the inscription is taken up by an account of the ancestors of the donor which gives the following genealogical table :—

-
- (1) Yajata Gupta.
 - ↓
 - (2) Dimesha Gupta.
 - ↓
 - (3) Deva Gupta.
 - ↓
 - (4) Rajaditya Gupta.
 - ↓
 - (5) Krichya Gupta.
 - ↓
 - (6) Saugata Gupta.

It is, however, noticeable that while Rajaditya Gupta is credited with all the Imperial titles of Saugata Gupta, Krichya Gupta is distinguished with the only epithet of Rajaputra which seems to indicate that he met with a premature death in the lifetime of his father. Though one or two verses have been devoted to each of the royal personages, no historical fact is referred to in the inscription which may lead to their definite identification. The mention of "Gupta Vahala" as referring to the dynasty to which the king belonged, is however suggestive of the fact that the royal line might have been in some way connected with the later Guptas of Magadha.

The charter is issued from the Royal Camp of Victory and mentions the designations of some officials, most of which occur in the grants of the Pala and Sena Kings of Bengal. It is dated on 9th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Kartika in the 11th year of the reign of the King. No era is mentioned, but on palaeographical grounds the inscription may be assigned to a period not later than the twelfth century A.D.

Appendix.

[*Editorial*.—The reading of the copper-plate has been kindly compared with the original and a few corrections suggested by Mr. R. D. Banerji, Poona. On the back of the plate the Collector of Darbhanga has made inquiries resulting in the following information.—“Amri Choudhary says that he was digging when his bullock struck against something hard, and he found a copper-plate The copper-plate was found by Amri Choudhary in the south-west corner of his field in village Kall in the neighbourhood of the Maharaja of Darbhanga.....The field in which the copper-plate was discovered is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Amri's hereditary land in Panchoth. The nearest *stree* is Kall about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile off. There is a raised site known as Bangli Dik east of the field about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the place of discovery and a smaller site about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the east in village Panchoth. This site is said to have been much higher, but has been greatly levelled down.....A further inquiry discloses that the said Amri Choudhary found the plate about four years ago.”¹

The plate is of little historical importance. The mound is not dated. The places mentioned in the plate are probably in the district of Muzaffar, *Jagajpur* being represented by the present day *Jaganpur*² and *Jamitawal* is probably connected with the modern name *Jamui*.

Mr. R. D. Banerji has sent in the following note on the plate:—

“The mason at first attempted to write the record in letters

¹ Letter, dated 17th June 1902, from the Collector of Darbhanga to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle.

² *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V., p. 207.

of a smaller dimension, but gave up the idea after inscribing the first sixteen syllables. The characters of the grant resemble those used in the grants of Lakshmanasena of Bengal, and on paleographical grounds it would be difficult to assign a date earlier than the second half of the twelfth century in this record.

* The seal of the grant shows the *Asvika* of the family, the half-constant, which is confirmed by the use of the word *Vijakshakrāja* in connection with *Rajadityagupta* and the deed. The character of the seal are of the same type as those of the grant, *at*, *pa*, *na* and *pa*. The seal was cast and therefore looks older.

* The use of the title *Maharajadatta* along with the Imperial titles *Paramadhipatya-Maharajaditya-Paramaditya* in the case of *Rajadityagupta* and his grandfather *Rajadityagupta* indicates that the family had been at first feudatories of the Palas or Senas and assumed titles of independence after the decline in power or the downfall of their masters.

* On paleographical grounds it may be stated with assurance that these local rulers assumed independence after the downfall of the Senas, when the sons of Lakshmanasena were quarrelling among themselves just before their expulsion from Lakshmanasena by the *Maharajadatta* feudatories under *Maharajaditya* *Bakhtya*.

* The mention of the word *Guptarajadatta* l. 15 may possibly indicate that these local rulers were descended either from the Imperial Guptas or from the later Guptas of Magadha, of which fact they, however, seem to have retained a very hazy impression.

* The form of the grant is peculiar. The beginning is in prose but later on the entire genealogy is given in verse. Though this form of a grant is not altogether unknown in Indian epigraphy, it is rather antiquated for a twelfth century record.

* The metrical portion of the inscription provides us with the name of six generations while the prose portion mentions only two, so it is quite possible that *Rajadityagupta*, the grandfather of the donor *Rajadityagupta*, was the feudatory chief who assumed independence.

A noteworthy point in the grant is the mention of the village or town Koldicha whence Bhappa B'at Datta, the grandfather of the donor, had emigrated. Koldicha is mentioned in the more authentic *Divyita* or *Kalidattita* or genealogical works of Bengal as the place whence the five Brāhmanas, who were invited by King Śaṣṭita for the performance of a Yajña similar to Bengal, originally came. Many conjectures have been made by various commentators on genealogical works of Gaudya or Bengali Brāhmanas and it has even been suggested, if my memory serves me correctly, that the name may be a corruption of some other name. The existence of the place in a brief historical record confirms the statement of the chapters of Bengal about its spelling and its existence through the locality will remain doubtful until fresh light is available.²²

The plate is now in the Patna Museum.—[G.]



9. नीलकण्ठाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः
10. श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः
11. श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः
12. श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः
13. श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः
14. श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः
15. श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः
16. श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः

29. नाह् परं वाही भूमिदानं परं जगुः ।

दानं च यत् फलं प्रोक्तं वाचनं च तत्प्रीतिर्वा ॥

राजन् भूमिं पश्यन्नाम्बे; मदनाथ तु वाचय

अक्षरं वि च संसारे

30. श्रीवित्तल पञ्चवय

पादत्रयं परकीर्तिर्वा कर्त्तुं क्षम्यते च

अमु (मु) दत्ता उपलब्धेन वरिष्ठेन कुपितेन ३

मन्त्री मन्त्रीयता ४

* [The portion not included in the original is—R. 2. 10]



TRANSLATION.

Om, good be unto you, Paramabhāṭṭaraka, Mahārājadhīraja. Om, good be unto you, from the victorious camp, on the ninth day of the dark-forenight, in the seven-thousand year, in the kingdom of ever increasing victory of Paramabhāṭṭaraka, Mahārājadhīraja, Paramāvara Bhagiratha Gupta, best of the devotees of Mahāvara, having the bull as his royal insignia, here in the family of Arjuna of the lunar race, the lord of Jagapur, the supreme Lord of Maṇḍala, son of the illustrious prince Kṛiṣṇa Gupta who meditated on the feet of the glorious Paramabhāṭṭaraka Mahārājadhīraja Paramāvara Bhāṭṭaraka Gupta, best of the devotees of Mahāvara, having the bull as his royal insignia, here in the family of Arjuna of the lunar race, lord of Jagapur and the Supreme Lord of Maṇḍala.

This Mahārājadhīraja Mahānagaśāṭṭhaka, the illustrious and victorious Bhagiratha Gupta Deva pays respects to, informs and instructs all those that are assembled in the village Varigant situated within the district of Jambuvati, the queen, the prince, the prime minister, the minister of peace and war (Mahāpauṭyavignāṭhaka), the chief master of military arrays (Mahāvryachapaṭi), the chief experimenter best of officers (Mahādīkṛitika), the keeper of royal seal (Mahāśāstrakāṭhikā), lord chamberlain (Mahāmahātaka), the superintendent of the stables for elephants (Mahāpāṭi), the superintendent of military supplies (Mahāśikṣāṇaka), the chief keeper of records (Mahāśikṣapāṭāṭhaka), the chief of the waston (Mahāgrāhita), the chief justice (Mahādharmasādhikāryaka), the chief officer in charge of documents (Mahāśāstrakāṭhaka), the intelligence officer (Vartā), the writer of grants (Nāśāṭhaka), Mahāśāṭhaka, Mahāśāṭhaka, the Chief Magistrate (Mahāśāṭhaka), the officer in charge of royal gifts (Mahāśāṭhaka), the chief of the five grades (Mahāśāṭhaka), great feudatory rulers (Mahāśāṭhaka) the officer in charge of money gifts [1] (Mahāśāṭhaka), the officer in charge of the gift of ploughed lands [7] (Mahāśāṭhaka), the keeper of mountain passes (Mahāśāṭhaka), the superintendent of (mahāśāṭhaka) waste (Mahāśāṭhaka), the ruler (Nāśāṭhaka), the officer commanding

a "gula" squadron (Chimapat), officers of the navy and superintendents of kine, buffaloes, goats and fowls, and others in the service of the king:—

Be it known to you all, the shoreward village population (from all other villages), bounded on four sides, free from oppression and taxation and not to be entered into by regular and irregular troops, is awarded, as a matter of great favour, by me, desirous of gaining merit as stated in the shloka, to the venerable and long-lived Kamara Svami of S'vapilla Gode, vased in the Vajurveda and having the three *Prasava* of S'vapilla, Asha and Duralya, son of the venerable Krishna-ditya and grandson of the venerable Sri Rama having from Kalksha with land and water, with suburbs, with swamps and Madhava, with pits and barren lands, with grazing grounds, Nimb and deserted gardens,.....And with salt and iron mines.

Now by you all, who are obedient to our behests, remains of all kinds of taxes is to be carried into effect and this grant is to be observed as long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the sea endure.

[Here follow the verses eulogistic of the royal dynasty.]

As this family was devoted to Vaidikdharma (Mahadharma), as it achieved victories through prowess, as it had a tough fight with Sankha, as it won from Isa (Mahamata) the secret of gaining victory and as it was protected by the daimed horn of the sea (Indral) by means of which this dynasty became equal—with its line of rulers famous reputed as Gupta, with the insignia of the bull and famous for the victory of Arjuna.

In his (Arjuna) family which shines with a lustre like that of the moon, which was powerful and stainless, the mighty kings resembled the gods in virtue, valour, fame, power and wealth. [They were] the lords of the wide world. The vast sea rich with precious things shrunk at a distance, as if through fear, of their great and overwhelming prowess.

After these kings departed into the land of the blessed, a son of the family became the master of the earth, who was

styled Yajñajyā Gupta, as he was full of the ardour for vanquishing heroes in the service of war. He, who was a death to his foes, was called Jaya as the [satagolathic] kings met with their extinction on account of the total annihilation of their forces, crushed with the strokes of his invulnerable arrows.

Of him was born the illustrious king Dhanvan Gupta, of worldwide fame and glory, who was as good as the sun in its beams, like the progenitor of the gods is comprehending the meaning of stoicism, to women as the moon is to Ulla, like the Mahā-bhava is smothering sorrow and affliction and like a lion in trampling down his foes who might be fitly compared to the strongest elephants.

From birth he had in his composition the quintessence of Varuna, Indra, Agni and Marut. He assumed the king of the snakes to terrible with the stupendous weight of the earth trampled upon by his soldiers. For which reason, his face is fair as the whiteness of the Kanda flowers. That same prince resembled Tishā (Tishāya?) in his power.

The king Deva Gupta, who was truth incarnate, was born of him as Sitarat of the Sun, the Māra of the Sea, Pradyumna of Madhusūdāna, Usha of the Great Destroyer (Śiva), Rama of Dhanurtha and Jayanta (Jāyanta) of the host of the host of immortals.

A son was born to him named Rajaditya, fondle in majesty and fierce with the flames of his power, whose deeds could appeal the assembly of Kings. He was the repository of the spreading prowess, which was adorned with the victory over ungodly foes. He was an adept in the art of striking terror into his foes while twanging the string of his bow which sounded like thunder.

As the touchstone is to metals, so was the king to various Kavya, discourses and pastimes. He was a wideyielding tree to the distressed and an adept in the science of love. He was a repository of modesty, a receptacle of good deeds, a storehouse of learning, a fountain of sweet words and an abode of dharma.

His desired propriety of conduct from the *cosmos*, heroic spirit from the *sun*, prosperity from *Śakra*, spirit of aggression from *Rāksa*, modesty from *Guru* and power from *Piśa*. The king unrivalled in archery, whose voice was like the sound of thunder to his foes, is speaking these agreeable words to those who listen to him with pleasure. Those who will be born in the long line of solar kings will also observe this deed from generation to generation. This I enjoin on other kings as well. The subsequent kings with a view to gain merit should abstain from the multiplication of what has been done by another king, considering it to be of the nature of a spark of fire.

[Here follow verses laying down religious injunctions.]

There is no higher gift than the gift of food, which enables one to have an access to Heaven. Food is the life of the world, food ultimately comes from the earth, therefore next after the gift of food is considered best the gift of land. The observance of the gift yields greater merit than the gift itself. Therefore, you should, O king, make gift of land and observe those made by others. Two things—making gifts oneself and respecting those made by others—constitute the usefulness of life in this ephemeral world. O Yudhishthira, protect the land which has been made a gift of. The earth of the lords of the earth—

X.—Travels in Bihar, 1608 A.D.

By Jachannath Sarkar, M.A., I.C.S.

Introduction.

Abdul Latif (son of Abdu'lah Abbas), an inhabitant of Ahmadabad (in Gujrat), on his patron Abul Hasan (the father-in-law of Shah Jahan) being appointed *viceroy* of Bengal early in A.D. 1608, accompanied him on a river trip from Agra to Rajmahal and at the end of the year again from Rajmahal to Gough in the Murshidabad District and thence by land to Chunarhat. He took accurate notes of what he saw during his travels and wrote them in a book years afterwards in the reign of Shah Jahan, when his patron Abul Hasan, now renamed Asaf Khan, had risen to be master of the empire.

His book is of unique value as giving us the topography of Bihar early in the seventeenth century, and supplementing the very short account incorporated in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (II. 190 of Barrett's translation), which was composed twenty years earlier. Through the help of a friend at Delhi I secured access to what is probably the only copy extant of Abdul Latif's travels.

Abdul Latif had previously made a tour of Khandesh and Benar (page 3). The extreme speed with which his patron travelled to take up his new office in Bengal, prevented him from seeing more of Bihar and giving greater details.

The Bihar portion of his travels is translated below. In two places the text is hopelessly corrupt.

Voyage down the Ganges.

On 6th May, 1608, we arrived at Chusan, an ancient village on the bank of the Ganges and the commencement of the province of Bihar. Its ferry is very famous. Here some severe battles were fought between the Imperial troops and the Afghans early in the reign of Akbar. It was at this ferry that the well-known disaster to the army of Humayun took place at the hands

of Sher Khan Afghan. We looked here. It was formerly well-wooded, but is now in a decayed condition with few habitations. Above it, the Karamandah falls into the Ganges. The Hindus of old never set their feet in the water, it being their superstition that whosoever sets his feet in the water loses all his merit [the good deeds done in life]. Hence its name [of Karamandah] is "destroyer of good deeds". Its water is extremely distasteful and disagreeable to the sight. A look at it turns a man's bile cold,—not to speak of his merits.

From this place Salavaria, containing the tomb of Sher Khan Afghan, is 16 *kos*. Two *marhas* from it is *Behrta*, the height, prominence and grandeur of which is famous, so that there is no fort like it in the world. Its strength is 14 *kos*, its height [*i.e.* path for ascent] exceeds 3 *kos*. On its top several thousand *dhars* of land are cultivated, besides several gardens. Some tanks full of water and flowing springs are contained within it.

On 8th May we reached the river Dind [*i.e.* Gogra],¹ a broad and deep stream which passing by Behrta and Orda, falls into the Ganges 2 *kos* above Patna. *Jam* [*i.e.* Bhoos], *Gangi*, *Son*, and *Gandak*,—all big rivers, mingle with the Ganges from 12 *kos* above Patna to the foot of that city. Besides these there are many *apars* and *brooklets* coming from all sides, but they are not worth mentioning. Hence, below Patna the breadth of the river in the rainy season becomes nearly 3 *kos*, and it flows a vast and voluminous united stream.

On 10th May we reached Patna, the capital of Bihar. Patna stands on the right bank and *Majhar* on the left bank, a little above Patna, on the bank of the Ganges. In former ages the ancient city of *Bihar*, 10 *kos* from Patna, was the capital of this province. I have heard from trustworthy men of this country that *Bihar* [*i.e.*] is a plain of grass, where many holy men and saints repose [in their graves]. Even at the present time some good men live here, one of them being *Shah*.

¹In *Strabo's Geog. Asia* (1782), book II, the Gogra bears the alternative name of *Dindak*. But it falls into the Ganges 40 miles above Patna. In the *Map of Hind* the use of the last should be read as laid up twenty.

Hemayat, a man of religious abstraction, who has done and is doing many [acts] contrary to custom [? experiments &c.] * * *

Mirā is a village, in the jurisdiction of Ilhar, and containing the tomb of Hāshim Uthman Chāhid. It has a lofty dome on which a pike, called *ḍafar* in the Hindī tongue, has been fixed, which turns in one direction at all hours. Some good men have seen the phenomenon, and I am writing what they have told me.

In the course of ages the people have turned [from Ilhar town] to Patna, by reason of its being on the bank of the Ganges, and takes up their residence here. In short, Patna is the capital, residence of the Governor, and best [city] of the province of Ilhar. One side of it is bordered by the river and the other by double walls of fortification. In the reign of Akbar it was wrested from the possession of the Afghans after a good deal of fighting and a long siege. Nur-ud-Din Khan, surnamed Khan-i-Khanan, besieged Dard Afghans—thorough and severely lord of Ilhar and Bengal—in this fort a year and a half, but could not conquer him till the Emperor himself marched thither with his army and undertook the task.

Patna is a very good [fertile] city and famous [place]. By reason of its site, it is a place of perpetual spring [pleasant climate]. Its water is perfect in taste and agreeableness [to the stomach]. Its inhabitants are extremely healthy and robust. In spaciousness and great appearance [and size] the city resembles Ahmadabad, "the best of the cities of Hind," [see author's book.] All kinds of articles needed by man for food and clothing are twice or thrice as cheap and abundant here as in other places. In truth, it is a place fit to live in; hence many traders and country-loving men have chosen it for their home. In no other city of India can be seen so many sects of 'Irāq and Khurāsān, as have taken up their residence here.

Jahāngīr Goli Khan (formerly Lāh Dagi), who has recently died in Bengal, had, during his Government of Ilhar, widened

and closed the banner of Patna. Though he was a man of haughtiness and rough behaviour, yet, through God's grace, the banner and lance of Patna gained splendour and currency [i.e. popularity with the public] from him. May this act be the cause of his pardon [in the next world]! The late Nawab Mirza Yusuf Khan, during his viceroyalty, built here a bath of exquisite delirious and purity, consisting of several rooms, always full of water. * * *

The late Salik Khan, also, has left a mosque as his memorial. Nawab Asaf Khan, the present owner of the empire, has constructed a beautiful Governor's residence overlooking the river, inside the fort, and a vast garden outside the city.* * * Mirza Shamsuddin Husein (son of Nawab Asam Khan) who has now gained the title of Jalangir Ghal Khan, had laid out a delightful garden outside the city.

Leaving Patna we halted at Mongir on 17th May. It has a good fort and a large town. But at this time its population had greatly fallen off. It stands midway between Bihar and Ghaz, the gateway of Bengal (i.e. Shikargah). Its outside is better than its inside. Early in the reign of Akbar, the imperial army was long stationed at Mongir for effecting the conquest of Bengal, and many battles were fought between them and the Afghans in this region. At Shikargah, two *Joas* from Mongir and two or three arrows' flight from the river, there are two springs,—one hot and the other cold. The effluence of the one sets the teeth on edge like ice and the warmth of the other turns the bile into the water of hell.

Next day we reached Mashee.¹ This village is situated at a distance of half a *dees* from the river, and is an ordinary (vulgar) place; but it has two billows, one in the midst of the river and the other on the bank, facing each other, so that there are few places on earth equalling it in airiness. How can I describe the charm of its mornings and evenings and the beauty

¹ "Patna's creek", now *Shikargah*, midway between Mongir and Shikargah, is Mashee, ib. 34, 35. See also Bryant's *Shikargah* description, p. 174.

of its moon-like nights, which exhilarate the spirit and freshen the life of man? * * *

On the hillside by the river's edge, a pious man has built a beautiful mosque. For the last 50 years a *dargah* has been engaged in prayer here. A room has also been built for drinking water (*ab-dur*). What a charming retreat, no better can be found for a *dargah*! * * *

On 15th June 1858 we arrived safe and sound at Akher-nagar [*ie. Rajmahal*], the capital of Bengal and the end of my journey by river. * * *

Akher-nagar, known also as *Aj-mahal*, was an ordinary village before the accession of Akbar. Its name is explained in the following way: Gaur was the capital of the former rulers of this country; and whenever they set out on travel to Bihar their advance-tents were sent to this place; so the people called it *Aj-mahal* [*ie.* "advance-palace"]. Similarly, on the farther side of Tista there is a village popularly called *Pak-mahal*, to which the advance-tents [of the Sultans of Bengal] used to be sent, whenever they marched to Orissa or Bhul (Dacca Bengal). The common people, however, call it *Ag-mahal* because most of the houses here are thatched with straw and *bagle* and easily catch fire. Early in the reign of Akbar many battles were fought in this tract between the imperial army under Khair-i-Khanda Mun'im Khan and Khair-i-Jahan Turbatan (Hassan Guli Khan) and Daul Afghani, the ruler of Bengal and Bihar. Daul after his defeat at Patna fled here, and was slain by the imperialists. As Akher-nagar commands the route to all parts of Bengal, it was frequently the camping ground of the imperial army. Rajah Man Singh made it the seat of the Government, because it stands on the skirts of the hills and so remains safe from the enemy's hands when at the end of the rainy season all other places of Bengal are flooded and the enemy with their *betils* (*barabars*) can swamp them,—and also because it stands

¹ *Aj-mahal*—(1) *Ajra* (*ajra*) *mahal*; (2) *ajai* (*ajai*) *mahal*. *Pak* (Bengal) *Bahar* *pak* (*pak*), *betil*.

the east of Bengal is distant. He built here a fort and mansion. From that time all people have called it *Raj-mahal*. As the Rajah retained the place in the name of his late Majesty, it is styled *Akharagar* in the official papers.

During the rainy season, its environs are covered with water for a distance of a hundred or two hundred *des*. Therefore, to protect it from flood an embankment [*di*] has been constructed exceeding four *des* in length, while the breadth is half a *des* at places and a quarter *des* at others. The city is inhabited along the length [of the embankment]. Few of the places [*words*] of the city are renowned. Shalpur and Shukhpur, facing each other, were peopled by the late Prince Shah Harsh and Shah Alai Fari, by building thatched houses for passing the rainy season in. Every rain and too many rivers in Bengal. * * *

Sagarpur is a *gura* [*word*] of the city of Akharagar. There are two hillsides opposite each other. One of them is called *Rani Sagur*, after the name of Prithi, the Rajah of Oude, who retained it; the other is called *Apar* from his brother. The two places are now called *Apar-Sagur*. They resemble *Kerab-Ghorampur*. . . . (7)

Mir Mirshid Ahmad, surnamed Bahiri Bahadur Wajih, is buried on the top of the hillside of Sagarpur. Rani Sagur, having dreamt of his condition in a dream, built a dome over his grave. * * * On Friday nights there are large gatherings at this holy place.

After the departure of Rajah Man Singh and Rani Sagur, this region belonged to the *dunds*. Whosoever becomes *dund* of Bengal, resides here. * * *

Formerly Rani Sagur had built beautiful houses in the Hindu style here. After him, when Wazir Khan lodged here, he had thrown the *dupla* below (8) and given some amount of wealth to the houses. But the houses were not worthy of the residence of high gradations. * * *

(7) Probably *Pir-pur*, some miles north of Rajmahal. Another hillside, a mile west of the town and two miles south of *Pir-pur*, is covered with the *Sam-maj*

When Nawab Me'azul Kha'n arrived at Sagarpur, he immediately began to construct a *darul-akhbar*, containing two treasure rooms (*mahtars*) in the middle and two halls (*diwans*)—one in the south containing two rooms (*daras*) and the other in the north—as rooms cannot be triangular... of one size? [text corrupt here]. A raised platform (*chokora*) with a shade (*dar*) and yard has been placed before each hall, with extreme spaciousness and neatness. Around it are four walls. On the left is another building on the edge [of the river?] with a courtyard and some rooms. Now the place is fit for the shade of the great. * * *

His companions also built and repaired as the time required.

On 7th December 1808 I left Akbarnagar in the train of Nawab Me'azul Kha'n (the new Governor of Bengal) by boat for the BHARU province.



XI.—Translation of Maharajah Kalyan Singh's Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh.

III.

By Khun Bahadur Sarfarni Humsat Khan.

The arrival of General Cotes from England; his displeasure with Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan on the insinuation of Maharajah Ram Narayan; his capture at the hands of the Council on the complaint of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan, and his ultimate departure to England; the ultimate fate of Maharajah Ram Narayan.

After the departure of His Majesty to the province of Oudh, Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan made efforts to arrest Ram Narayan. It was at this time that Major Cotes came to Patna as General Cotes. He was a major at the time when the English were at war with Surajuddaulah. After the English victory he went home and now came to Patna in command of the English forces there.

At Patna Ram Narayan met him and informed him that Meer Kasim Khan cherished hostile intentions both against him (Ram Narayan) and the English. The Major believing his allegations to be true went to the camp of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan at daybreak with only a few followers to ascertain the true state of things. But he was much amazed to find everything quiet. He found His Highness asleep in the female apartments and all things quiet in the camp. He left an Englishman to apologise to the Nizam for his coming at so early an hour and went home quite disgusted at the trick played by Ram Narayan. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan soon got up and saw the gentlemen whom Major Cotes had left in his camp. This treachery on the part of Ram Narayan disappointed the Nizam, and he submitted a complete report of the incident to the Council at Calcutta, seriously complaining against the conduct of Major Cotes. The Major also went to Calcutta. The Council

disapproved of his action and he had consequently to go home. In reply to his representation, the Council at Calcutta wrote to the Nawab, giving him full powers regarding the administration of Arinabad and authorizing him to check and audit the accounts of Ram Narayan. Finding some defalcations in his accounts, he arrested Ram Narayan, kept him in custody, and confiscated all his property, and seized all he could lay hands on. He also squeezed as much cash and assets as he could from the servants and dependents of Ram Narayan. Having finished this business, he repaired to the fort, and busied himself in the work of general administration. He then picked a general, with Maharaajah Shitah Rao. The Maharaajah was a shrewd man of business. He kept himself aloof from the Nawab, remained in his house with his usual retinue and kept no communication with the Nawab from there. At last through the intervention of Major Creek Khan Bakulat, the Nawab was made to agree to the Maharajah's going to Calcutta and to his sitting according to the directions given him by the Council at Calcutta. Hence it was that the Maharajah in company with his companions, and attendants left for Calcutta by river.

He appeared before the Council and represented his case. Nothing could be proved against him, and he was therefore given the permission of living in state at the place he liked best. Moosa, Illis and Nester were coming to Patna as members of the Council at Patna and the Maharajah was asked to accompany them.

Having finished the work of civil administration, Mir Mohammad Kasim Khan devoted himself to the reorganization of the military department and placed it under the command of Gurgun Khan. He thus equipped a strong army, admitting into it some of the veterans of the upper provinces. He appointed Mohammad Naqi Khan Debrum the Paridar of Dushkum and deputed him also to look after the discipline of the new army. He appointed Syed Mohammad Khan his deputy in the Bagal province and Maharajah Raj Ballabh his deputy in the province of Ikher. Maharajah Ram Narayan he dismissed.

He presided the assembly and merely reminded of Ellet, such as Kanagar Khan, Sunder Singh, Buxard Singh, Palabawa Singh, &c. In short the Nawab put new life into the different departments of administration, and setting matters right to his entire satisfaction, proceeded to Shikarwan. Here also he chastised the refractory ministers, rebuked the propensities of those who were most turbulent, and even killed some of those who were most dangerous, and having restored complete peace and order in the place, he repaired to the fort of Robben. He selected Shikarwal the officer in charge of the fort, kept him under surveillance, placed the fort in charge of his trustworthy men, returned to Shikarwan, and from Shikarwan proceeded to Anisabad. At Anisabad he inquired of Raj Bahadur, and appointing Rajah Nurhat Bae in his place, proceeded towards Monghyr. He made Monghyr his capital, fortified the place, and lived there with ease and comfort, and in right royal style. His final two days in a week for the administration of justice, as was customary with the former kings. He himself presided as a judge and decided cases most impartially. His administration was vigorous and strong. He was ever anxious to administer even-handed justice, so much so that whenever it was brought to his notice that his ministers had selfishly taken lands from poor tenants or poor ministers he punished the usurpers, and gave back the lands thus seized to those who were entitled to them.

The meeting of Mr. Henry Vansittart with Meer Kholam-mad Khatim Khan; the departure of Meer Muhammad Khatim Khan to the Sarkar of Champaran; the advance of Gurgoon Khan to Nepal; the night attack of the Nepalese; the return of Gurgoon Khan, and the rupture between Gurgoon Khan on the one side and Shamshadulla and Meer Muhammad Khatim Khan on the other.

Mr. Henry Vansittart Shamshadulla was at this time in Calcutta. He left Calcutta for Monghyr with the object of seeing the Nawab. On his way he paid a flying visit to Barhwa and Murhidalai, and arrived at Monghyr on the 16th Jamad-ul-Awwal 1176, Hijri. The Nawab went to receive him at a distance of three miles from the city and gave him a right royal

reception. He accommodated Mr. Vansittart in the building constructed by Gurgum Khan on the Shalwar hill, and had seats pitched for the accommodation of his attendants and followers. Leaving Gurgum Khan to attend on his guest he repaired to the fort. The next day Shamsulddaula paid a visit to the Nawab in the fort. The Nawab came to receive him up to the staircase and seated him close to him on the *maund* and made valuable presents to him. Mr. Vansittart was much pleased with the hospitable reception accorded to him. The next day the Nawab paid a return visit to him and invited him to dinner. Mr. Vansittart also presented the Nawab the valuables he had brought from England. In response to the invitation Mr. Vansittart came to the Nawab's residence, dined and attended the *maund* party given in his honour. He inspected the new army, organized under the superintendence and command of Gurgum Khan, and remarked to the Nawab that the army was disciplined in the Asiatic style but was not a match for soldiers trained and disciplined in the European style. It would therefore be unwise for him to try conclusions with an army disciplined in the European style. He should bear in mind that he represented the Indian people, and his defeat would therefore throw discredit on the whole of India and humiliate him in the eyes of the public. Mr. Vansittart also exhorted the Nawab to remain quiet and refrain from acting in such a way as may disturb the existing relations between the English and Indian people and thus cause bloodshed. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan said that some native traders who resorted on trade under the protection of the English caused him great loss, while the gain to the English was very little. He would therefore request Shamsulddaula to allow him to arrest these traders with a view to put a stop to their trade. But Mr. Vansittart advised the Nawab to wait and to apply to the Council at Calcutta where the matter would be considered and necessary action passed. The Nawab instead of making till the final decision of the matter, sent an order to his men, calling upon them to act in a manner which may

until a crisis still he received a favourable decision from the Council at Calcutta, which he hoped to receive very soon. But his efforts could not manage the business in a satisfied manner and began to interfere in the trade of the English. This caused a rupture between the Company's servants and the officers of the Nawab. The result was that Mr. Ellis of the Peter Factory arrested the men of the Nawab. Mr. Maat of the Jahangirnagar Factory in his own place arrested the Nawab's officers there and sent them to Calcutta with a recommendation that the offenders might be punished for their illegal and unjustifiable conduct. In the meantime Gurgoon Khan, having heard of the wealth of Nepal through the Caribbees and Americans who traded in Idassa, persuaded the Nawab to send an expedition to Nepal. As the Sikhs of Churpurn had only chiefly come in to his possession, he himself persuaded to Churpurn with a body of troops and sent Gurgoon Khan to Nepal with a strong detachment consisting of sepoys and English artillery. With the help of guides Gurgoon Khan reached the outskirts of the mountains of Nepal. A detachment of Gurgoon Khan forced its way to the foot of the mountain of the mountains. As it arrived in the morning in the afternoon it had to pass the night there. The night was dark, and the Nepals attacked the body under cover of night, killed most of them, and seized their weapons. The next morning the vanquished soldiers made their escape and arrived in the camp of Gurgoon Khan. The general felt much dispirited and had to make his final retreat and subsequently appeared before the Nawab. The Nawab was much disconcerted and felt much humiliated and had at last to leave the Sikhs of Churpurn. He crossed the river at the Hajipur bazar and arrived at Anisabad. He did not meet Mr. Ellis, but crossed at Bagh Jaffer Khan, passing through the eastern gate. He left Meer Mahdi Ali Khan the Faujdar of the Sikhs of Shahabad, who was an experienced soldier, as his Deputy at Anisabad. He took Rajah Nudhat Rao with him, and passing through Kywargwee, etc., reached Monghyr. Here he was informed that the English had imprisoned some of his officers in the districts

of Arimabad and Jahangirnagar. He was much offended and ordered his men to arrest the *Ummatras* of the English and send them to him. He went further and submitted representations to the King and the Vizier, through Mirza Shamsuddaula, praying for help. In the meantime the officials of the Nawab arrested some *Ummatras* of the Company and sent them to His Highness. The Calcutta Council also wrote to the Nawab informing him that he was quite at liberty to apply for the imposition of duties on the goods of English merchants. But the Nawab paid no heed to the instructions contained in this letter and accepted all sorts of goods from duty. He replied to the Company that inasmuch as he suffered considerable pecuniary loss in respect of the goods of merchants under the protection of the Company and the gain from petty trade was comparatively very small, he accepted all goods from duty. Regarding the *Ummatras* of the Company who were imprisoned by his men he wrote that he would not release them so long as his servants were not released by the English and sent to him. This enraged the English, but they did not think it expedient to take any immediate steps in the matter. They however sent Messrs. Ansell and Jansy with a company of *sepoy*s to the Nawab. These officers left Calcutta and proceeded to Murshidabad. Nawab Shamsuddaula wrote a private letter to the Nawab telling him that it was not possible for him to get his request regarding the imposition of duties on English trades granted by the Company but that he might be able to do something for him when a suitable opportunity presented itself. It was therefore that His Highness should give a fitting reception to Messrs. Ansell and Jansy who were going to him as representatives of the Company. On getting this letter the Nawab consulted Gurgun Khan. This wrong-headed general gave him bad advice. The Nawab paid no heed to the admonition of Shamsuddaula and acted against the interests of the Company which as will appear proved fatal to him.

The arrival of Messrs. Amlett and Jessop at Moughyr; their conversation with Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan and their attempt at laying the foundation of a firm friendship between him and the East India Company.

Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan was surprised to find that the Calcutta Council and he did not agree on material points. He thought that it was not desirable at that juncture to allow Jagat Seth Mahabub Chaud and his brother Mahomajd Shariat Chaud to remain at Murshidabad. And as there was much difference between the high English officials and Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan at the time, and as Jagat Seth and his brother whom he did not trust, were fully cognizant of it, he also thought it proper to keep them under proper watch. He was also afraid that they might go to Calcutta and create mischief. He therefore wrote to Meer Mohammad Yaqi Khan to proceed immediately to Murshidabad, besiege the house of Jagat Seth and his brother, keep them in confinement, and after arrest make them over to the Armenian merchants when he arrived with his army and then finally return to his own province. On receipt of the latter Meer Mohammad Yaqi Khan proceeded to Murshidabad with his army and besieged the house of Jagat Seth and his brother. In the meantime the Armenian merchants arrived with his army and Jagat Seth and his brother were arrested and compelled to go to Moughyr with the Armenians. On arrival at Moughyr they were brought into the presence of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan. He apparently made friends with them and released them. He ordered a house to be erected for them at Moughyr and permitted them to attend the *darbar* as heretofore. But at the same time he ordered some of his men to watch them and prevent them going to any other place. In pursuance of the orders of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan, Jagat Seth and his brother laid the foundation of their houses at a place pointed out to them. They passed their lives in a state of utter suspense. During this period the news came that Messrs. Amlett and Jessop, the ambassadors sent by the Council at Calcutta, had arrived. Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan sent his brother Meer Abbas Ali and Raja Nushat to receive them. The

ambassadors entered Hinghyr in Roshad 1176 Hijri and halted in the camp specially pitched for them. Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan paid them a visit when courtesies were exchanged. The next day Meers Anisett and Jasey, Captain Johnson, Mr. Clayton and other Englishmen called on Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan. He gave them a warm reception; offered them chairs to sit on; occupied one chair himself, and made a present of some clothes and jewels to Mr. Anisett. He saw them down to the staircase on their departure and got from them a promise to stay at his place. Mr. Anisett with some other Englishmen went to the house of Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan at night to dine. They enjoyed the dance and the display of fireworks and then returned to their camps. There were frequent interviews afterwards in which complaints were heard on all sides and in every rank was laid the suspicion of treachery instead of that of friendship. In a state of helplessness, Mr. Anisett and others asked for permission to depart. Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan after many changes of mood at last decided that Mr. Jasey might remain at Hinghyr till the time his imprisoned servants might return there after their release. With death staring him in the face Mr. Jasey remained at Hinghyr and Mr. Anisett and others after taking leave of Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan started for Calcutta by boat week despatched. Mr. Ellis, senior member, wrote to the officers at Patna that there had been a misunderstanding between him and Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan of which the inevitable result would be that they would have to go to war. He (the addressee) ought therefore to be careful and cautious, be ready for active service, and do what was possible for him to do.

War between Mr. Ellis and Mir Nohdi Ali Khan, Governor of Azimabad, and the retreat of Mr. Ellis and his arrest by Nam Siddiqi, ruler of the District of Baran, who sent him to Hinghyr; destruction of the house and the murder of Mr. Anisett at Hursheedabad under the orders of Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan.

When the letter of Mr. Anisett reached Mr. Ellis at Azimabad who himself had been ill-will towards Meer Mohammed Kasim

Khan, he was sure that on the arrival of Mr. Anisab at Calcutta he would receive orders to go to war with Meer Muhammad Kasim. Mr. Ellis wrote to Major Curzon who commanded the army at Amulabad to march with his army that very night and attack the fort and take it by the next morning. He got wood and harness ladders made through his servants and kept them safely in his house. He called Dr. Follerton who was in the city of Fatah and informed him of his intentions. Major Curzon arrived at Mr. Khan's house with his army before midnight. He came out of his house and fired the ladders near Bachinski Khaki. The whole of the English army then entered the city. The English were divided into two sections, one proceeded to Gushatta through Nawabkhan and the other proceeded to the fort of Arimabad by the rampart near Pashia Darwaza. As soon as the army entered the city, guns and muskets began to fire. Some of these persons who were appointed by Meer Mehdi Ali Khan to guard the city wall, opposed the invaders, and were wounded. The news of the arrival of the English troops reached Mehdi Ali Khan. On that very night he took those men with him who were on foot, ordered them to arm themselves, and somehow or other went as far as Gushatta and met the English troops. In about a quarter of an hour most of these men were wounded and slain by the arrows of the British army and the remaining fled as fast as they could. They came out of Fatah Darwaza in a great panic and did not stop till they reached Faisah. They stopped there for some time before deciding to go to Bhoglyr. On arriving within the walls of the city, they began to enter the houses of the people and plunder them. This state of things lasted for about six hours. While Meer Mehdi Ali Khan was fighting at Fatah another army which Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan had sent for his assistance and which was guarding the city walls, arrived. With the help of this army Meer Mehdi Ali Khan returned towards the city and entered it. He met the English army again. From both sides the English army received such injury by the firing of the guns and arrows

that it could not stand. They fled from there and came out of the city and encamped. The fort of Arinsabad again came into the possession of Meer Mohib Ali Khan. His army collected in large numbers at Bartonski Khirki and began to manœuvre the British army. Mr. Ellis could stand no longer and with the rest of his army came out of the fort during the last part of the night and escaped towards Baskipon. The next morning Meer Mohib Ali Khan came out of the fort with the army which had arrived in the beginning and the army of Tullanga which had arrived at that time and started for Baskipon to meet the English army. Mr. Ellis was informed of this, and finding his army unable to resist, embarked with it on boats and proceeded towards Chapra, and from there went towards the river Sarjan, which was the boundary line of the province of Shajardahabad. Here Raza Nidki the Pargana of the district of Samra attacked Mr. Ellis in company with Shikaria and his associates who come from Buxar with troops. Although Mr. Ellis had three battalions with him he could not oppose successfully. He was taken prisoner by Raza Nidki and sent to Arinsabad. Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan would first quite depressed to hear of the capture of the fort of Arinsabad by the English army and of the flight of Meer Mohib Ali Khan; but he was very much delighted to hear of the defeat of the English by Meer Mohib Ali Khan, of the flight of the British and of the capture of Mr. Ellis by Raza Nidki in the vicinity of Chapra. He came to his court in the morning. The courtiers presented themselves to congratulate him on his recent military successes and made presents to him. Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan issued a proclamation and sent it to all his subordinates declaring that there was no more friendship between him and the English and they might therefore be killed wherever found. This order reached Herakidabad and Mr. Anisak and the other Englishmen who had arrived there were killed by the army. The heads of persons thus killed were sent by the military officers to Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan. On the same day Syed Muhammad Khana, a Lieutenant of Meer Muhammad Kasim

Khan, pillaged the houses of Englishmen in Quatibazar. Mr. Ellis and other Englishmen with cannons, guns and other arms and hardware of the Bankipore house, which had come into the possession of Rana Nidhi, ruler of the district of Burma, were sent to Mehdi Ali Khan who in his turn sent them to Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan who put the arms he received under the custody of Gurgun Khan, and other things into his storehouse. He imprisoned Mr. Ellis and other Englishmen, and asked Sheikh Fakhir Ali to guard them and to make suitable arrangements for their comfort, as they were men of high position and had held high offices. When Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan felt constrained that there was no other alternative but to fight with the English, he wrote to Muhammad Taqi Khan, ruler of Bikhona, and Syed Muhammad Khan, Deputy Governor of Murshidabad, and other chiefs exhibiting his justification that he was not on friendly terms with the English and thought it politic to fight them and that therefore they ought to be ready for action.

When the letter reached Muhammad Taqi Khan, ruler of Bikhona, he made every arrangement for war and with all his army speedily started from Bikhona for Cutwa. Having reached there, he encamped with his army. When the letter reached Syed Muhammad Khan, Deputy Governor of Murshidabad, he also made every arrangement for the campaign and sent his chiefs—Jafar Khan, Alam Khan, Sheikh Hahamulak Khan—and the chiefs of Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan to assist Mir Muhammad Taqi Khan. Mir Muhammad Kasim Khan himself made preparations and kept himself ready for action.

Consultation of the members of the Council with Khamsundandiah for the reappointment of Meer Muhammad Jafar Khan as Subedar of Bengal and the engagement of Meer Muhammad Taqi Khan on behalf of Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan against the English and on account of the subsequent events.

When the news reached the Council at Calcutta that Mr. Amlett and other Englishmen had been killed by the army of Meer Muhammad Kasim Khan at Murshidabad, they were

Swiss. The members of the Council assembled and hotly discussed the matter with Shamschiddaulah when they thought to be in sympathy with the Nawab and advocating his cause.

With a view to exonerate himself from blame, Shamschiddaulah made a note on a piece of a paper stating that it would be politic to wage war after Mr. Ellis and other European gentlemen were released and removed from the clutches of Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan; for otherwise the Nawab would kill all the Englishmen who were imprisoned at the time of the commencement of hostilities.

When the members of the Council perused the note of Shamschiddaulah, they felt confirmed in their opinion that he was pleading the cause of the Nawab, and as a matter of course, got irritated. They therefore recorded a note of dissent and asserted that they would not be satisfied until the unprovoked and cold blooded murder of Mr. Ansteth was fully avenged. Shamschiddaulah then read his note with the note of dissent and put it into his pocket, and addressed the Council: "I have been in consultation with you. Yes, it is necessary to fight with Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan". He then took the members of the Council with him and went to Meer Mahomedul Jafar Khan and offered him the Subaship of the province. After a long discussion and repeated refusal, Meer Mahomedul Jafar Khan took a vote from the members to support him whenever their support was needed, and finally accepted the offer. This done, he made preparations for action against Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan and with the officers of the Company went out of Calcutta. As he was proceeding he met two battalions of the English army ahead. Haidatullah Khan and Alam Khan who were engaged on the other side of the Magistrate near Purnoy with 600 soldiers of Meer Mohammed Taqi Khan then came face to face with the two battalions of the English army. Hostilities commenced, but the bravery of the English army proved too powerful for the forces of the enemy, which could not stand and fell.

Next day the English army crossed the Hagiaelake and met the forces of Meer Mohammed Yaqi Khan. As the arrangements made by Meer Mohammed Yaqi Khan were most defective, his army was cut to pieces.

On hearing this terrible news, Syed Mohammed Khan, Deputy Governor of Mardikhah, left all the property of Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan on the spot, and started with his men for Mengkye without a single fight with the enemy. Two or three days after, on the 15th of Moharram 1177 Hijri, Nawab Meer Mohammed Jaffer Khan with his men and the British army entered Mardikhah and occupied the palace and took possession of all the property of Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan. The citizens, young and old, appeared at the court and made presents and congratulated him on his conquests and his accession to the throne. His accession to the throne was proclaimed throughout Mardikhah by beat of drum. After staying for five or six days at Mardikhah and having made arrangements for another campaign, he came out of Mardikhah and started for Mengkye with his army, accompanied by the British military officers.

On hearing the news of the death of Meer Mohammed Yaqi Khan and the flight of his army and the victory of the British forces Meer Mohammed Kasim Khan got very nervous. But he summoned his courtiers and went on steadily with his work. He first wrote to his Sardars, such as Shakh Hakeemullah Khan and others, asking them to await the arrival of fresh reinforcements. He then sent a force to Hakeemullah Khan consisting of Asadullah Khan, with 6,000 or 7,000 horse, Shazwan with 5 battalions and 10 pieces of cannon and Meer Nush, the head of the Bandhwas. This reinforcement reached the camp of Hakeemullah Khan, and the combined force remained anxiously waiting for the English army. Sher Ali Khan, the Faujdar of Ferozshah, also joined the army. The English force together with the army of Meer Mohammed Jaffer Khan also arrived in time to meet the forces of Meer Mohammed

Kasim Khan. The fight began on Tuesday the 11st Maharun. The troops of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan took the offensive, and opened fire and commenced surrounding. The English army, as usual, remained stationary and inactive for a time. As soon as the Nizam's army, advancing, reached the range of the English cannons, the English army opened fire with such deadly effect that the Nizam's army was completely routed and so much demoralised did it become that it fled, pell-mell, from the battlefield and retired only at the Gadh Nalid, where another detachment of Meer Mohammad Kasim Khan's army was stationed.



XII.—Birth, Childhood and Puberty and Death Customs of the Pabri Bhuinyas.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A.

The commencement of each successive stage in the life of a Pabri Bhuinya, as of almost all tribes and castes, is marked by ceremonies intended either to relieve the individual from the harmful spiritual influences peculiar to the out-going stage or to animate his nature to the new state of life he is entering and making the entry into the new state safe and prosperous. The various ceremonies observed at the different stages of a Pabri's life except marriage are briefly described in the present paper. An account of the marriage customs will be given in a future paper.

Birth.

An expectant mother has to take certain precautions to protect herself and particularly the child in the womb against evil spirits. She may not go to the jungle and hills and in fact she may not leave the house except to go to the stream for bathing purposes. She is not allowed to see smoke rising from a cremation so that *serais* and *charai* spirits that frequent a cremation ground may not do any harm to her and the child in her womb.

In cases of difficult labour, vows are made to *Dharm* (Datta [the Supreme God] and to *Bhramari* [the Earth goddess] to facilitate delivery. The head of the family addresses the deity saying, "Thou shalt generate the child in the womb, now being it not safely. We shall offer thee *asikar* (arise rice) and *atal* (molasses) or *pondra* (fruit) (as the case may be) in case of safe delivery; otherwise (in the event of miscarriage) thou wilt attach to Thee." A few days after birth, when mother and child have been ceremonially purified, the vow is

fulfilled by offering the promised sacrifices and offerings. In a case of difficult labour, covers of all vessels in the house are taken out and thrown away to facilitate delivery through sympathetic magic. No male is permitted to enter the hut during labour pains and before delivery. The delivery takes place in a portion of the hut set apart as the lying-in compartment.

As soon as a child is born, the navel string is cut by the father's mother (*gñ*) or by some other woman standing in the same relation, in a classificatory sense, to the baby. She receives about half a pound of rice for her labour, and on the occasion of the child's naming-giving ceremony gets a pot of boiled rice and meat called *sañ-dagñ*. The umbilical cord is buried by her outside the house. The babe is washed in tepid water shortly after birth. In the case of a male child, the navel string is severed with an arrow, in the case of a girl with a knife or a splinter of bamboo.

For eight days after parturition, the parturient woman gets only rice and fried rice (*Néñ* *mandivakhe*) leaves and salt for her meals. She is not permitted to take either pulses, vegetables, fish or flesh. So long as the child cannot sit up, she may not take fish, flesh, pumpkin, and the *Néñ* pulse, as these are believed to cause sickness to the child.

The ceremonial impurity of a parturient woman is removed by incense-burns. Thus, after eight days from delivery, when the clothes and other articles used in the confinement room are purified by washing, and not before that, the members of the family may take drinking water at her hands, but she may not yet cook food for them nor enter the kitchen. After the child is named, some time after the eighth day and before the thirteenth day of its birth, members of the other Pálal families may take drinking water from her hands, and cooked food from the other members of the family but not yet from the parturient woman herself. The other taboos continue as before. On the day of the naming-giving ceremony, old cooking vessels are cast away and new vessels used. It is only after four months from

**Ceremonial
Impurity.**

the birth of a son and five months from the birth of a daughter that the final purification takes place. Relatives are entertained at a feast; and from that time she may enter the kitchen, cook food for members of her family and her tribe, and they may all take food and water at her hands. Until this final purification, the husband of the parturient woman, like the woman herself, may not approach the seats of the deities when any *puja* is being performed, nor may he offer any sacrifice.

A child born with one or more teeth is believed to bring ill-luck to its parents, and, it is said, is generally suffocated and thrown into a stream. Twins (jodwa dilid) are much prized. To avoid the death of an infant whose child brothers and sisters die prematurely, the mother of the infant leaves it in a manuscript saying—"All my children die prematurely. What shall I do with a fresh child? Here I leave it." Another woman, who is there, exclaims "This child is mine", and faithfully picks it up in her arms and carries it home. Subsequently the mother of the child brings it back from the house of the other woman.

NAME-GIVING (NAM-THA)

On a day between the eighth and twelfth day from the birth of a child, a name is selected with the following rites. All the Pithi women of the village are invited to the house, and some of them cook rice and pulse in earthen vessels for a feast. No meat may be cooked or eaten that day at the house. Some near *devoni* women (agnates) of another family prepare a sort of pudding by boiling rice flour with *manasa* seeds (vati). This is offered first to the ancestor-spirits, and then a bit of it is given to the child to eat, and then the rest of it is eaten by all the women present. The floor of the hut is cleaned with cowdung and water, and on a spot so cleaned a circular diagram is drawn with terracotta powder. Inside this circle is placed a jug of water mixed with turmeric powder. Elderly women sit down in front of this vessel but outside the diagram. One of them drops into the water of the jug a grain of

man together with a grain of rice, and at the same time pronounces the name of a certain relative of the child. If it is a male child, the first grain of manna and rice are dropped in the name of the paternal grandfather of the child. If the rice sinks into the water, the woman says, "No, he (the grandfather) has not come." If the rice floats, it is taken out and placed on the head of the child, the woman saying, "Yes, he has come." If the first grain of rice sinks down, another grain of rice and one of manna (millet) are dropped into the water in the same successively of one paternal grand-uncle after another. If still the rice sinks, names of father's paternal grandfathers and grand-uncles are tried in succession. When ultimately the rice floats, the woman exclaims, "Yes, he is come!" And the name of the relative at whose name the rice floats is selected as the name of the child. If the rice does not float at the name of the father's grandfather or grand-uncle, the same process is repeated in the names of other deceased agnate relations one after another while fresh grains are dropped in the name of each; and the name at which the grain of rice floats, is the name selected. In the case of a female child, the father's mother is first named, then father's uncle in succession, then the father's grandmother and grand-uncle, and so on. In the case of both sexes it is only after the names of dead agnate relations are exhausted that the names of maternal relations may be taken. All the names taken must be those of deceased relations; for the child is supposed to be the reincarnation of some dead relative.

After a name has been selected, relatives and trife-fathers of the family may take food in the house, but no food cooked by the mother of the baby will be eaten by them until four months from the birth in the case of a male child and three months in the case of a female child. Besides the name thus selected, some children get pet names or nicknames. After the clothes used by the mother and child have been sent to the washerman's (Dhoti Rahet's) house, the father of a first child will fasten a new thread round his wife's neck. The Philip

whom I questioned about the object of this throat-tying, could assign no other reason for it except that it is an ancient custom.

Disposal of Milk-teeth

Cast milk-teeth of children are thrown away by a parent or brother or sister saying, "Hara! take this old tooth and give a new tooth in its place".

First Haircutting

From two to five months after the birth of a child, the hair (*tsan-shai* or 'sacred hair') of the child is shaved for the first time by the wife or mother's brother, and the father or mother of the child takes the hair to the nearest stream and casts the hair into the water. The child is then bathed by the mother. The mother's brother bathes and is then regaled with liquor and treated to a feast. He is presented with a new cloth for his office. Neither tattooing nor circumcision is practised by the Fikhs.

Ear-piercing

At the age of four or five years, when the child is able to walk about, a paternal grandmother or grand-mother pierces its ears with a thorn of the *tsin-shai* plant or plum-stem branch. When the pain subsides an such ear-piercing stakes, either a small rod or a thin piece of wood is inserted into each hole to widen it or *tsun* *tsun* (ear-plugs) are worn. No feast is given to relatives nor are any other rites observed.

Menstruation

A female is considered ceremonially unclean and is under a taboo for a week after every menstruation. During this period she is not allowed to touch any cooking utensils or water vessels; nor will any male member of her family or tribe, not even her husband, take food or drink touched by her, nor sit down on the same mat or other seat with her. Women alone may drink water touched by her and sit on the same mat with her, but even they will not eat food cooked by her. She has to sleep in a separate mat by herself. On the eighth day she will herself wash her clothes in water and hot water, and then take a bath. Then she will anoint her body with oil and tamaris paste and with a fragrant paste made of powdered *tsin-shai* and *tsun* *tsun* of the *Chang* stream.

Training in the Dormitories

Boys and girls sleep with their parents till about their seventh or eighth year after which they are admitted into their respective dormitories. The common dormitory for the Palai boys of a village is called the *Mopla-glar* and that for girls the *Shangya-lhat*. In some villages the *Shangya-lhat* is adjacent to the *Mopla-glar*, and in a few villages the *Shangya-lhat* and the *Mopla-glar* has only one partition wall between them. In some villages, however, the common *Shangya-lhat* no longer exists but the girls of the village sleep in the house of some lone widow or are distributed in more than one such house. When public affairs or other important personages visit the village or a party of Palai guests come to the village for marriage negotiations or other purposes, they are accommodated in the *Mopla-glar*, and the boys sleep either in the *Mopla-glar* or some other vacant hut in the village.

In these dormitories, boys and girls are trained in habits of obedience and instructed in their duties to their elders and superiors and also in dancing and singing. The elder boys exercise authority over the younger boys of the dormitory who have to fetch water in the morning and bring bath-pots for the elder boys to wash their faces and clean their teeth; they have to sweep the floor of the *Mopla-glar* every morning and clean it with coarsing and water, and bring wood from the jungle and keep the wood burning at night to keep the *Mopla-glar* warm; they have to shampoo the legs of the elder boys and rub their arms. The elder boys allot these duties to different batches of boys in turns. They are instructed by the elder boys in their duties to their elders and superiors and in the different tunes and melodies of their songs and in playing upon the *odlay*. One or two of the elder boys act as leaders of the dormitory boys, chastise them when they neglect their duties or otherwise go wrong. They may expel a member of the dormitory found in intrigue with a defunct (agnatic) girl. It is the leaders who decide as to the village where they are to go for dances on any particular night,

The older girls exercise similar authority over the younger girls. The latter have to perform similar duties for their dormitory and for the older girls as the younger boys have to do for their dormitory and for the older boys. The older girls instruct the younger girls in the different steps of the singing dances, in the different tunes and melodies of their songs, and in the way they should behave themselves to the boys of other villages who come to dance with them in their village and to what villages they themselves go for dances.

Sickness and Death.

All sickness is believed by the Pibis to be the infection of some offended or mischievous spirit. A particular illness is attributed to the *Nadine* blame of the spirits of persons whose names have not been ceremonially taken back to the house. The *ayonitac* spirit, though ordinarily benevolent, may cause illness to some member of the family. If the father, or the inner-tobaccoe an aunt for them, is polluted by the intrusion of some ceremonially unknown person. Other illnesses may cause sickness if there is any defect or incantation in the periodical offerings of sacrifices to them. *Anatit* or the familiar spirits of particular individuals may also cause illness and even death, but generally they afflict only members of the house where they have their seats. They continually cause minor ailments such as rashes and shingles on the neck or foot of persons entering their dwellings or seats while such intruders are ceremonially unclean; but sometimes they may even cause some fatal illness to such intruders. Vows of sacrifice are made to them to make them forbear. *Beyin*, *Uti-er* and other village-deities may cause epidemics when offended, but they ordinarily protect the village from epidemics and other misfortunes. *Chivraspi* is a minor spirit who afflicts people with night-craws. The patient shakes off the *Chivraspi* spirit by turning round on his bed and thus rid himself of a nightmare.

The friends of a sick man call in a spirit-doctor called the *Marit* to find out which particular spirit is responsible for the

accide. The methods of the *Shirit* will be described in a later chapter. In the case of any affliction through a *Maadai* spirit, the *seiyōdai* ceremony is performed by the *Shirit* waving four *bin* over the head of the patient four grains of rice wrapped up in a leaf and throwing the bundle away while bidding the *Maadai* spirit (who is addressed by name) to depart. In the case of an affliction by the *umatai* spirits, they are presented an offering of *shō* (rice-pudding) *tsukidō* in a new earthen vessel and are asked to return into their *Shirit* or earthen vessel in which they are believed to reside inside the *Shirit*. In cases of epidemic, the *Shirit* makes offerings of water to *Fuyū* and *Gū-uei* and to other gods of the village and the adjacent hills. Certain roots and herbs are also administered to the sick. These folk-medicine will be described in a subsequent chapter.

When all remedies fail and the sick man dies, the corpse is laid with its head to the south and is besmeared with oil and burning paste. Those who can afford to do so rever the corpse with a new cloth, but do not take off the old cloth which the deceased had on. The corpse is carried out of the house face upwards and feet pointing north, wrapped in a mat and tied to a wooden pole. While the corpse is being taken out of the house, the women increase their wailing. As soon as the corpse is carried out, one or more women clean the floor and courtyard of the house with cowdung and water and throw away all earthen cooking vessels. Families do not go to the burial-place or cremation-ground.

A person killed by a tiger is cremated, as otherwise, it is believed, the tiger which killed the man will carry off the corpse. Persons who die of snake-bite, a fall, cholera or small-pox, must be buried. Corpses of other persons may be either buried or cremated. Except in the case of a person killed by a tiger, burial is now rare. A pit about six feet long and three feet deep is dug, and the corpse is laid down into it. Jewellery and nicknacks, if any, worn by the deceased, are buried with the corpse; but knuckle-bone and other ornaments are taken off. The

eldest son of the deceased first throws a handful of earth into the grave and then other sons do the same; next the *Jafar*s and then the *handies* perform the *memoria* in honour of the deceased. Finally all fill in the grave with earth. Piles of stones (*Patlar gâh*) are piled over the grave, and over these stones thorny twigs and branches are spread so that wolves and other beasts may not disturb the grave. In the case of a cremation the corpse is laid on the funeral pile with head to the south, the eldest son first puts fire to it and then the other sons, next the *Jafar*s, and finally the *handies* put fuel wood over the corpse. When a pregnant woman dies, the child is taken out of the womb and buried at some distance from the grave of its mother.

When the men return from the burial-place or cremation-ground, as the case may be, they have their nails pared and the hair round the scalp shaved by some *Bandia*. All *defunct* males in the village, young and old, have their nails pared and the hair round their scalps shaved. But the wives and daughters of the deceased need not get their nails pared. The clothes of all the men who attend a burial or cremation as also those of all members of the deceased's family are made over to the *Nâni* *Said* for washing; and they all wear new or washed clothes, and those who have none borrow such clothes from some neighbour. The *Nâni* *Said* washes the clothes with hot water and salt and puts them out to dry. The clothes are brought back the same evening or next morning when they are given to him to boil and eat. A feast is provided to all relatives—*Bandia* as well as *Kalamâ*. Only *Bandia* may act as cooks for this feast. When the relatives take a few days to collect the necessary provisions for a feast, the various purificatory observances such as the shaving of the head and paring of the nails of all people tainted with death-pollution as also of the members of the family of the deceased and the changing of old clothes for new ones are similarly delayed.

Except in the case of a woman dying in childbirth or during pregnancy, and of persons who have been killed by tigers, or have died of snake-bite, fall, disease, and small-pox, the shades of other dead people are conducted back to the house either on the third, fifth, seventh, ninth or eleventh days from the day of death with the following rites: At least a party of relatives—either kinsmen or friends or both—of the deceased start from the deceased's house and proceed in the direction of the grave or cremation ground. One of the party carries either two shields, one in each hand, or a brass cup in his left hand and a stick in his right hand, and another carries a new earthen vessel containing rice-flour, and a third man carries an earthen vessel in which goat's flesh has been cooked. When the party arrives at the boundary of the village, three sticks are planted into the ground in the form of a tripod, and the earthen vessel in which goat's flesh has been cooked is placed over it and stamped into pieces. While the vessel is being broken, the men call aloud the deceased by name and say, "Come, come! Do thou enter the hut!" Then the spirit attracted by the smell of the cooked flesh, is believed to come there and enter the earthen vessel containing rice-flour, and is carried home. The man with the brass cup strikes the cup with the stick, or if the man carries two shields he strikes one against the other. When they reach home, the people in the house ask them, "How has the spirit come?" Then some one examines the rice-flour and looks out for the footprints of the animal which is believed to have carried the spirit on its back. Something resembling the footprint of an elephant, or a cow, or an ox, or a cat, or an ant or some other animal is always imagined to be present in the rice-flour, and the man exclaims, "See! Here is the footprint of the spirit's vehicle! The spirit has ridden home on such-and-such (named) an animal." The rice-flour is now burnt and eaten by the seven men who have brought the spirit home. A fowl which was left in the *hâitar* or inner tabernacle before the party went to fetch the spirit is now sacrificed and its blood offered to

the ancestor spirits. There were *defused* or *agnate* of the deceased puts rice on a leaf-plate placed on the floor of the altar, and offers this rice first to the spirits of all the ancestors and other members of the family who protected the person whose shade has just been brought home, and finally to the new shade or spirit. From the day of burial or cremation until now, every day, a son or younger brother of the deceased has been carrying a leaf-cup (*shih*) of boiled rice to the boundary (*shen-mih*) of the village and putting it down on the ground for the nourishment of the spirit of the deceased.

After these sacrifices and offerings have been made to the shade now installed in his old home, the members of the family become freed from death-pollution. Until now they have been under a taboo; no member of the tribe would take food or drink without their hands. On the first-day of pollution, their meals are cooked for them,—or at least the cooking-pot is put upon the hearth—by some agnate of theirs not belonging to the family. In some villages during all these days of pollution they are provided with food cooked at the houses of their neighbors.

Birth and Death Customs among the K'ia-shih Hsiang.

The Hsiang-shih Hsiang of the plains, under the influence of Brahman priests, have modified their ancient customs relating to birth and death to some extent. They now observe only seven days of ceremonial pollution after the birth of a male as well as of a female child. On the seventh day only the child's parents have their nails pared and the clothes of the members of the family are washed. A Brahman priest performs a mutilated form of the Hsiang ceremony.

To select a name for the child the same method is employed as by the Fuhai Hsiang.

The K'ia-shih Hsiang have adopted the Hindu custom of ceremonial feeding of the child with rice for the first time. This ceremony is performed in the fourth month of the child's life or later. Some elderly member of the family puts into the mouth of the child a little *dal* or rice boiled in milk after a portion has been offered to the gods. A feast is provided to relatives.

On the fifth, seventh or ninth year of its life a Khazdûk Bêhîrâ child has its ears perforated. A barber perforates the ears with a metal pin. Relatives are entertained on the occasion before religious rites are observed.

Thakwars well-to-do Bêhîrâs practise cremation whereas the poorer Bêhîrâs bury their dead. But, rich or poor, all must bury the corpse of women dying during pregnancy and the corpses of members of their families who die of cholera or small-pox or snake-bite. In the case of the corpse of a pregnant woman, the child is taken out of the womb and buried separately at some distance from each other, as among the Fîlîrî Bêhîrâ; in some places the corpse of the woman and the embryo are buried on opposite banks of a stream for it is believed that spirits cannot cross a stream. The shade of the deceased is invited back to the house and incorporated with the *gâvîrâ*, or ancestor-spirits with similar ceremonies as among the Fîlîrî Bêhîrâ.



XIII.—Use of Charms in Ancient Indian Literature.

By J. N. Sasmal, B.A.

It is evident from even a cursory glance at the ancient books of the Aryans that they were mightily afraid of two things, Disease and Demons. Disease was, of course, a necessary evil of living, while Demons, Evil Spirits and the like were the requisite attributes of a primitive people and very likely both went hand in hand, Disease being very often attributed to Demons¹.

Disease.

The Science of Medicine had not, of course, taken any hold then, and as is the custom with all primitive people, the best way to escape out of the clutches of the various diseases prevalent then, was to take recourse to charms. Various are the references to the use of charms in the Vedas and specially in the Atharvaveda. Of the many diseases, consumption seemed to be more prevalent than others and was also rightly apprehended. Atharva Book 5, Hymn 11 speaks of a charm² for the recovery of a sick person in extreme danger of death, suffering from unrelieved decline and consumption. Book 1, Hymn 88³ is also a charm against consumption, while if we are to believe in Book 2 Hymn 2⁴ it was already being

¹ "Diseases among animals equally with diseases among men is all but universally believed to be due to parasites,"—Dr J. M. Campbell.

² DeWald's translation, p. 61.

³ *Ibid.* p. 87.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 51. "So let the plague-declaring glad remove unrelieved Sorrow." The first use of Sings as charms see the latter part of this article.

considered as a hereditary disease. Book 8, Hymn 9¹ speaks of a dangerous disease and of the charm necessary to cure it.

Fever had also taken its hold, for we find in Atharva Book 7 Hymn 106² a charm against fever. Diarrhoea or dysentery was another of the diseases to which the Aryans were liable and for which they had to use a charm. The procedure to be adopted on this occasion was something to be special. The head of a stalk of *Munja* grass (*Saccharum Munja*) was to be tied to a cord; then, perhaps, it was to be suspended from the neck of the patient or to be otherwise attached to his body. "As the discharged arrow hangs between heaven and earth", so the grass was to stand between the patient's ailment and arrows [diarrhoea in an acute form or dysentery], that is to prevent the indisposition from developing into serious disease.

In spite of the hard open air labour to which they had to submit themselves, the Aryans suffered from ophthalmia and the use of a charm in Book 1 Hymn 3³ is a proof of the same. The Aryans, it seems, suffered occasionally from ophthalmia conjunctiva also and they tried to acquire supernatural powers of sight by charms⁴. To cure themselves from insanity they recited also a charm⁵. Charms were also used as

¹ *Delhi Sanskrit edition*, p. 31. This hymn calls *Devastollaka* (an amulet of two kinds of holy wood) to save one from the hands of *Devils* (a French Devil who abducts men and causes death and disease).

² *Ibid.*, p. 334. "They be, the best of men, who recite charms to thee following days." Fever is alluded here as a Male Deva, though according to *Harigadhad* "Fever or fever was formerly and is still among the superstitious people, held to be a female deity or spirit of evil". Book 1, R. 35 speaks of "God of the sickly patient"—Does it refer to the mother? "Follow Fever"?

³ *Atharva* V. 1, R. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14. "Let the charmed pots shine brighter than an old".

⁵ Book 4, R. 35. The holder of the charm (a plant) "was in front, now behind, was after every, was the sky, firmament and earth.".....

⁶ Book 5, R. 112.

a preventive against jaundice causing yellowness¹¹, leprosy¹², rheumatism¹³, scurvy¹⁴, cough¹⁵, and pustules¹⁶. Even for a man who was at the point of death¹⁷, charms to secure health, long life, prosperity (and fame) were not wanting¹⁸. Not to speak of curing effluvia, like Orpheus, the Aryans even tried to recall a departed spirit by the use of a charm.¹⁹

Demons and Evil Spirits.

Demons and Evil Spirits, as I have already said, had also their full share with the primitive Aryans. In the *Attharvaveda*, Book I, Hymn 17²⁰, there is mentioned the use of charms against *Shada* "who rises in troops at night time, when the moon is dark", while the next hymn is a charm "to avert evil spirits of misfortune and wickedness."²¹ *Shanda* and goblins had to be fought with charms²², while evil spirits in general²³ who refused to desist the Aryans had to face charms before they could actually touch their victims. It seems this was a "curse then, exorcism" spirit for he is distinctly mentioned²⁴ and for whom a charm had to be manufactured. The punishment sought for was evidently exemplary, for he was to be banished to prevent further mischief. There were certain spirits who troubled women only and a charm was devised to exorcise these evil spirits whose jurisdiction was confined to ladyfolk. Charms probably were not fully successful, for prayers had also to be resorted to²⁵.

¹¹ *Attharva* B. I. II. 20.

¹² *Attharva* B. I. 20 and 24.

¹³ *Attharva* B. 24.

¹⁴ *Attharva* B. 215.

¹⁵ *Attharva* B. 216.

¹⁶ *Attharva* B. 216.

¹⁷ *Attharva* B. 216.

¹⁸ *Attharva* B. 216.

¹⁹ *Attharva* B. 154.

²⁰ *Attharva* B. 216.

²¹ *Griffith's Attharva*, p. 20, also D.K.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²³ *Ibid.*, 216.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 216.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 216.

²⁶ *Attharva* B. 216.

To combat both disease and-devils, a charm was necessary; as we find in Atharva Book XIX, *Myasa* 38². Whatever Hypotheses may observe about the veracity and all the other qualities at the time of the great Marjyas, charms were in existence even in early times and charms had to be manufactured against the unwhimsical thief ¹⁷.

Charms also had their proper charms combating disease and nightmares. In the Atharvaveda, there are references to them, at least in three places, to the preparation of charms against evil dreams ¹⁸.

There was also the use of charms to increase bodily beauty. Hair had been and will be, of course, always a matter of great consideration and there are references to the use of charms to promote the growth of hair ¹⁹. People, as it would appear, were always afraid, from that immemorial, of barber's itch and thus we see the necessity for a charm to accompany the shaving of the head²⁰. There were also the use of charms to remove (ill-omened) personal faults ²¹ and under this circumstance it is hardly necessary to mention that charms were in existence to remove evil bodily characteristics from a woman ²².

In the Vedic age, charms were also used to win love²³ and specially to win a maiden's love ²⁴ and further, to win and secure a girl²⁵. Charms had also to be invented to win

¹⁷ This was an amulet prepared by "a braked man", which would drive "braked corruption". "braked *du-bhā*, a braked of *paśadā* and *apavāsa*, a braked of *du-bhā* and *apavāsa*".

¹⁸ Atharva B. 7:25.

¹⁹ Book 8:7 (a charm against fever), 7:100 (a charm against nightmare), 7:121 (a charm against the moon).

²⁰ Atharva 11:201 and 11:17.

²¹ Atharva 11:201.

²² Atharva 11:18.

²³ Atharva 11:1.

²⁴ Atharva B. 8:7 and 8 and 2:50.

²⁵ Atharva 11:21.

²⁶ Atharva 11:24.

the obedience of subjects, while they were also employed to win the favour of the serpents of all the regions under heaven.*

Miscellaneous Charms.

I now give a short list of charms used for various miscellaneous purposes:—

- (1) Charm on the occasion of the erection of a newly built house by which all the malignant spirits and charms, by which the various parts of the house are tied and bound, are removed †.
- (2) Charm to remove sterility and to secure the birth of male children ‡.
- (3) Charm against witchcraft §.
- (4) Charm against poison †. Each stanza of the hymn is to be repeated seven times to the poison or disease which it specifies.
- (5) Charm to win success in gambling ¶.
- (6) Charm against loss †.
- (7) Charm for the restoration of an expelled king †.
- (8) Charm against tigers, wolves and other monsters and charms for the dismantling and destruction of hostile priests †.
- (9) Charm to secure victory †.
- (10) Charm to effect the reconciliation of estranged friends †.
- (11) Charm for the destruction of vermin †.

* *Altara* II. 4. Both charms are referred to the 16th day of the month.
Kyushu-kyōka and *Shikoku-kyōka* often refer to them.

† *Altara* II. 9.

‡ *Altara* II. 10.

§ *Altara* II. 11.

¶ *Altara* II. 12.

† *Altara* II. 13.

† *Altara* II. 14.

† *Altara* II. 15.

† *Altara* II. 16.

† *Altara* II. 17.

† *Altara* II. 18.

† *Altara* II. 19.

(12) Charm against jealousy ⁴⁵.

(13) A battle charm ⁴⁶.

There were also the use of charms to inaugurate the construction of a house and in starting on a journey ⁴⁷.

Things used as Charms

Various were the things used as charms. Lead was a powerful charm against spells for it verily repelled all sorts of them:—

"This evergreen *Valkanda*, this drives the venomous
fiends away:

"By means of this I have overthrown all the plashi's
demon brood,

"If thou dostest a cow of mine, a human being or a steed,

"We pierce thee with this piece of lead so that thou
mayst not stay our eyes". ⁴⁸

There was also the use of *shikimb* for protection from all sorts of evils, that "repels and crushes sorcery" ⁴⁹.

Amulets of various kinds were used. An amulet of shell is mentioned in *Alhara* B. 4. H. 16. This shell was procured from the snail that fell into the sea from the windy sky and the iridescent hues of its living mass from the bright flashes of lightning. This amulet, it may be mentioned, was used by kings, accompanying lavastiture ⁵⁰. Another amulet consisted of three strands or threads, one of gold, one of silver, and one of iron⁵¹.

⁴⁵ *Alhara* E-745.

⁴⁶ *Alhara* B.28.

⁴⁷ *Alhara* D.765.

⁴⁸ *Alhara* B. 142. *Valkanda* is frequently mentioned in the *Alhara*, though it is nowhere clearly defined. It may be chameleon in the plural (*shaksh*).

⁴⁹ *Alhara* E-49.

⁵⁰ *Salomon's translation* p. 142.

⁵¹ Iron and steel have everywhere run at all times since the days of Clytus have proved against ghosts and evil spirits. The importance of iron as a charm is well known, says Sir J. Campbell. "The unique spell-binding power of iron is shown by the dread of iron attributed to even the mightiest gnomes." Widdows has also observed that "the teeth or claws of a tiger worn on the neck or over the eyes, according to one ring with with pearls are powerful charms against demons." Cf. also Khamshy—The Red Eye.

each of which contained three protective powers, that is one for each of the vital airs on which the life of the wearer depended.¹⁶

Pieces of wood are mentioned in the Atharvaveda as being used as charms¹⁷. An amulet of wood called *Śaṇṇavilāṣa*, made of ten kinds of holy wood, was employed in the process of recovering a patient. Amulets of various sorts were also used as charms to assure the supremacy and success of a deposed king on his restoration to power¹⁸. Amulets of wood were used as charms to assure the defeat and destruction of the wearer's enemies¹⁹. Amulets of gold were efficacious as charms accompanying investiture "for life, for glory, for long life lasting through a hundred autumns"²⁰. While amulets of *Parus* (*Palus*) were used by a king to "strengthen his position and confirm his authority"²¹.

Plants are frequently mentioned as being used as charms. The efficacy of these plants depended in a great measure upon the difficulty of procuring them. Even supernatural powers of sight could be acquired by the use of plants and charms:—

"Through thee, O God-like plant,

"May I behold all creatures that exist,

"Three covered heavens, three mortal realms,

and those six regions won by man"²².

The *Varuna* tree (*Crataeva Sauripolia*)²³ is referred to in the Atharvaveda and also *Śami* tree (*Prosopis Spiciosa*)

¹⁶ Atharv. R. 1, H. 25.

¹⁷ Atharv. R. 1, R. 1.

¹⁸ Atharv. R. 1, H. 26. Also Uṣp. T. 714.

¹⁹ Atharv. R. 1, R. 2. Amulet of wood, used (Rig. 24/124a).

²⁰ Atharv. R. 1, H. 26.

²¹ Atharv. R. 1, R. 1.

²² Atharv. R. 1, H. 25. The plant here referred to, has not been identified, though something is Orib. 4. In various countries there is referred to England to England, or England, the plant with which, together with Fox and these herbs from the soil of Life, the Archangel Michael "purged the sinful world" of Adam and enabled him to look into the Abyss. Peter.

²³ Atharv. R. 1, H. 25.

which is regarded as a holy tree and is mentioned in connection with the promotion of the growth of hair already colored by ⁴⁵.

Herbs are also every now and then mentioned as being fit for charms. Of these *Zasa* is distinctly mentioned, both in the Rig and Atharvavedas ⁴⁶. Certain other herbs were of great efficacy when used as charms.—

"I hold these herbs within my hand,
The spirit of disease departs ere he can
Behold upon the life".

Other References.

To readers of the Mahabharata it is hardly necessary to refer to the incident of Kanyas Kishi who could have saved Panditish from being beaten by the Snake King Takshaka, by his charms and mantras.

Chandika in his *Arthashastra* ⁴⁷ speaks of the application of charms, while Satrashti also speaks of charmed instruments ⁴⁸.

The great Buddha was very much against anybody's showing supernatural power ⁴⁹, yet he could think of referring to the Gandhara charm well known for the single purpose of making oneself invulnerable and cause the rain to fall. We find a reference to the use of a charmed jewel, which was given by Bodhisattva and which had the power of setting up a household and main-

⁴⁵ *Alkara* R. C. II. 28. It is found in all parts of India and is supposed to possess magical virtues.

⁴⁶ Rig. I 47. *Alkara* R. C. II. 2.

⁴⁷ Book XIV. Chap. III.

⁴⁸ P. 296. Professor D. R. Sharma's edition.

⁴⁹ *Evangelical Buddha*. Kumbhila, a young Buddhist came to the exalted one and says "This Mahanta of ours, Sir, is influential and prosperous, full of followers, surrounded with people devoted to his exalted one. It were well if the exalted one were to give command to some ladies to produce by means of repeating that of ordinary ones, a very few verses. Then would this Mahanta of ours become even more rich than he is in the market now". But Buddha was against it.

take a wife and children, give alms and do other works¹⁸. Dice was used in the age of the *Jataka* as a charm¹⁹ and charmed threads and charmed sand were used as charms for safety on a journey²⁰. Mention is also made of herbs being used as charms²¹.

The *Jataka* also refers to a charm for raising the dead to life and to bring to light buried treasure²². Other Buddhist books also refer to the use of charms, including *Devadarmasūtra Sūtra* which mentions various charms and amulets the latter first being also referred to in the *Mūlaka Pāṭha*²³. We are also indebted to the latter for a reference to charms in the following:—

"Suppose O King, say *Siddha* (accomplished one) on incanting a charm and saying "Let a mighty rain now fall" were to bring about a heavy rainfall by the incanting of his charm would there, in that case, be any mass of rain accumulated in the sky by which rain would be brought about?"

"No, Sir. The charm itself would be the cause."²⁴

¹⁸ *Jataka* 1741. In the *Waka Pīṭaka* of the *Theravāda* we find King Uśin, knowing a charm of wondrous power, gave the *Jataka* of *Atthapannā*, and a condition precedent to the right bearing of the charm was the possession of a certain potent herb placed under a certain configuration of the stars.

¹⁹ *Jataka* 2008. "It is interesting to note that the Prophet Muhammad utilized a belief in magic at the same time he declined the practice of magic to be an unbeliever"—Dr. J. M. Gifford. *Jurnal Asiaticus*, 1886 (p. 46).

²⁰ *Jataka* 1243.

²¹ *Id.* 106.

²² *Id.* 202.

²³ *Mūlaka*, p. 28. Recitation was one of the most important functions of the old Buddhist priest and it is still the chief employment of the *Theravāda* Buddhist. We may quote Mr. J. Gifford "In Europe the only Christian church has a special staff of exorcists. In the middle ages, the Roman Catholic priests practised exorcism. The power was at first shared by the reformed churches. The clergy of the established Church of England after the sixteenth century seldom recanted it, although Puritan ministers continued to recite it till the eighteenth century. In England Roman Catholic priests are the only clergy who still claim the power."

²⁴ *Mūlaka*, p. 121.

In the *Jaiminī Sūtra* reference is made to Kāśha who went into the Devas, heard mystic verses, and "charmed" the king, so that the King could not let fly his arrow¹⁷. There is also the story of the Brahman Vashakha knowing a charm. This charm was precious beyond all price. For, if at a certain conjunction of the planets, the charm was repeated and the gate was bent upwards to the skies, straightway from the heavens there rained the seven things—gold, silver, pearl, coral, cat's-eye, ruby and diamond¹⁸.

In pure literature mention is also made of charms. Mahāvishnu speaks of charms. In *Jaiminī* we find mentioned the amulet on the hand of Dushyanta's son¹⁹, while *Nagārjuna* mentions IDP being charmed. In *Harivamśa* we read of magic hats—the Brahacharya had his black amulet, while even the great King Harsha did not escape wearing an amulet of woad²⁰. Charms are also mentioned in *Netawarī*. Ash L. Khar's *Pitrashraddha* mentions that "the living's chamber was secured by powerful charms and efficacious herbs"²¹. Charms are frequently mentioned in *Kaṭhasthīgāra*, while in *Jyoteyo Vasmadātā*, the minister Yagucharya gave a charm to Gama. Vasmadātā which transformed her into an old woman.

Counter Charms.

There was also the use of counter-charms²². Enchantment and malignity could be counter-charmed and so could the spell of an enemy as well as the magical incantation of others²³.

¹⁷ It is interesting to note that all Samādhāna women used to give charms which made the holder of the charms "wound-proof".

¹⁸ Note that even woad was supposed to have charms. *Artha* 4:108.

¹⁹ *Skandha*, Ash VII.

²⁰ *Harivamśa* Chap. IV.

²¹ *Jyotiśa* *Shikshā*, 1876 (p. 218). Professor J. V. Sankar in his *Shikshā* (p. 285) mentions that Shikshā's text with that of *Shikshā* is in fact *Shikshā*'s version.

²² *Arthashastra*. By J. V. Sankar. He writes that "In India, which, ancient and modern practice both alike, is, having, and that, that is having, magic." (*Arthashastra* on the *Shikshā* Book of *Shikshā* and *Shikshā*).

²³ *Arthashastra* 2:111, 2:112.

The *Jataka* also mention a counter-charm against raising the dead to life¹⁰.

Conclusions.

It may be said in conclusion that with the increase of man's control over his surroundings, the belief in charms has decreased considerably, but it cannot be altogether denied that it has died away in any country whatever¹¹. In India, where the presence of *Manikins* not only on the bodies of children, the weight of which in some cases becomes rather heavy for the wearer, but also on the bodies of grown up, educated men it is manifest, but it is manifest in other countries of the world as well.

¹⁰ *Jataka* 1119, 121, 546.

¹¹ Sir J. H. Comstock observes "The belief in spirit possession and in the spirit theory of disease is still common in most England. These charms are used, that is, the spirit who makes the disease, is cured by a charm". The same authorily observes "Of this world's view the highest belief in the value of charms. The Arab and Egyptian sorcerer are of course to be taken seriously, to gain a knowledge of the future, to get rid of, to secure love, to cure and to kill a rival". *Indian Jataka*, 1900, p. 45.



MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I—The Gupta Pillar at Bihar.

By J. N. Sanaddar.

Some four years ago, while I had been to Bihar, I saw in the compound of the Subdivisional Office, the famous saashane pillar bearing Gupta inscriptions as well as some modern writing in English, standing in an inverted position.

One mile due east from the famous Dargah at Bihar and inside the northern gate of the old "fort" (the site of the ancient monastery) of Bihar, this saashane pillar was found bearing two inscriptions of the Gupta Dynasty. Mr. Barrowham appears to have first discovered it eighty years ago. Subsequently it was removed and set up in a reversed position with its base in the air and its summit in the ground. When General Cunningham saw it he found it fallen. It was then removed by Mr. Bradley, the then Magistrate of Bihar, from the place in which it lay half buried in the ground and "set up on a brick pedestal opposite the Bihar Court House." This pedestal was "about fourteen feet high and oval in shape" (A. S. B., Vol. I) and containing two Gupta inscriptions was inscribed with the names of Earl Mayo, Viceroy of India, George Campbell, Governor of Bengal, and a number of other European officials, and eight names of Municipal Commissioners of the place! This was done in April, 1881.

When the late Dr. Fleet saw it he found "the column standing in the middle of a house, the roof of which is supported by it and the last eight lines of the inscription completely hidden and rendered inaccessible by a wooden structure placed on the top." (Fleet: *Gupta Inscriptions*.)

The wooden structure has since disappeared and the column according to the latest information, lately supplied by the Sub-

divisional Magistrate of Bihar, is still in that invested position. The inscriptions are becoming more and more indecipherable.

May I, under the circumstances, suggest that some effective steps may be taken to prevent further decay, and if it is thought necessary, to remove this, the only Gupta pillar of our Province, to the proposed site of the Future Museum?



REVIEWS.

I.—"The Beginnings of South Indian History".

By Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras, published by the Modern Printing Works, Mount Road, Madras, 1912, pp. 11 + 302, small 8vo.

This small volume represents the lectures delivered by Professor Aiyangar at the Madras University in 1912. The work contains real contributions to Indian History and adds to our existing knowledge. The light thrown on the "Maurya Invasion" of Southern India from the Tamil sources of the first century A.D. is a very welcome contribution. It is Tirumitta who attributes a large conquest of the South to Ashoka and his Prime Minister Chastakya. According to the Tamil authors cited by Mr. Aiyangar the armies of the "newly-installed (southern) new" Mauryas descended from the Kottas into the territory of the prince styled Nannan and reached the Poliyil Hill, south-west of Madras; their killing was done up cutting their way along hill slopes (page 22). The advance parties of the invading army was composed of the *Kottas*. These are references in the poems alluding to resistance, sometimes successful, offered by the southern princes to the "Aryas" (p. 26), which probably explains the semi-independent status of the southern states in the time of Ashoka. Some part of the Telugu country had been very early conquered already by the early Mauryas, which is asserted by a medieval inscription (cited by Biot) and now supported indirectly by the known history of Nandi-Vardhana, the conqueror of Kalings. Chandragupta's taking up residence at Chandragiri is probably another link in the chain of the time

¹ This date was adopted for the first time by the present writer in 1902 (*Madras Review*). "Tirumitta who is described as a powerful Chastakya" says V. S. S. actually rebuked the Rajas in the South. [This is on the authority of an excellent passage in Tirumitta's History.]

Megasthenes association with the South. The evidence now supplied by Professor Aiyangar from the early literature of the South gives a more definite outline to the history of the Mauryan Dravida. Pandyas was clearly independent, but Kerala was not so, nor was the country of the Satiya-putra. The whole of the Chola-land was not completely outside the Mauryan empire. The Kerala and Satiya-putra States were evidently under the Mauryas as vassal-states. This, in my opinion, explains their omission from the Thirteenth Book Ptolemaeus, where Chola, Pandya and Tondaimandalam appear but not Kerala and Satiya. In this connection Professor Aiyangar's important equation of Aśoka's *Mahāśā-mūhalla* with the territory of E-Gamirpetra of the classical Tamil should be noticed. Kuralai was an ancient king of Keralas ("parts of Mysore and Coorg"). His name struck to the country as *Keralasipada* ; it has a good translation in the Sanskrit *Mahāśā-mūhalla* (p. 87). This identification ought to set at rest the controversy about *Mahāśā-mūhalla*.

Mr. Aiyangar has some interesting things to say of the South to her economic growth in his book entitled "The Dawn of the Christian Era." The Dravidas built "light-houses to warn ships, and one such is detailed as the great port of the mouth of the Kaveri." A regular trade grew as a big palayam trunk, strapping on the top a huge oil lamp, guided the Tamil caravans (p. 114).

A large portion of the book is devoted to the consideration of the chronology of the Tamil literature and the age of the *Asvapaa* or Tamil cavalry. Mr. Aiyangar revises the views of former scholars. He at the same time discusses various incidents of historical importance referred to by contemporary authors. In his last chapter Mr. Aiyangar disposes off once for all the long-outlived theory that the week days in Sanskrit denote a period about 600 A.D. and later.¹ They were taken from Babylon's not from Europe. Likewise the learned author shows that Hindu signs of the Zodiac originated more to the Mesopotamian symbols than to the Greek ones.

¹ See the *Telugu Asiatic*, 1912, p. 122.

Tamil literature has a good deal yet to tell us. The translation of the *Epistola-kūṭi* in Tamil, for instance, fixes the date of that great work. The translation was made in the second century of the Christian era (p. 183). Soper's argument for a late date (third to fifth century) on the ground of its ascribing supernatural powers to Nāgārjuna, which shows in his opinion a considerable interval between Nāgārjuna and the work, deserves little attention. Śhivaji was credited with supernatural powers by contemporary writers of the Moghul Court. That could not make his contemporaries posterior to him. The Tamil evidence is decisive for the book being dated between Nāgārjuna and the second century, i.e. about the first century A.D. Mr. Aiyangar's notice (p. 87) of the reference to *Vikramāditya*, superior from the *Mlechchha* trouble, to the *Kaṭṭi*-*śaṅkṣa* and the *Epistola-kūṭi* is very important. It would be quite worth the trouble to compare the passage in the Tamil translation as he proposes. Somadeva, the author of the *Kaṭṭi-śaṅkṣa*, avowedly says that he is only translating the *Epistola-kūṭi*, and there is no reason, as Mr. Aiyangar argues, to doubt the assertion of the author. The contents of *Vikramāditya* before the second century A.D., borne out by the *Epistola-kūṭi*, confirm the popular tradition and disprove modern ingenious theories about him. On the evidence pointed out by Mr. Aiyangar he was not a *Mlechchha* (or *Kanishka* undevotedly used) but a destroyer of the *Mlechchhas*, as the Hindu tradition believes.

Mr. Aiyangar deals with his subjects critically and nowhere the historian in him is lost in a technical investigation.

K. P. J.

II.—Mr. Panna Lal on Mr. Bhandarkar's Lectures.

Mr. Panna Lal, i.e., writes from Almora about Mr. Bhandarkar's *Chandas* lectures for 1893—

"In the first lecture he says that Choda, Konda, etc., were not known to Pāṇini, but were known to Kātyāyana. He then says that Choda (the people) gave to the Sanskrit language the word Choda (aśleṣ). If this be so the verb चृ, to stand, must be later still. But Pāṇini has in one Śūtra (I think), चृत्वाचि (चृत्वाचि) चृत्वा, I am in despair and have not a copy of the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* with me, so I cannot speak with certainty. If I am right Bhandarkar's whole position crumbles up."

Mr. Panna Lal is right that such a Śūtra exists in Pāṇini. It is चृत्वा, etc. III.1.10.—K. P. J.



Obituary.

Haranandan Pandey.

Mr. Haranandan Pandey passed away on the 14th November last at Jaldhapa on his way back from the Poona Conference of Orientalists. He fell a victim to the war influenza. By his death the Society has lost a young member of high promise. At the time of his death he was 29. He took his B. A. degree from the Patna College in 1912, and obtained a scholarship in the Archaeological Department. He had his first lesson in Epigraphy from Professor Ramatolara Sharma at the Patna College and his training in excavation from Sir John Marshall. He was particularly strong in numismatics and architecture.

Mr. Pandey had begun to do valuable epigraphical work. Some of his results are published in our *Journal*. He discovered last year a unique capital at Vaishali, evidently of Ashoka time, with well built in its sides carved back to back. He conducted with success an excavation at Belua in the Saran District in this Province and brought a number of medieval sculptures to the Patna Museum. The finds from his other excavations in Bihar (a number of silver-coined, punch-marked copper coins and various other interesting remains) were unfortunately lost in transit. Mr. Pandey always breathed sighs of regret whenever the matter was mentioned. Recently he prepared a text of the Hathigumpha inscription for the Patna Museum. He was working at a Bengali edition of the *Dharmakirtana* and had completed a similar edition of the *Nalagarikakirtana* Sutta. He has also left behind an archaeological map of Bihar which awaits publication.

Mr. Pandey was an enthusiastic student of Ptolemy. The slightest deviation from Ptolemy's name in translation would call forth Mr. Pandey's uncompromising condemnation. He expressed admiration for the method of Sir John Marshall.

Mr. Friday was a man of this Province, having his home in a village near Iona. His untimely death deplores the Province of a scholar, a sportsman, and a literary figure, and the Society, of a member who took keen interest in its progress and always rendered it willingly assistance and co-operation.

K. P. J.



MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

I.—Lecture by Professor Foucher.

To members of the Society Professor Foucher, Honorary Member, delivered a very interesting lecture, illustrating it with lecture slides, on the Buddhist Art of Burmah, on the 20th November 1912. His Honour Sir Edward Umst presided. The lecture was greatly appreciated. A large number of visitors also attended the lecture.

The Council is thankful to Dr. Callender, Principal of the Patna College, for lending the hall of the College Laboratory for the occasion and to Professor A. Mukherji for his assistance in reproducing the slides.



